

HARBOUR DEEP .
A SPATIAL ANALYSIS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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HARBOUR DEEP - A SPATIAL ANALYSIS

by

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland

March 1973

St. John's

Newfoundland

THESIS ABSTRACT

HARBOUR DEEP - A SPATIAL ANALYSIS

The intent of this thesis is to study a community in terms of how its inhabitants interact through space, and the effect of various physical structures on the interaction of the individual and the group.

The study is divided into three separate sections, depending on the area of interaction. These are: the house as a spatial system, community-wide patterns, and inter-community pathways. Aural and visual concerns, as well as cultural patterns, are taken into account.

The aspects of a cultural spatial situation which are covered in this study are:

House location

Areas of interaction within the house itself

Cultural correlates of spatial constructions

Visiting patterns

Community public places and their respective characteristics for interaction on a community scale.

Community attitudes toward others

Physical and attitudinal factors of isolation

Sexual differentiation based upon spatial usage and knowledge.

The community in this work is analyzed in spatial terms.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the following people: George Casey for first introducing me to Harbour Deep. To Gary Cassell for encouraging me to go to the community. To the other people of Harbour Deep, especially Marge and Rich Loder who made me one of the family. To Herb and Susan for putting up with the difficult months. To Allen Carrier for his help with my photographs. A special thanks to Jeff Stiles, Scott Wood, and Frank Fox for their encouragement and support. I owe thanks as well to my faculty advisors and in particular to George Park for his major part in bringing this work to its final form. The funding from the Institute of Social and Economic Research was greatly appreciated. I take full responsibility for this end result.

Note: I will take this opportunity to state my realization that all areas of Newfoundland are not identical in terms of interaction and cultural patterns. Therefore, my information may differ from others' experiences.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

It began uncomfortably quiet, the good mornings muted in the long room. The room was both extravagantly long and as light as though we were sitting in the open air, since one side was all window, looking southwards onto an arena-like court. The unrelieved lightness of the room - I had thought on occasions before this one - drew people apart, not together... The table was bad for interviewing, far too long, the candidate (or, that morning, the appellant) much too far away. Arnold Shaw, although a good chairman, was a bad interviewer.

C.P. Snow
The Sleep of Reason

Spatial arrangements and features can serve many purposes, and engender many emotions. Space can alienate and isolate, or group and unite. It can create feelings of helplessness or of futility, as well as of warmth and well-being. Spatial emotions are familiar to us all, but remain for the most part unenunciated and essentially "out-of-awareness" (Hall). My fascination with space and its perception on the level of overt awareness and as a social cue began with an afternoon browse through the university book store, where I came upon The Hidden Dimension (1966) by Edward T. Hall. This book excited my interest and started my questions. Hall in his chapter on "Culture as Communication" says:

The central theme of this book is social and personal space, and man's perception of it. Proxemics is the term I have coined for the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture (1966:1).

I found that the study of cultural space united my background in physical anthropology, my interest in human ecology, and my concern for present social problems, especially in the areas of housing and community. The modern emphasis on relevance has left no discipline untouched and beyond responsibility. Hall's material provided the foundation and the point of departure for my field work, and thesis subject. Because of the relative newness of research in this specific area of anthropology, Hall is the primary source for those who are now interested in space perception.

My choice of field work location was almost as accidental as my discovery of Hall. There were certain factors that dictated and limited my possible area of work. I wanted to reduce the number of variables in the social setting in order to better approach the spatial world of the inhabitants. Thus, it was desirable that I find a community that was small (500 people or less), and of only a single religion. I also wanted an isolated community because isolation in itself is an intriguing spatial dimension. The number of isolated communities in terms of vehicle connections in Newfoundland is continually decreasing as the roads are extended. Through a series of personal referrals and helpful contacts, Harbour Deep was brought up as a

possible area for research. I contacted one of the university students from the community, and was immediately impressed with his friendliness and encouragement that I go to the community. All of my prerequisites were met in Harbour Deep, so my choice was made. I was in the field for approximately five months (from July to November), with one five day trip to St. John's in October. I spent Christmas and New Year of that year (1971) in the community, returning for three weeks at that time. A more ideal spot could not have been chosen from both a personal and an academic standpoint.

This thesis is a "living-learning" piece of work. Much of my theoretical 'naivete' was dispelled when actually confronted with a field work situation, and equally much of theoretical importance was gained from observation of and participation in the daily affairs of Harbour Deep. In the field, one goes through various stages of certainty and confusion--and hopefully returns with a healthy respect for both! No claim is made for objectivity, as even statistics can be variously interpreted, but rather the influence of the subjective self is recognized, and modifications made with this in mind. After the field work comes the real task--the setting down of material in some coherent cohesive form, balancing between including too much (and boring my reader) and excluding too much (thus leaving out the meat which covers the bare bones) while at the same time clearly outlining the proposition and the supporting data. A thesis then is not as clearcut a case as it may seem--for the questions are many and

often times difficult. The reward is in attempting to deal with a reality that is perhaps different from one's own, in an understanding and sensitive way, feeling in the end that the effort has been mentally and emotionally satisfying. Allowing for these factors, a thesis can be approached from the proper perspective, with an eye to the actual situation.

Background Literature

"...people from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, inhabit different sensory worlds. Selective screening of sensory data admits some things while filtering out others, so that experience as it is perceived through one set of culturally patterned sensory screens is quite different from experience perceived through another."

E.T. Hall
The Hidden Dimension

Man has many ways of dealing with the physical world around him, a world of objects, people and sensations. Although his actions are biologically based, the experiencing of this world is molded and modified by his respective culture, and therefore his reactions to various situations vary from culture to culture. This cultural variation in perception and response is the main theme of E.T. Hall's The Hidden Dimension in which he noted that each culture specifically orders and

defines the physical world in terms of its own particular spatial arrangements. Man utilizes a multitude of spatial distances in his everyday world, and spacing itself acts as communication and information. This elaborate but well understood system of communication--i.e. the use of space--is for the most part a covert channel in that it lies in that part of behavior which is "out-of-awareness," manifested in what could be termed "unconscious" action, or reaction. This then is the generalized area of this piece of work--an area broadly known as space perception.

Space is a varied and complex subject, one that is dealt with in various ways by those involved in varying fields of work and research. Spatial concepts are an integral part of biology, architecture, psychology, aerodynamics, urban design--to name a few--as well as anthropology. The definitions of space used by these diverse disciplines vary with the application from the mathematical to the philosophical, and it is at this point that differences in approach must be clarified in order to ascertain what information is pertinent. Integration occurs between the biological and the social concepts of space, and Hilda Kuper maintains:

Here it is necessary to point out that the concept of space as defined and developed by philosophers and scientists must not be confused with the experiences of space, that is, the values attached through facts of social and personal existence, and epistemologically we must be wary not to equate space as a feature of the physical (tangible) world with 'social space' (personal communication 1971).

Thus, this thesis shall concern itself primarily with space as it is socially conceived and derived, although it is necessary to incorporate concepts gained from studies other than the social sciences. The physical world and its relationship to the social is another aspect of space that must be considered.

In the following discussion, space from a variety of viewpoint will be the subject of analysis. This does not represent a comprehensive review of multidisciplinary spatial concepts, but rather affords a look at some of the work that has been done in other fields. This is an important discussion to include in an anthropological work, for much about the nature of the spatial world has been gathered from these outside disciplines. Each of the sections following provides a topic for an in-depth review, but for our purposes it is enough to present some of the background information which acts as a foundation for later material.

Much of the present interest in the spatial world as a factor in behavior came from the work of biologists and ethologists, and their study of territoriality in animals other than man. Henri Hediger (1950) studied both territoriality and dominance behavior as these related to the limiting of aggression. These behavioral traits have been applied to early and modern man, in such works as The Territorial Imperative (Ardney:1966) and "Territoriality of Patients on a Research Ward" (Esser et al., 1965). Chapple in his Culture and Biological Man: Explorations in Behavioral Anthropology discusses the number of concepts from Behavioral Biology that

have had a marked influence on Social Anthropology, listing territoriality as one of them, and states:

As Ardrey takes pleasure in pointing out, recognition of the crucial part played by the struggle for personal space has relegated to oblivion the idea that sexual relations are the cement of society (1970:X).

Some of course find this statement ridiculous, but it does present another viewpoint as well as examining some assumptions.

From a biological point of view, Chapple also recognizes the influence of cultural studies of space upon behavioral anthropology, and puts emphasis on the physical measuring of human space. He maintains that:

Personal Space is part of a continuum with personal territory, and operates similarly to regulate the occurrence of interaction (1970:166). As growing up goes on, the individual acquires a far greater repertoire of spaces, and interaction patterns performed within, until a wide variety of spatial situations have become associated with specific interactions (1970:175).

The importance of spacing is seen in terms of interactional probabilities, and the effect that distance has upon these probabilities. Behavioral anthropology thus concerns itself with man's biological properties, as well as his cultural modifications.

The development of the study of space has caused great changes in the orientation of the existing disciplines. Besides ethologists and behaviorists, early workers in perception such as Brunswick (1956) and Vernon (1952) were concerned with the experiencing of space, approaching it as

an ecologic variable--thus laying the groundwork for further psychological studies concerned with man, the individual, and his environment. Vernon (1952) stated that individuals construct the perceived world as far as possible in accordance with the maintenance of the maximum of stability, endurance, and consistency. The emphasis here on construction of a perceptual world led to a recognition that the relationship between the physical outside world ("reality") and the mental inside world was dependent on the individual. Anthropologists added the cultural dimension. This concept of a constructed world in terms of individual perception was expanded, and directed at interpersonal studies. Such works as Ecological Psychology (Barker:1965) and "Further Studies in Small Group Ecology" (Sommer:1965) denote a growing use of a previously biological concept, applied in a psychological sense. Space and environment provide the setting for the individual and his psyche. Through this type of study, space became redefined as it related to the psychological make-up of the individual in his dealings with an external world. Sommer, the best known of the spatially oriented psychologists, placed the individual in terms of group and social interactional patterns, stating that:

Because social and spatial orders serve similar functions, it is not surprising to find spatial correlates of status levels, and conversely, social correlates of spatial positions (1969:17).

He uses the terms "sociopetal" and "sociofugal" to point out the orientation of the individual in space. Sociopetal space

orients everyone to the center, whereas sociofugal space draws those in a group apart. Sommer in his work analyzes the defense of territory, the effect of leadership on seating arrangements, conversation distances, etc. His outlook appears to be socio-psychological, and thus many of his concepts overlap those of the sociologists. In dealing with the group he says:

Small group ecology is particularly suited to cross-cultural studies since spatial arrangements can easily and reliably be recorded using inexpensive photos as well as diagrams and moving pictures, and such recordings do not depend on the use of language or extensive familiarity with the culture (1969:69).

This is a clear illustration of the interdisciplinary nature of spatial studies as it involves a comprehensive whole. Space becomes meaningful not only in biological and psychological terms, but also as it relates to man in his social situations.

Sociologists, especially on the Canadian scene, have taken social space to be of fundamental importance, seeing its effects on the political front, in the home, and in the public and private realms (Social Space: A Canadian Perspective, Davies and Herman, eds., 1971). Sociologists have also attempted to create a framework using space as a measurable variable. In Stinchcombe's Constructing Social Theories (1968) space is the basis for the utilization and development of what he calls "functional theories." There are causal connections between structures, consequences of those structures, and tensions which may interfere with those consequences.

Stinchcombe uses the term "focus of attention" and deals with

the causal impact of a situation according to the type of foci that are present, and the definition of the setting from the participants' viewpoint. He transforms these situations into causal terms, where one variable is seen as affecting another. His is an attempt to define and calibrate environmental affects, for which he develops a mathematical formula for computation. This is one of the directions that spatial studies are taking.

We have already noted that the monopolizing of foci of attention, with its consequences for the relationship between cultural content, and social structure, is intimately related to physical arrangements. (Stinchcombe 1968:245).

Here is the point at which architecture intertwines with the social situation, and the point at which architects directly affect human interaction.

Traditionally architects have applied space in more general ways, to larger wholes such as urban areas, dealing with physical properties rather than social ones. Some of these such as Frank Lloyd Wright have developed social applications for their work through the design of individual homes, but for the most part the emphasis has been on the physical characteristics of a setting. Kevin Lynch (Image of the City, 1960) united the broad outlook and the specifics by attempting to define the ways in which people conceptualize their living space, which in this particular instance was the city. He used indicators such as inner and outer directed areas, nodes, edges, paths, boundaries (to list a few of his terms) on a city scale rather than on an interpersonal level,

and found that the image of the city--how it was conceived to be--varied according to the personal lifestyle and perception of the subject.

Therefore, while noting the flexibility of human perception, it must be added that outer physical shape has an equally important role. There are environments which invite or reject attention, while facilitate or resist organization or differentiation (1960:136).

Lynch thus dealt with cognition of physical properties on an urban scale.

Individual variation in perception of the urban environment was expanded and generalized sociologically by Michelson:

Fried and Gleicher have pointed out quite rightly that different kinds of people will use the same spatial patterns in quite different ways depending on their orientation. For example; working classes will use a street as living and congregating space, while the middle classes will use it as a corridor to travel elsewhere. The walls of homes are perceived as much stronger by middle class people since less of their everyday living is carried out in the street (1971:29).

In this case space and its use indicated class structure, an aspect of society which differs according to the segment of the population. Sociologists are now carrying their interest in "the definition of the situation" (Berger and Luckmann 1967) to include the larger spatial setting of social action throughout the various levels of society and institutions. Patterson (1968) discussed spatial factors and social

interaction from a sociological perspective, reviewing the existing literature. He found that spatial arrangement serves to communicate general knowledge about the interaction of individuals. Small group ecology is of general interest as an important aspect of human social life.

From these various bits and pieces of the background literature for this particular spatial study, a patchwork approach to the question of space is evident, depending on the author's training and point of view. Some study structure, some environment, some small groups, etc. but the underlying theme is that of the social communication and behavior inherent in the spatial construct. An architect wants his design to "say something" to his client and public just as the sociologist is concerned with what intra-group distribution says about the composition of that group. With this introduction of space in interdisciplinary terms, anthropology's contributions to the spatial dimension of man will be discussed.

E.T. Hall was one of the first to apply the concept of territoriality to man himself. Proxemics was the term he devised to refer to that area of behavior which was defined as spatial activity. Hall has defined proxemics as the area of study of how man has unconsciously structured microspace. Before choosing "proxemics," Hall considered the possibility of terms such as human topology, chaology (the study of boundaries), choriology (the study of organized space) but chose proxemics because the word itself gave the reader an idea of the subject. Kuper maintains that there is very little justification for

using a term such as proxemics which isolates all that behavior of man which relates to space just as there would be little justification in segregating all that which relates to time, and putting it under one term for cross-cultural study: The term is new but the field contents are not (1972).

From the anthropological literature she gives an outline of the development of the social space concept with the basic orientation stemming from Durkheim. From the more general field Hall separates the spatial system, which he then divides into three subsystems: fixed-feature, semi-fixed-feature, and informal space. The rationalization for these divisions depends on the communicative and non-verbal aspect of space.

Fixed-feature space is that which has relatively permanent bounds, whether visible or invisible--the architectural features. Semi-fixed-feature space is that which is organized according to the positioning of movable objects, of which small group ecology and leadership potential are a part.

Informal space is the area of personal space. Hall maintains that the contrast between spatial spheres and territory is that territory is fixed in position. While spatial spheres are in constant flux, Hall, moving in the direction of quantification, developed a system for the notation of proxemic behavior (1963) which relied on eight measurable variables to describe the distances which are employed in interaction. Chapple (1970) feels that Hall complicates the issue with too many sensory inputs, that all the individual essentially has

is hearing, sight, and touch. Both of these researchers deal with personal space, on a physical, biological foundation. Watson and Graves (1966) confirmed Hall's system of notation through a controlled laboratory experiment, using Arabs and Americans as the subjects in cross-cultural observations. (See Watson 1972 for a comprehensive discussion on Proxemics).

It seems that on the subject of space, the biologist is concerned with the choice of living site and corresponding adaptation. The architect wishes to build a new living space. But the social scientist hopes to understand the present adaptation in order to better plan new living spaces. Hopefully, this brief discussion of space in the literature gives one some idea of the diversity in background, and the many various approaches which may be taken in a study of spatial factors. Using the foundation of references as presented, we must now move on to the structure of the thesis at hand, and its particular framework and methods.

Approach

This thesis is primarily descriptive in nature. The theoretical excerpts given above in my discussion of "Background Literature" acquaint the reader with some of the variety of concepts concerning the nature of space as a cultural dimension.

As the foundation for the field work in Harbour Deep, I drew upon the works of Robert Sommer and Kevin Lynch, along with E.T. Hall. Chapple (1970) provides the fundamentals for further work along more measured and statistical lines, but the primary focus of this study is on the cultural and social aspects of spatial use in a particular Newfoundland community. Sommer's work on space perception provides a framework for the relationship between architecture (construction of space) and interaction patterns and his thoughts on "small group ecology" (the interactions and dynamics of defined groups in relation to their environment) were also helpful. This concept of "small group ecology" is especially useful, for example, when describing the interaction patterns of those in the merchant's shop (see Chapter III). Lynch's material provides background on the community's actual images of itself and its spatial network.

The usual method of the anthropologist--participant observation--was employed as well. In this research I desired to present the spatial world of the inhabitants of Harbour Deep, by observing their lives at home and in their community as well as by taking into account some of their values and experiences. From the literature introduced in the preceding section it is apparent that there are many aspects of spatial study as a cultural dimension (non-verbal communication, social constructions, understand rules of behavior, interpersonal interaction, etc.) I was interested in the use

of space for non-verbal communication and as a cultural construction beginning with the house as the primary construction, and moving on to the use the inhabitants made of physical parts of the community. The chapters that follow describe the cultural use of space through patterns of use in a small isolated community. Before the actual field work I was postulated from library research that particular features of construction and use were culturally determined, and were integrated with other cultural networks (kinship, leadership, male-female world concepts, etc.). The field work in Harbour Deep confirmed this expectation and this is the basis for the descriptive analysis contained in this thesis.

In this research I did not attempt to deal with personal and inter-personal spacing. A community does not provide the conditions that one finds in a laboratory, and the lone researcher must rely entirely on her perceptions of patterns in order to arrive at any conclusions. Measurement in a real-life situation is extremely difficult as it can interfere with normal interaction and can add an artificial dimension to any investigation. Hence measuring in meters and centimeters from nose to nose or from chair to table, etc. was not attempted.

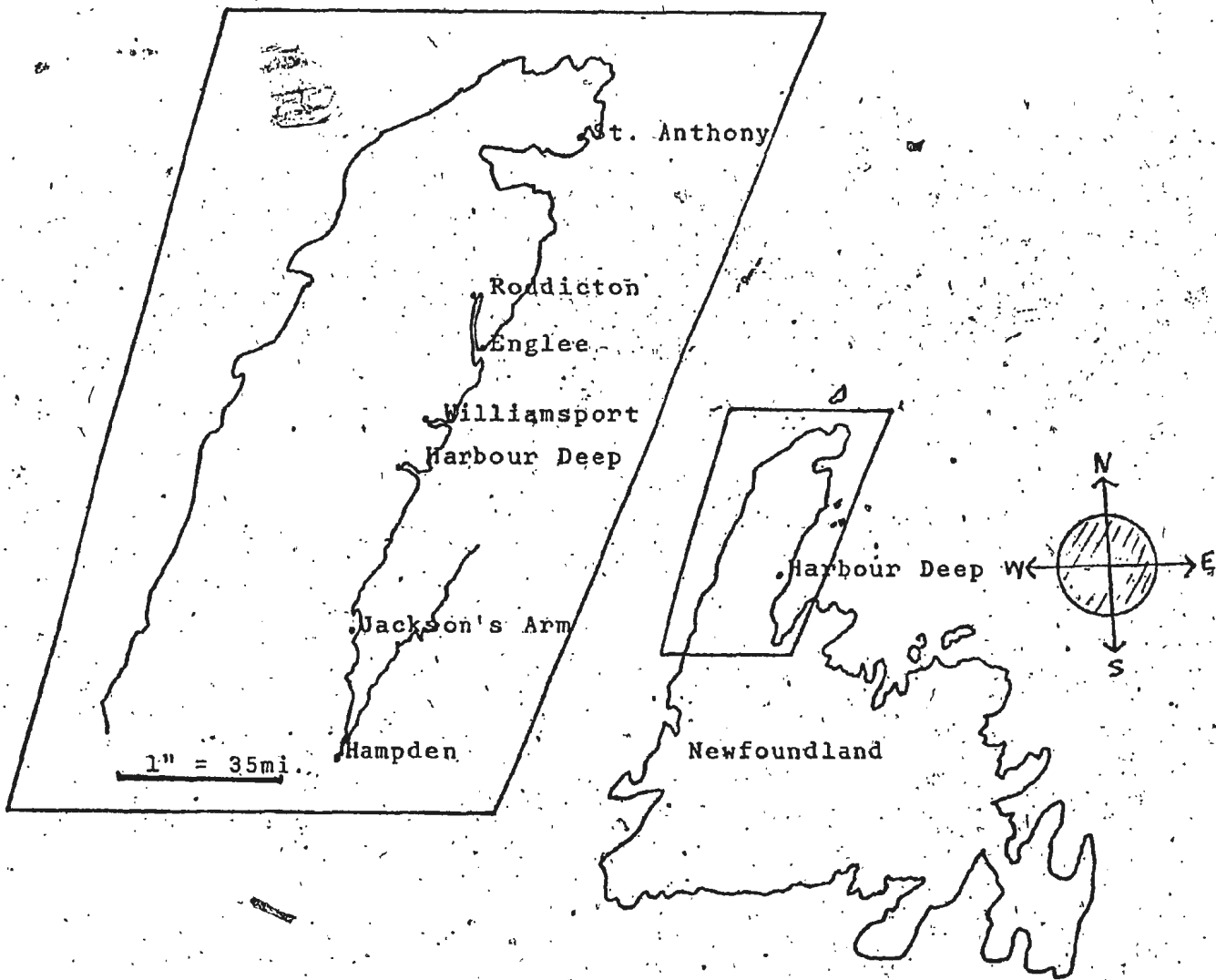
I also relied entirely on participant-observation rather than using a questionnaire-type of approach.

Birdwhistell in Kinesics and Context cautions:

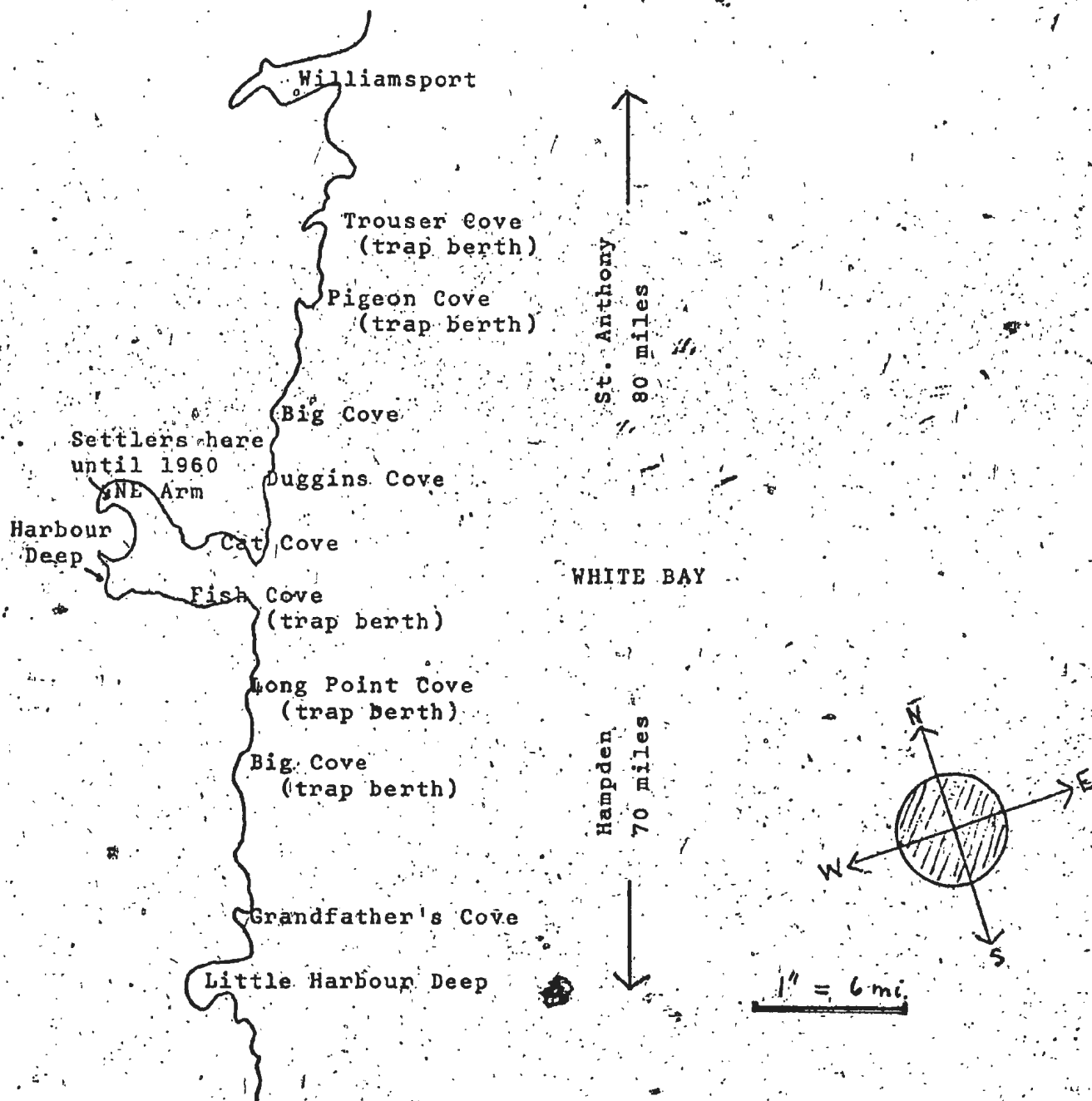
The young investigator is particularly prone to ask the informant what he has done or what the movement meant and to forget that the answer provides further data for analysis, not an acceptable conclusion of his analytic research (1970:190).

Daily living in close contact with people provides some reliable information for the observer. As a test of Birdwhistell's point after four months of observation, I constructed a questionnaire on attitudes that I had observed and particular points about certain areas of the community. The responses given verbally were very different from the actual living patterns as I had observed them.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal at length with the full range of pertinent theoretical issues, but having introduced the theoretical literature and briefly discussed the method used, I will move on to a description of behavior and places in Harbour Deep.



Map 1



Map 2

Harbour Deep - Geographic Notes

Harbour Deep is situated on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, in a scenic setting described as fiord-like. The settlement is perched on the little bit of level land found at the foot of the Long Range Mountains, a precambrian plateau composed of granite and granitic gneiss. The heights surrounding Harbour Deep itself reach up to 1,260 feet, so the community appears to nestle on the flanks of these hills. Except for the river and stream bottoms and small coves, this part of the White Bay coast is a terrain of vertically steep sea cliffs scoured by the elements. The hills themselves are well-forested with evergreens, abounding in blueberries, squashberries, raspberries, mushrooms and ferns plus wildlife such as moose, rabbits, partridge, fox, beaver--to name a few. The barrens (treeless rock and lichen areas) furnish partridgeberries and groundharts, while a few bakeapples can be found in scattered marshes. Blackberries cluster close to the shore rocks, growing on low bushes. These are the local common names, and the people of Harbour Deep take full advantage of these natural resources.

The community itself is located six miles from the open North Atlantic (this particular portion being known as White Bay), in a steep sided arm of the sea. The entrance from the sea is uniformly very deep, with no hidden shoals or banks. The harbour itself has a good rocky bottom, and is well protected.

Harbour Deep is now the only permanent settlement along this stretch of the coast, in a sixty mile radius up and down White Bay. Englee, north toward St. Anthony, lies 37 miles away--an equal distance to that of Jackson's Arm, 37 miles to the south at the bottom of the bay. The settlements now seen on a 1962 map--Little Harbour Deep, Whooping Harbour, Williamsport, Canada Harbour--have all resettled elsewhere, primarily into Englee or Roddickton. The people from Whooping Harbour now form Newfoundland's newest community--Bide Arm. Williamsport is the site of whaling operations for the Atlantic Whaling Operations Company, a Japanese enterprise, and a few people formerly from that community return to fish during the summer months, in Williamsport and some of the other settlements. There are no ties across the country to the western coast of the peninsula--all traffic moves northward and south, following the line of strongest economic and kinship ties.

History

Harbour Deep was originally known as Pigeonniere Arm, or Orange Bay (because of the bright fall colors). This area was part of that known as the French Shore, which included the entire Northern Peninsula and adjoining areas, and was under French rule from about 1713 to 1866, when France agreed not to oppose any subjects of Britain living in St. George's Bay and White Bay, nor to interfere with any of their buildings.

(The French Shore Question, Peter Neary, 1961). There is no sign of French settlement, and until that time all fishing rights and waterfront land were owned by the French, which was instrumental in discouraging settlement. The British part of the population increased from 3,334 in 1857 to 5,387 in 1869 on the shore, so even with damaging restrictions the population continued to grow. With the French agreement the name of the settlement was changed to Harbour Deep, and land grants were first issued in 1905 (Murcell & Pittman 1971).

The people first settled in the small outside coves--Cat Cove, Jack Cove, Duggins Cove, Grandfere's (Grandfather's) Cove (see Map 2)--most of the settlers being fishermen from Twillingate and Herring Neck, of British descent. In 1891 the population of the area was 239, and by 1901 it had declined to 163. From 1901 to 1938, the population was in a state of flux due to two World Wars, the Great Depression, and low fish catches.

In 1924 all the people from the coves moved in to the larger settlement, except for those in Northeast Arm, who later shifted to Harbour Deep in 1960. For this move, houses were floated in on pontoons, and arranged on the beach.

This move in from the outside coves was made because of increased employment possibilities, and because of the introduction of the gasoline engine, which meant that the men could now live farther from the fishing grounds since they no longer had to depend on rowing to get there. In 1924 M.J. Mooney and Company bought from the government the

land in Harbour Deep that was not owned by the settlers. They also built a barking mill near NE Arm which provided employment. The mill was totally destroyed by fire in 1927, and never rehabilitated. The men would work in the woods during the winters elsewhere in White Bay--in Jackson's Arm, in Roddicton. M.J. Mooney and Company sold the land in 1927 to a company known as the Anglo-Newfoundland Development and Company, now Price Brothers and Company. This company owns the land presently, but had made no move to begin any lumbering operations.

At this time there were five men to each boat, comprising a crew made up of a skipper, a splitter, a header, a salter, and a table man--all important parts of the fish processing. Women played a large role in the fishery at the time, drying and curing the fish on the flakes. Today most of the fish is sold fresh or heavy salted, so the drying methods are used only for family consumption. Women no longer spend much of their time down on the flake, and consequently have less to do dealing directly with the fishery, and family livelihood.

In 1890 the first Post Office was built, and in 1915 the first businessman, a shop owner from outside the community, established himself in Harbour Deep. Coastal boat service was introduced in 1900, and the wireless was used until 1956, when a phone was brought in with Canadian National Telegraph. John Reeves Ltd. set up for business in 1930, and in 1954 a

local merchant began an establishment. A two room school was built in Harbour Deep in 1924, with a new three room school built in 1967. The government wharf was under construction in 1952 and TV made its first appearance in 1970.

In 1949 the people were strongly opposed to Confederation and placed their vote for responsible government. Now they are strict adherents of the Liberal party and look upon Confederation as the saving grace, as the end of the terrible times. In the most recent election (March 1972) Harbour Deep was again overwhelmingly Liberal.

The present associations in the community are the Loyal Orange Lodge, and the Anglican Women's Association, both of which are dying out, although meetings are still held, and functions organized.

Agriculture and Fishing

Farming in Harbour Deep is restricted to small home gardens, which supply enough for the family for a short period. The bulk of the agricultural products are brought in. There is no livestock in Harbour Deep now (with the exception of one horse which is ridden occasionally), although sheep were kept in the past. No mention is made of cows, although horses were used for work in the woods. These were transported by skiff to the outside coves during the summer months for pasture.

Data from the Fisheries Survey of 1972 are summarized in Tables 1-4. In the Fisheries Survey of 1952, seventy fishermen were listed from the community, belonging to forty-five families. The fishermen listed for 1970 number sixty-nine (Table 3). Boats are no longer crewed by father and son teams, except for one or two. Cod is the primary catch, and mackerel, herring, and salmon are now bought by the merchant. Squid is bought at certain times of the year when it is available as bait. The remaining catches are listed in Table 4. Many of the sea resources are undeveloped and unused by the fishermen of Harbour Deep. There is no fish plant in the community, the nearest processing point being Englee.

Table 1: Boats (length in feet), Harbour Deep

	20-24.9	25-29.9	30-34.9	Total	Value
1964 ----	20 -----	28 -----	-----	48	28,800
1965 ----	20 -----	14 -----	10 -----	44	28,800
1966 ----	10 -----	30 -----	8 -----	48	28,800
1967 ----	20 -----	20 -----	8 -----	48	28,000
1968 ----	8 -----	23 -----	-----	51	32,000 See Note
1969 ----	8 -----	28 -----	-----	36	34,000
1970 ----	8 -----	28 -----	-----	36	35,500

(Note: In 1968, 20 boats were listed as being less than 20 feet. Perhaps another change in definition, of feet!)

1969 ---- 1 longliner, 50 feet

Table 2: Fisheries Equipment, Harbour Deep

	1969	1970	1971
Herring Gill Nets -----	50 ---	50 ---	50
Salmon Gill Nets -----	445 ---	460 ---	400
Salmon Trap Nets -----	20 ---	20 ---	20
Cod Traps -----	17 ---	17 ---	
Cod Gill Nets--Nylon ---	200 ---		
Lines of Trawl -----	180 ---	150 ---	
Hand Lines -----	95 ---	100 ---	
Caplin Seines -----	1 ---	2 ---	
Mackerel Seines -----		2 ---	
Seal Nets -----	10 ---	5 ---	10
Herring Seines -----		8 ---	
Piers and Whars -----	40 ---	40 ---	41
Fish and Smokehouses ---	40 ---	40 ---	40
Flakes -----	50 ---	50 ---	50
Stages and Stageheads --	44 ---	44 ---	42

Table 3: Fishing as an Occupation, Harbour Deep

Fishermen (part-time: 5 to 10 months)

	Full	Part	Casual	Total
1964	60	5		65
1965	60	3		63
1966	45			45
1967	58	10		68
1968	68			68
1969		66		66
1970		66	3	69

(Note: In 1969 the definition of Part-time fishermen was changed to mean those who fish from 5 to 10 months in each year.)

Table 4: Inshore landings and value, Harbour Deep
(Common land form - thousand pounds)

	Landings			Value - in dollars		
	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1972
Cod	361	417	706	12,185	17,304	35,442
Halibut (flounder)				11		
Plaice (greysole)	4			99	17	5
Witch	1			34		3
Greenland (Halibut)			3	11		109
Herring		3	4		59	76
Mackerel		3	4		101	121
Salmon	25	62	59	7,382	21,593	21,355
Caplin	4	3	1	38	25	15
Liver Oil	1	1		300	300	
Seal Skins				2,540		
Harp Seal - Beater					410	30
Harp Seal - Bedlamr					319	
Harp Seal - Old					29	15
Hood Seal - Old					40	
Other Seal					65	
Squid			2			40
Totals	369	489	779	22,600	40,262	57,211

Salt Fish in Pounds	1969	1970	1971
	255,840	280,440	590,290
	(1,040 quintals heavy weight)	(1,140 quintals heavy weight)	(250 qu. dry wgt. heavy weight)

Fresh Fish in Pounds	105,160	136,560	115,710
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Source for Tables 1-4: Fisheries Survey 1972

Present Day Harbour Deep

Presently (1971) in Harbour Deep, including those that go out of the community to take their Grade 11, there are approximately 300 people (see population pyramids, charts 1 and 2). The average age of the population is 25 with 131 females, 177 males. In 1952 the average age was given as 37, with a literacy rate of 80%. It seems that the number of young people is increasing rather than there being fewer old people, which would account for the lowering of the average age. This would tie in with increased medical services as well as improved nutritional situations. As can be seen from the Pyramid, a critical reduction has occurred in the age group of the 16-25 years. Many of the younger people are leaving the community for work outside. The people remaining in the community are still young enough that children are being born, but with increasing years the breeding population will have left Harbour Deep if the present situation continues, another community will cease to grow.

All employment in the community is for local people, with a few school teachers brought in depending on demand. Opportunities include: a janitor for the school; shop-helpers; nursing station cleaning lady and maintenance man; post mistress or master; garbage man; wharfinger; three school teachers; two men for the power station; shop owners; church custodian. The number of men employed at the whaling station in Williamsport (about 20 miles northward) fluctuates (see

Inter-community Chapter for further discussion), with twelve being the mean. Work on the community road, loading pulpwood onto the collector ship, and connecting the community water system are some examples of part-time, seasonal employment that may present itself to the men of the community. The women occasionally make handicrafts for Nonia in St. John's or the Grenfell Mission in St. Anthony. Handwork such as knitting and crocheting is done during the cold days of winter, when there are no gardens to tend and the children are in school.

Because of the various means of employment, an estimation of yearly income is difficult, and will vary greatly from household to household, depending on family composition. Many of the men draw compensation during the non-fishing season. No figure could be gotten concerning welfare in Harbour Deep, but from all appearances it would be low. The people do much of their buying through mail-order catalogue, but loose cash is not readily on hand. The shops extend credit, and accounts are settled at rather arbitrary times during the year. Some sell their fish to the shop owner from whom they buy their goods, so the debits and the credits are balanced against one another, without cash changing hands in some cases. Cheques are used as currency, so that one often gets an assortment of personal and government cheques as change for another cheque or a bill. These cheques circulate in this manner until a trip is made to a bank branch along the coast.

Communication at present is provided by the CNT telephone and telegraph, the CN steamer on its bi-weekly (in ideal terms) run; a bi-weekly mail run in summer carried by the merchant to and from Englee, with mail flown in once a week in winter. TV reception is possible, a few in the community now possessing color television.

CHAPTER II

The House as a Spatial System

The folk tradition...is the direct and unselfconscious translation into physical form of a culture, its needs and values - as well as the desires, dreams, and passions of a people...

Amos Rapoport
House Form and Culture

The upkeep and state of the physical surroundings in the man-made environment is of the utmost importance in the community. Young families begin their home life usually in the residence of the husband's parents before starting to build on their own. The first home is small, to accommodate a couple's needs, with provisions made for additions as the family grows and the necessity for more space is felt. The reverse also holds true: as the family ages and disperses, homes are reconstructed or 'beat down' and rebuilt to once again fulfill the spatial requirements of the reduced household. The household composition is varied, often including not only the nuclear family, but sometimes consisting of aging parents, adult unmarried brothers or sisters, and children. All the homes in the community are very similar in type, there being substantially no difference dependent on occupation. It is not possible to tell the homes of the merchants from those of the fishermen. Some homes are of better quality than others, with more furnishings, newer windows, modern appliances, etc.

Homes are constructed of local lumber, sawed by the builder of the home. There are about three small 'flake'

sawmills in the community, and a larger planer board mill. In the past, every man had a mill back in the woods, from which he could supply all his lumber needs for home or boat use. No one in the community seems to specialize in carpentry, plumbing or wiring, so that every man is his own specialist, aided perhaps by a son or a partner when the going gets tough. Nails and other supplies can be bought from a number of the local shops, as well as floor canvas, paint, wallboard ("Japanese finish"), tar, tar paper, etc. Windows are ordered from St. John's as are other household furnishings. Some homes still make use of home-made furniture that has been passed down through the family. Because houses in Harbour Deep are locally constructed out of local material for the most part, little government aid is needed, and thus no specifications or building codes must be followed. For this reason, there are no 'mother-in-law' doors in the community--those front doors seen in other communities that hang in limbo, one story above the ground, unconnected by stairs to terra firma for the simple reason that such a door is not traditionally used. These occur elsewhere on the island where financing is obtained through a regulating agency. Because the entry is traditionally through the kitchen, these doors are considered superfluous.

The houses in the community are of two basic types: the one story 'bungalow' and the two story rectangular or square structure. The fundamental difference between the two types is in the location of the bedrooms: in the bungalows, they are situated along a main hallway, whereas in the two

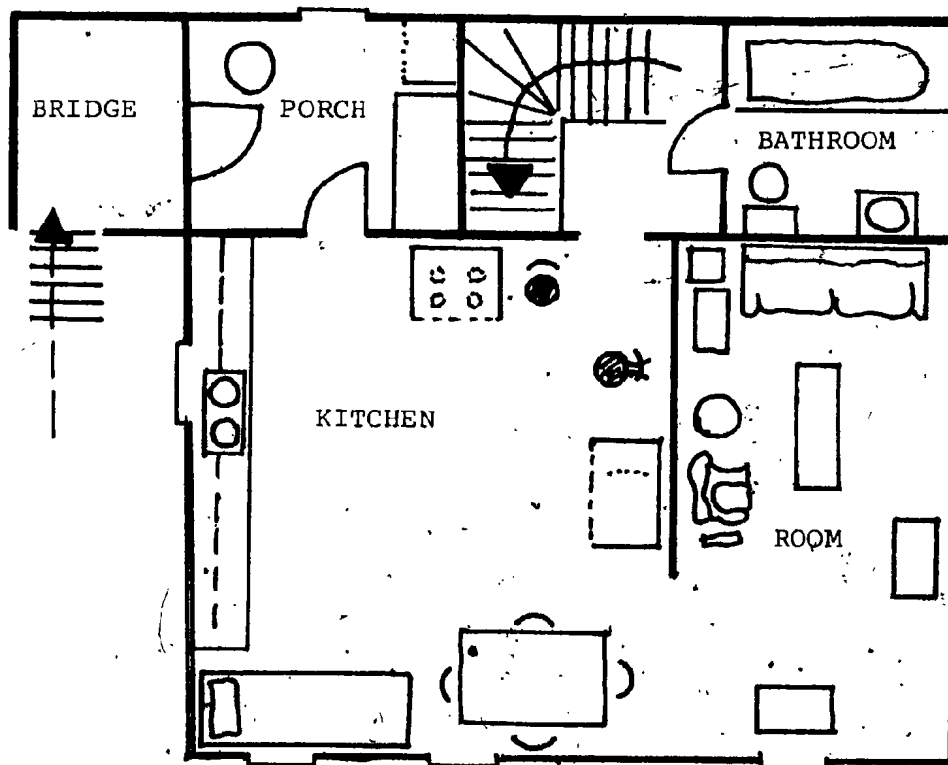
story the bedrooms are upstairs. Otherwise, the spatial elements composing the whole are identical. A bungalow is considered the less desirable of the two by some, because they are said to be colder in winter, and hotter in summer, lacking the insulating qualities of the upper floor. Most of the houses conform to the 'ideal type' of the plans (see Figures 1 and 2) with variation gained in the use and location of doors, dimensions of demarcated areas, variety and color in paint, flooring, and textiles (such as curtains and tablecloths), and placement of furniture.

The focus of this chapter is to examine each of the specific areas in a Harbour Deep house in light of the particular social usage and cultural context linked to its construction. Each area will be examined as to the spatial setting it provides as part of the cultural system, reflecting the societal rules of behavior. The spatial setting itself will be viewed as a variable in social activity, not simply as a medium in which the activity takes place. In Man and His Urban Environment: A Sociological Approach Michelson states:

Homes offer varying degrees of protection from impingement by people residing outside them. This is the first place for which concepts are needed. Acoustical concerns, concerns regarding visual outlook, and concerns regarding the ability of other people to come in contact with each other are involved at the very least (1970:48).

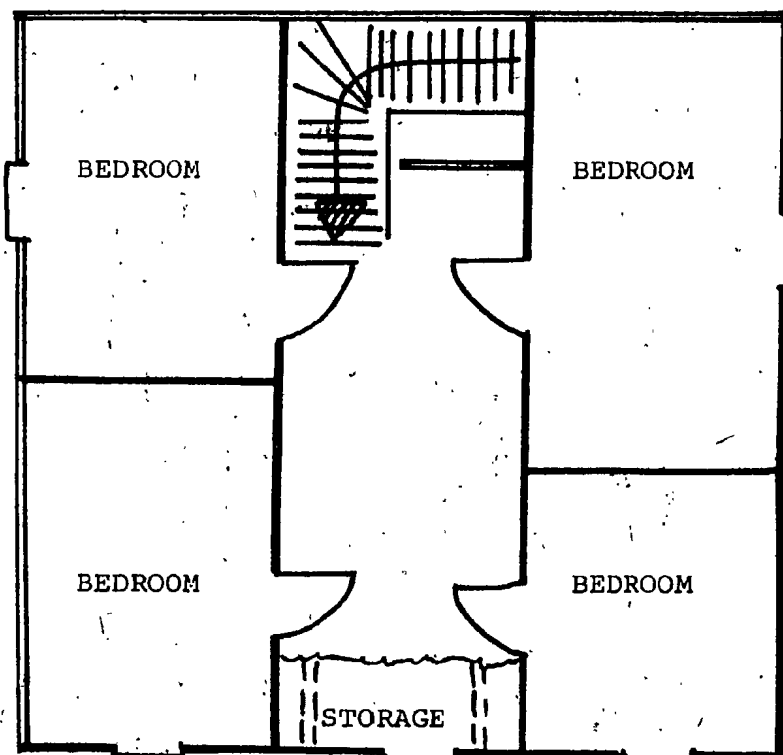
These "varying degrees of protection" are considered by the anthropologist to be cultural variables, and hence culturally defined and constructed. In dealing with "out-of-awareness"

Figure 1: Harbour Deep House Types
Two Story House



GROUND FLOOR

SCALE: 1" = 5 ft.



UPPER STORY

SCALE: 1" = 5 ft.

variables such as space, the task is one of induction and interpretation. We shall look at each of the above mentioned "concerns" as to what is culturally and ethnographically relevant in the daily world of Harbour Deep. Space as a cultural system is a foundation upon which can be built other analytic frameworks to better understand the interrelatedness of the individual and the group, the home and the community.

In attempting to grasp the Harbour Deep spatial world, we can try to pinpoint the cultural reflection of these concerns in the house itself - the man-made physical environment. Using these factors:

- 1) acoustical concerns
- 2) concerns regarding visual outlook
- 3) concerns regarding personal contact

as a rudimentary framework upon which to build, we shall examine the important features which define the house for a Harbour Deeper.

The House

House Construction and design in Harbour Deep is regulated by a combination of related considerations. These are:

- 1) the natural environment
- 2) the materials at hand (although selectively used, in that stone is not a building material, even though it is abundant)

- 3) technology available
- 4) cultural patterns (preferences, traditions)

Each portion of the living space is utilized in a culturally specific manner, and by determining patterns of use it is possible to discern some of the fundamentals in the life style of those in the community.

To begin, patterns of daily existence must be the basic consideration. As will become apparent from any discussion of the house as a center of activity, the family for these people is the major focus of life, and the hub of daily patterns. The children and family well-being are of the utmost importance to the community's men and women. In examining each area of use in the house, patterns of activity and life style are noted, as well as the combination of the cultural and physical use of space. The house is a natural starting point because of its multiple and constant use, and because of the importance it has as a community unit. The house as home is the foundation for activity which takes place within the community, and is the only potentially independent unit within a group. Houses then are individual settings whose intrerelatedness through interaction and space forms a larger whole; the neighborhood, the block, the community.

An important feature to keep in mind about spatial variables in Harbour Deep is the nature of the communication process. Because of the absence of phones, all information is exchanged face-to-face, requiring physical presence. Unlike purely verbal communication such as the telephone,

face-to-face interaction contains information for others not personally involved in the interaction. Noting visits and visitors tells with whom one talks, and much about personal patterns--observations which are not possible with a telephone system. Isolation also has its effect upon this communication process--there are few outsiders bringing information into the community at random, and there are fewer "unknowns" in the interaction networks. The house will be a vital part of this information exchange as well as an integral part of personal life. Here the physical environment has an increased effect because of structural contact, and information exchange--aurally, visually, and physically.

Structure of the House

The Bridge

Approaching the house from outside, the first area in the cultural/physical sense is the bridge. The bridge is the wooden outside platform with steps to the ground, roofed over. In summer it is open-air, in winter it is shut in sometimes with plastic or wallboard, to cut down on the chill drafts inside the house. The box for wood is often found here, as well as the garbage container. In the summer, the bridge is the woman's domain. From the bridge she calls the

children, hangs out the clothes, shakes the tablecloths and mops, hails those on the road. The bridge gets a vigorous weekly scrubdown, which serves as a demonstration for others of the quality of cleanliness and efficiency in the house itself. Women comment on seeing another out scrubbing the bridge or hanging the clothes: "She's smarter than I am today." When the men return from the shop or errands, they are often asked whether a particular woman had scrubbed her bridge down yet. Sometimes the comment is unsolicited--the man will say upon returning from a day of fishing that he saw so and so scrubbing her bridge at 7 a.m. The bridge offers a main point of outside contact for the judging of other women's skills and "homemakership". The bridge acts too as a conversational forum for the women. From the bridge one can chat with someone on the road while continuing to work, and break off conversing when desired or the chore is done. For many of the women with smaller children, the bridge offers the only opportunity to catch up on recent occurrences. The bridge offers excuses to appear outside to chat to someone passing if information is wanted. We can conceptualize the bridge as the "contact zone" and a spatial "work efficiency" indicators in this context. It is a culturally specific work area with a definite place in the social interaction in Harbour Deep.

The Porch

The porch is the next area to consider, located immediately off of the bridge. This is the entry way into the house proper. Here tinned goods are stored in a pantry, and here one finds the deep freezer and the washing machine. In the porch, winter clothes and boots are taken off. Usually one window with a blind view into the hillside or the forest provides daylight. The outside door is always closed, to keep out the flies in summer, and to keep in the warmth in winter. This outside door will be 'locked' with a piece of twine when all are away, such as on a Sunday boat ride, or family berry hunt. Some houses have proper locks--in most cases to keep their own children out of mischief rather than through any fear of theft or damage. "Only strangers knock" we're all the same here so visitors simply walk in. The most vivid illustration of this cultural concept was the visit of the Mountie one night at a house. He gave a firm knock on the outside door, which appeared to momentarily freeze the six persons present in the kitchen. After a period of stunned silence and questioning looks, the wife with a bit of prompting went to the door.

As for other visitors, who they are depends on the nature of the household. Some households have fewer visitors either because of their location or their composition--older people do not get around as well, etc. The younger women during the day often run over to a nearby house for a break or

to watch "The Story" (a televised serial). Daughters frequently visit mothers and vice-versa, and fathers and sons usually get together either over their work or later on in the evening depending on the season. Brothers see each other often. Other visitors outside of the immediate family include some of the older people in the community who venture out to visit when the weather is fine, and people from outside of Harbour Deep who may be staying with relatives in the community, and make the rounds of old acquaintances. Men stop in this or that house of an evening unless they are out on the road (discussed in Chapter III). The casual visitor during the day--one who is seen regularly is often offered a cup of tea unless the housewife is busy with cleaning or baking, or the visitor has not come to stay for long. The men who drop by are offered tea if they stay for a 'lunch'. but not simply on appearance. If the visitor is one who is rarely seen--from outside--or holds an important position--such as the minister--tea is urged on them. This includes homemade sweets and baked goods, and often tea will be served in the best dishes. Visits imply many things depending on the visitor--sometimes women wish advice in cooking or sewing, and men need help with some work. The arrival of certain visitors means that a favor will be asked, or a collection is being taken. The variations are many.

Visitors are usually seen or heard before they reach the door from the porch to the kitchen. Because of the structuring of the bridge and the porch, those inside can

generally hear an arrival as he or she walks up the bridge steps, and opens the door. This allows a period of composure, and an "I wonder what that can be? Sounds like ____." If someone happens to be at a kitchen window during the day, the visitor is immediately identified. The Mountie by his knock signalled the arrival of an "unknown." In the winter the inside door to the kitchen is also shut, so the visitor has time to assess how many are in the kitchen by counting jackets and boots near the door. This system of construction, besides being practical, allows leeway for the expressed statement that "Everyone is welcome, I've never known a stranger" because the entry into the home itself is gradual, prefaced, and announced by visual and/or aural means. Seldom is one caught totally unaware. In the social world of Harbour Deep this moment of composure can be interpreted as a type of privacy, for one can assume the demeanor thought most appropriate, depending on the identity of the visitor. Here the structured environment maintains a series of checks between the personal and the outside.

The Kitchen

From the bridge to the porch, one moves into the arena of intense social activity--the kitchen. Here men, women and children interact. This is perhaps the most socially complex household space because of its variety of uses in the changing routine of daily existence. The women rule

the roost during the daylight hours--baking, washing, caring for children, cooking and cleaning. At night, with the men home, and more visitors in and out, it becomes an area of general use, still under the quiet jurisdiction of the lady of the house. In the winter, the kitchen is warm and friendly with the stove belting forth heat, and the smell of freshly baked bread pervading the air. The kitchen in construction is usually a near square. Our interest does not lie in the structure itself, but in the use of particular elements in the kitchen area. The furnishings and the arrangement of these are important, as well as the interactions for which the kitchen serves as a focal point.

Many of the things located in the kitchen are purely functional items, having no impact upon social situations except in their placement--e.g. the stove blocking a visual area, etc. The behavior associated with these elements is of a non-interactional character in a direct sense. However, these functional items do reflect goals and social values, since they signify certain categories of desirables--such as the modern, the familiar, the traditional. These particular items are the wood (or coal, wood, and oil) stove, the cupboards and the sink, and the electric range for some. The fixtures in a kitchen are always a subject for women's conversation, and a new stove is a much prized possession. Stories were told with pride of being the first in the community to own a sink and cupboard, considered a true reflection of modernity.

The kitchen walls are generally quite bare, with perhaps a few plaques which are inscribed with poems "To Mother", a wall planter with plastic flowers, and a calendar from a number of merchants along the White Bay coast. China figurines are kept on shelves by the sink, gifts from special occasions. Commonly one finds pictures of the Queen, of the Kennedys--and now of the Prime Minister and his wife--cut from magazines and posted. Each kitchen table has its plastic flower arrangement and brightly colored cloth, often with crocheted edges.

In ethnographies of Newfoundland outports, the daybed is the most often mentioned kitchen feature. It is usually a narrow couch about 6 feet long, with a removable cotton cover, and a matching pillow. This is frequented predominantly by males of all ages and visiting children. The men sit or recline, lolling comfortably. Children coming in sit, generally unmoving, watching until they decide to leave whenever they will. Women rarely use the daybed unless every other seat is taken, and they never recline. Women lie on the daybed "if she's ill." Women considered slovenly housekeepers are said to "even have time to nap on the daybed." Young teenage girls follow the male pattern of daybed use. The daybed seems to be informally defined as the male householder's domain, unless he is not present or is seated elsewhere. The daybed does not usually have a clear unobstructed view of the porch door, so that one must shift position in order to see who has arrived. For the men, undisturbed sleep is allowed here, with conversation

as usual and activity carrying on. In Harbour Deep "sleep serves as a way of doing nothing, of passing time" (Aubert and White 1965:193) for the sleeper will generally rouse himself when a visitor appears, especially if the visitor is one of the younger men who is likely to start poking or tickling. In this case, sleep is far from sacred! Within the family a snooze is allowed--especially during the fishing season and its 5 a.m. mornings.

Some of the women have removed the daybed, claiming it can never be kept clean what with men and children tracking in dirt and wrinkling the cover. In these cases, the woman's position as a dominant in the matter of household affairs is strongly illustrated. The housewife too in most of the families is the landlord in that she decides the sum to be paid for room and board--often without the husband being aware of what specific arrangements have been made. Boarders in a place such as Harbour Deep are the catechist, the Fisheries teacher, school teachers, government officials, researchers, etc. No 'tourists' board within the community.

The rocking chair is another item without which no kitchen is complete. It is considered the most comfortable seat, usually padded with a small pillow. An interesting point is that this particular piece has an age graded privilege pattern of use. Elderly women have first choice, then the elderly men, then the housewife followed by the husband, leaving the children to their own devices. An unusual guest (an outsider or an infrequent visitor) has preference over the wife in this

hierarchy, but will not unseat the elderly. In the rocking chair, one is put in the peculiar position of "non-expected interaction", as if rocking is involvement enough. Questions are not directed at the person in the rocker, and the conversation carries on of its own accord. Interaction is less focussed on the guest, especially if there are more than two people present. This reaction may perhaps be habitual to a certain extent because of the very pattern of rocking chair use. The elderly who often sit and listen, the mother rocking the child, or the wife engrossed in some handwork activities which often preclude conversation. The patterns of use can illustrate the variety of conceived statuses (such as age or guest) present in a culture.

The other features of interaction and physical setting are the kitchen table and chairs, which have an obvious cultural function--that of eating. Mail is read at the table, and forms filled out. Knitting and sewing are centered here, cards played, beer drunk. The kitchen chairs are always "safe" territory, open for all, not supplanting husband or wife. These chairs can be (and are) freely moved and positioned, tipped back, and sat upon in any fashion. From the kitchen table, there is in most cases a view of the road or of the harbour (or of both in some cases) depending on the positioning of the house in the community. This visual dimension is important when arranging a living space. In most of the houses, a view affording possible information is a 'must'. One can either see the road, the harbour, or both.

Few have no view at all.

These are the elements common Harbour Deep kitchens, whether in homes of the young or the old, modern or traditional. The kitchen to a great degree is the home, with its inward and outward directed foci: inward on the family and home interaction, outward on community information and activity. Visitors channel their attention to the home and the meeting area which is the kitchen, while members of the household spend much of their time together in the kitchen, interacting with those coming in and observing whatever may be seen from the window. As a spatial setting--because of its use definition in Harbour Deep society--the kitchen serves the social and personal needs in a large variety of ways, forming an activity center. But changes are occurring in the physical setting and its use when new activities are introduced and the social emphasis is shifted. This is most clearly evident in "The Room."

The Room

The Room is an area off the kitchen, sometimes separated by a door, sometimes not, although most women prefer to have a door. Traditionally it was seldom used by the family, reserved for guests and precious belongings such as family pictures, fancy glassware, etc. It has only the one door, and thus does not function as a thoroughfare. Furnished with a couch and a few easy chairs, perhaps a sewing machine

or a china cabinet, it makes an ideal storage area for pampered potted plants, baked goodies that will not fit in an overflowing cupboard, and crochet and knitted work. The traditional meaning of the unused and special Room has changed with the coming of TV. The Room is now an alternate living area. The set is here, gathering the children and other viewers as a regular audience. The focus of social life has now shifted, split between the kitchen and the Room plus TV set. The importance of this in the life of the family is that the social interaction in these two settings is qualitatively different, the one built on the art of conversation and anecdote, the other on passive reception. With the TV there is less exchange of stories and tales--except in the case where a program may be discussed. In those families not possessing a tube, the Room remains unmussed. Without the gathering for a program, the Room is vacant, being unheated and out of visual communication with the kitchen and the entry way. One feels "cut off" from the flow of interaction when in the Room.

In those kitchens where the daybed has been removed, the men have shifted their resting spells to the couch in the Room, but the social function of the daybed is defunct here because it is out of touch with the kitchen, the Room couch reserved almost solely for sleeping. For the arrival of a visitor, the sleeper will usually arise and appear in the kitchen for a greeting. On a Sunday, the father of one family was accustomed to lie on the couch, listening to the

Salvation Army preacher on the radio, dozing on and off for the greatest part of the day. This family still has the kitchen daybed. Sometimes when guests (special visitors, such as kin from outside the community, government officials, etc.) are present, everyone settles politely (and usually comfortably because of the lack of seating space) in the Room until lunch appears, a signal to return to the familiarity of the kitchen.

The remainder of the house is not in the social interaction scene, falling into the category of individual, non-public areas. In these areas we find interesting cultural components as well. According to Goffman in Behavior in Public Places, by definition public places "refer to any regions in a community freely accessible to members of that community; 'private places' refer to soundproof regions where only members or invitees gather" (1963:9). By this definition there are no private places in Harbour Deep, there being no "soundproof regions" because of the materials and methods of house construction (to be discussed further in dealing with aural information). Here, non-public areas will be those that are visually private and not open to all. The bedrooms are not common open areas, but are used for sleep and study plus other daily functions. Even then, bedrooms are often shared with the young children sleeping together depending on the space available. The youngest often sleep with the parents. Having one's own bedroom is not considered essential, and more space is made as the older ones go off to school or to work outside

the community. There is not usually any occasion to use the bedrooms in another's house, but sometimes these are shown as part of a guided tour,⁹ so the bedrooms are not totally "taboo" areas for the visitor. The bathroom in some cases in Western society could be described as a spatial source of conflict--especially in those families with two or more teenage girls. Because of the emphasis on personal appearance, tempers flare at the monopolizing of this area, especially if more pressing bodily functions are necessary (although there are those who think that nothing is more pressing than their eye makeup...). The same holds true for Harbour Deep. The bathroom is rarely used by visitors, until one becomes familiar as a frequent contact.

The storage space under the house is an integral part of the household space. Here the homemade jams, jellies, and preserves are kept. This is the root cellar, keeping home grown and shop bought potatoes, turnips, carrots, and cabbage cool and away from the light. The only evidence of a cellar is the woman's disappearance under the house before the cooking begins--it is never mentioned in conversation, except as a threatening place to put bad children. Many of the women still keep all their bulk foodstuffs (salt beef, pork, flour, onions, turnips) out in a separate small shed called "the store". The store may be across the road or nearer to the house, but to prepare a meal one must grab a knife and saucepan, and fetch what is needed. Foodstuffs now are also kept on the porch.

Aural and Visual concerns of the House in Harbour Deep

The aural and visual concerns take on a particular cast due again to characteristics native to Harbour Deep. House construction in the community is incredibly unsoundproof--seemingly for technological reasons--and the people are aware of, and influenced by, this fact. Especially in summer, when windows are open, those close to neighbors or to the road must always keep in mind vocal level, and subject matter. As Michelson (1970) concludes, they are not so much bothered by the noise, but rather are restrained from making noise. In a loud table conversation, the housewife cautions the men about being overheard. Being close to the road means then that one can gather information, but one can also become the source of information, or the subject of conversation.

Inside the house as well, "soundproofness" seems to be a determining factor in how others behave in the house. Many times upon coming downstairs I would elicit from the men the sheepish comment "I thought you were gone", even if I hadn't been the topic of conversation. Often people entering would ask where I was, whether because my presence would alter their behavior, or because my whereabouts was of interest I am not certain. Because of the ability to "hear through the walls" those inside can identify footsteps, and even skidoos. Conversely one can usually tell by listening outside just who is in the house, and what is going on--a card game, the TV, etc. This allows the same sort of preparation for one

about to enter a home as it does for those inside when they know who it is that is coming. From information gathered aurally and visually it is possible to decide on a course of action depending on whom one wishes to see. Through the medium of sound, the household spatial field is expanded to include an outside surrounding area, such that people outside of the house become a generalized part of the interaction taking place within because of this ability to discern what is going on inside in many instances. Those inside also make use of these aural and visual channels.

The visual expansion of interior space is noticeably dominant in Harbour Deep. The windows play an extremely important role in social relations. Not only are children kept under surveillance by parents, and the comings and going of people on the road noted, but through visual means a major source of information and entertainment is provided. The window act as keys to outside events and to information exchange. Every householder's visual field varies with the position of his home. In other words, you can see what is going on better from some houses than you can from others. Also, because of the layout of the community, different sections have access to different kinds of information. For example, not every house has a view of the steamer as it approaches the harbour, and not all can see who it is that is on their way up to the nursing station. Hence we have a variable information pool, depending on location within the community. An unknown boat entering the harbour causes much speculation: what is

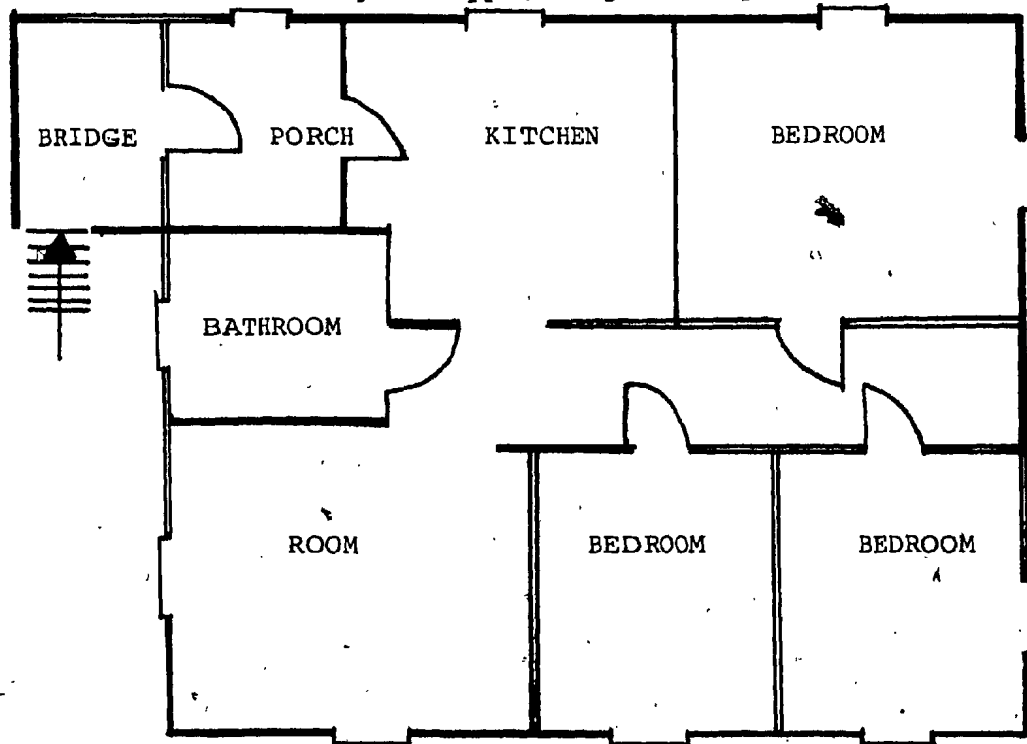
its purpose? who is on it? how long will it stay? etc. The mission plane and other sea planes land on the harbour-- again a great source of conjecture. Calling out the arrival of the steamer on the first sight is a major event, especially if one wishes to get to the wharf before she docks, or has luggage to get ready and loaded. Men returning from a day of fishing can be seen from some points earlier than from others. Some in the community, if they are situated behind other houses, or behind a point, will have little access to this particular kind of "harbour-related" information, and must either go out in search of news, or wait until someone brings it to them. The entertainment provided by visual information carries on constantly in the form of a "conjecture game" (or so it could be called). The conjecture game is studded with "I wonder..."s and operates in a statement/restatement fashion. "That's probably-----here for fish. Perhaps he'll stay for the night." "Nawtatall! That's the-----". "She's here for the nurse." At this point the debate usually becomes hot and heavy until positive information arrives, usually in the form of a man or a child. "I wonder when..."s are especially prevalent, so that a watch is kept at the window for the arrival of the awaited event. Much is idle talk, since none may be particularly dependent on the specific arrival, but it provides an endless source of conversation, idle questions developing into full fledged explanations. Speculations on the steamer are always able to stimulate conversation, and rushing to the window with a false alarm of

"Here comes the steamer!" is a great joke, especially if someone jumps. Visual information is supplemented by visitors coming in, by sending children out (not often done) or by children returning, or by hailing a passerby on the road from the bridge. Certain visual events function as a source of common shared enjoyment, such as calling everyone to the window to wave to a woman passing on the road, who used to live in the community, but had since moved away.

But visual information alone is not sufficient to clue one in on the events taking place. Those up on the hill in SW Bottom have a panoramic view of the harbour entrance, the road through the bottom, and the nursing station approach. Visual access with an absence of personal contact would cause the informational world to be "lopsided", especially in this case where the distance from the road also cuts out the aural dimension.

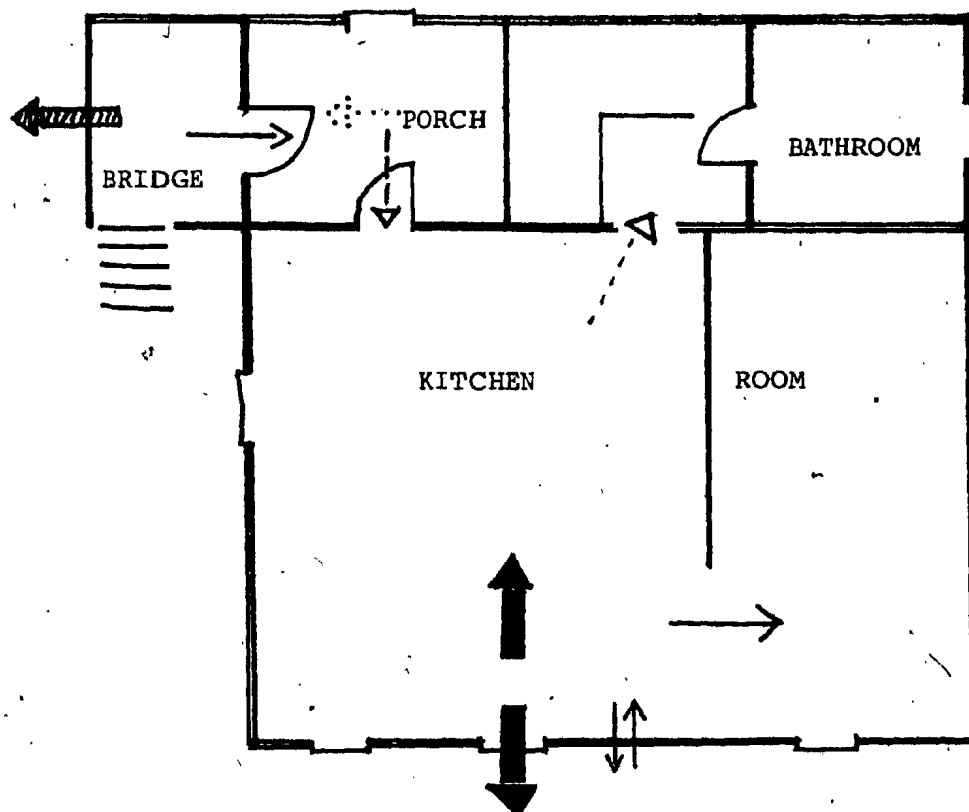
Each of these spatial factors--construction for personal contact, acoustical field, and visual field directs the focus of interaction inward or outward, depending on the specific area and its use as culturally defined. These varying focal directions and quantity of interaction are plotted diagrammatically in Figure 3 so that we can picture each space and its social patterns. As shown in this diagram, for the people of Harbour Deep in interactional terms the bridge has a strong outward focus, as do the kitchen windows. The kitchen itself engages interactions that are most strongly focused on activity within the kitchen, as it becomes the

Figure 2: Harbour Deep House Types
Bungalow type, Single Story



SCALE: 1" = 5 ft.

Figure 3: Interaction Patterns
Inward and outward focus for each area of use



major area of contact between the household and the outside. The visitor pattern directs moderate inward focus from the bridge to the porch and hence to the kitchen; and moderate focus as well is channeled toward the Room without TV. With the TV, the Room becomes another strong inward focal center. The non-public areas of the bathroom and the bedrooms play a small part in the particular interaction between the family and the community. These various patterns are quantifiable enough to illustrate and aide in defining the living spaces within a Harbour Deep house, considering face-to-face contact, acoustic zones and visual fields--all dimensions of spatial usage with the house as a whole at the center.

From the foregoing we can ask what is the impact of the aural and the visual fields on community structures. In Gan's work The Urban Villagers (1962) he posits that surveillance of everyone by everyone else was of such prime importance because of the fear that some other pattern might develop, and disrupt the binding social networks in the community. We can speculate that in Harbour Deep's spatial world, the aural, visual, and contact dimensions function to distinguish one house from another, and so for the people within them. As in the case of SW Bottom, some locations are isolates in one dimension or another, which creates patterns of exchange and information flow. Each location would thus emphasize the three types of information (contact, aural, visual) differently, depending on visitors, closeness to the road, and view. Some locations are almost self-sufficient in

respect to information: they are convenient for passersby, are close to a well travelled path, and can see a great deal of what is going on. Some areas within the community are very powerful in an information sense because of their easy access, while others might be termed weak in that they have little opportunity to catch a "piece of the action". Community cohesion for Harbour Deep is affected by the dependence or self-sufficiency of each of its component parts, because of the necessity for face-to-face contact in information exchange. Assuming that a greater amount of contact creates a greater degree of cohesion, it can be seen that the feeling of community is undermined in some instances because of the information self-sufficiency of some locations, while it is strengthened by the informational requirements of other locations. For example: the Point (a small section of the community) is close to the government wharf where the boats and planes usually tie up. They are close to the source of information in all the dimensions of exchange: personal contact, aural, and visual. People pass the houses on the Point to go to the merchants', to visit others at opposite ends of the community, and in some cases to collect mail. Hence the Point is in the thick of things. Some other locations though are deficient in some way: they may be able to collect information visually but not verify it through contact; they may depend on personal contact alone if a view is not possible. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the reverse is also

true, in that if one is closer to the road, the people on the road are also closer to you so that one becomes a source of information as well. This intermingling of internal and external information with its spatial basis is the foundation of community cohesion. The importance of location and proximity in community and home life can be understood for a culture such as Harbour Deep which places a value on information exchange as a type of personal exchange. The home with its internal and external directed interaction maintains a central position for the members of this community. The relatedness of community and personal space will be discussed in the next chapter, which deals with community.

The last aspect regarding the house and spatial factors is the area of home improvements. The changes that are made, as well as those that are desired, tell an observer much about goals and aspirations in a society. The redecorating which takes place in Harbour Deep illustrates some of the homeowner's basic concerns. In this community, most of the refurbishing and altering is done with the woman as instigator. She is the driving force when the question of home improvement arises. Most of the actual changes made reveal a concern with the new, a striving for modernity and convenience, and an attempt to maximize the possibilities presented by the environment and the tools at hand. Because the selection of modern items such as kitchen chrome tables sets or electric ranges is very small, limited by catalogue choice, the expression of individuality has been shunted to a very few

sectors such as the color of the outside of the house and indoor color combinations. The old is an embarrassment, unless it is seen as valuable and antique, the definition of which has been supplied from those coming into the community from the outside during the past few years. Along with electrical appliances, windows are symbols of the new, depending on their size and construction. A large window in the Room is an aspiration of most families. The emphasis on windows may revolve around the problem of receiving them intact as well as the importance of the visual field. Historically windows were a luxury. Windows have been removed from upstairs bedrooms in some cases, because of the increased draughts in winter. This demonstrates a concern with comfort even over an increased visual area. The bedrooms also are not used as often as lookouts, since they are removed from the social arena of the house. Ease in care is a primary goal of one older resident, who lowered his ceilings so that his wife could clean them without standing on a chair. Here as in the presence or absence of the daybed the woman's aspirations are felt--the man's realm is not the most powerful on the home front.

In this discussion, an attempt has been made to extract the conflicts and ideals in the social realm as they link with physical/structural counterparts to guide behavior. Harbour Deep constructs and utilizes its man-made environment based on certain underlying cultural precepts which have a spatial dimension and spatial imperatives. In a study of space

as a cultural system, it is necessary to take into account not only the specific forms we observe but the use of these and their extensions as well. In reviewing the specifics of the Harbour Deep spatial world, a pattern based on the expressed and the understood is made more clear. There is the expression of open welcome for any visitor--yet house construction allows a variety of "checks and balances" for both the householder and for the visitor. Each spatial zone provides a particular boundary of contact between the outside and the family, with its own specific rules and guidelines to social interaction. Through the progression from bridge to porch, to kitchen, we move from the public to the more personal and intimate. From the kitchen to the porch, the shift is from an interior to an exterior space. Each area is spatially amenable to its use, depending on its part in the household pattern. Basing our observations on the spatial/physical patterns, we find that many of the points that are evident from a study of this system are mirrored in the Harbour Deep style of life. Expressed but modified friendliness and respect for guests, and expressed and demonstrated desire for modernity and cleanliness are elements of this life style. The particular configurations that these expressions assume can be viewed as particular adaptations to community isolation, where one is dependent on others within the community, their good will and aid, in case of emergency or for everyday functioning. There is the need but there are also the safeguards, as the discussion of the forewarned entry into the house demonstrated. The

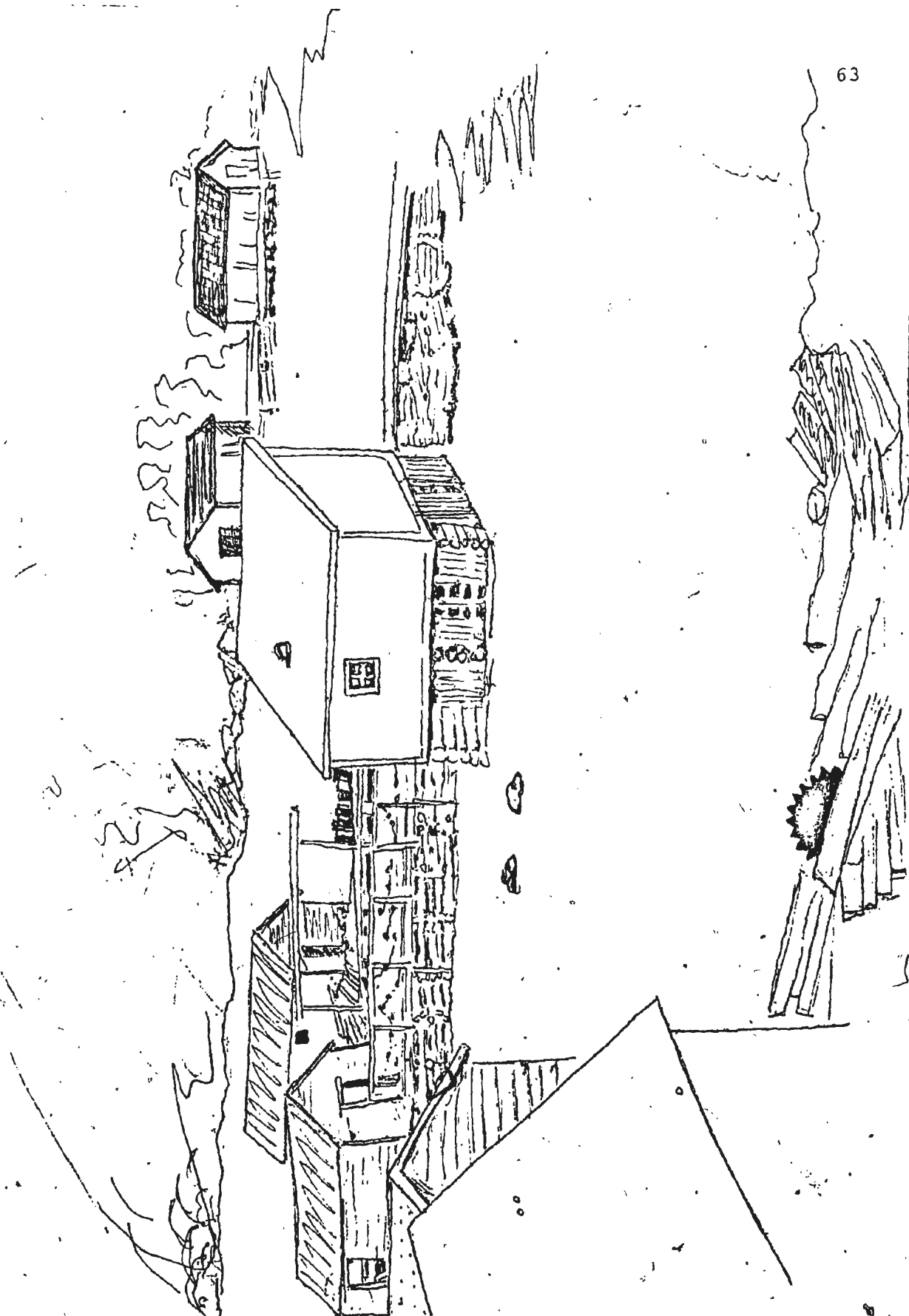
construction of the physical environment and its cultural use blends the ideal behavior as it expressed with actual behavior as it occurs daily. The physical world as it is structured creates a highly developed setting for the interaction that occurs between the individual and the group.

Harbour Deep, like any community, must find its own resolution of the vital conflict between impingement on the individual from those outside, and the regulation of personal contact. This is resolved in Harbour Deep through structure and understood rules of interaction. Since space itself does not determine behavior per se, each of the areas examined in the house is a demonstration of the cultural input and effect of the spatial system as it relates to life.

The natural environment as a spatial factor gives Harbour Deep its own certain layout and settlement pattern-- socially and physically. Since we have now dealt with the house, we can expand our focus outward to include a larger whole, the composite unit of the community. From Amos Rapoport we draw our concluding statement:

Finally, houses also provide the best way of relating the whole system of house, settlement, landscape, and monumental buildings to the way of life (1964:10).

Figure 4
STAGES, FLAKES AND STORES



CHAPTER III

The Community as a Spatial System

For the spatial analysis of a community compared to that of the house, it is necessary to expand our outlook to include a more complex whole. The emphasis is on the patterns and configurations that extend throughout the community at large. The house in the previous chapter was depicted in light of its physical space as this reflected cultural themes. In that chapter various spatial constructions and the behavior associated with each formed a cohesive and coherent system in a cultural context. A link in a spatial sense was formed between the house and its surroundings through the visual, aural and personal contact dimensions of daily life. A community spatial study entails a different aspect of this level and type of analysis, in that the inter-personal patterns that are elicited are patterns of community use in more of a "public" than in a "personal" vein. I hesitate to use the word "private" in relation to Harbour Deep because of those factors discussed in the previous chapter: i.e. the home (in particular the kitchen) does not fully qualify as a totally "private" space because of its universal access. Hence the community's pattern of spatial webs is a result of the interaction of the effect of the natural environment and man-made structures. Community patterns are not individually regulated, but are the final combination of the personal and the public. An overview of the community networks is an excellent illustration of collective and individual use patterned on the physical and

social construction of space. The context for behavior is determined by the design of the community itself, and in Harbour Deep it is the natural environment which is the shaping factor on the layout.

Again, keeping in mind the principle that space itself is a variable in interaction, primary analysis is made of the community on one level--that of the gross physical grouping, the pattern of settlement. In looking at Harbour Deep as a community, we shall attempt to discern if external space such as inter-residence distance, the placement of non-residential features such as shops, etc. is a dominant factor in intra-community interaction. The house as a unit has been viewed as a focal center with ties to the surroundings through extensions of its internal space. Now we need to look at community in order to place these units in some sort of whole, related through space and public areas. Are physical groupings within the community also social groups, and how do these various groups relate through space, how do they overlap? It is this secondary type of analysis which leads beyond the physical layout.

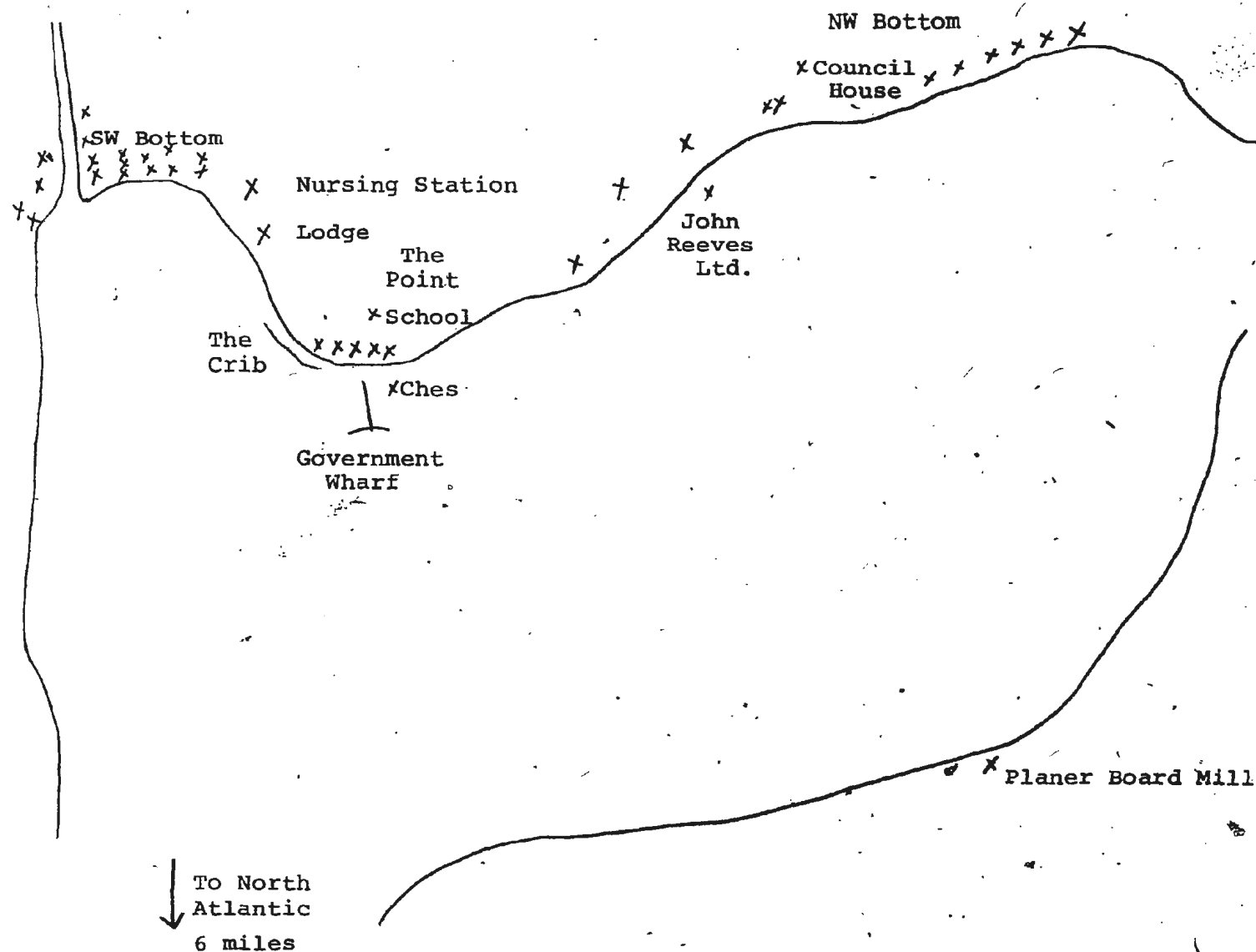
Physical Layout--Harbour Deep

The physical environment is a dominant feature in Harbour Deep, with its steep hills and deep waters. Because of level land, construction sites are few, and even though livelihood is gained primarily through fishing, home gardens

are a great boon to the family larder. Harbour Deep, with its population of about 300 and an end-to-end distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles stands out as a clearly defined, limited social and physical setting. The community is separated into three distinct geographical portions--primarily the result of a rough natural terrain--which have taken on social connotations as well. The sections are: the Northwest Bottom, the Point, and the Southwest Bottom. Each area is named for a physical feature--the two bottoms are at opposite ends of the community along small streams, while the Point is a level stretch protruding slightly into the harbour (see Map 3). Between the Point and SW Bottom, the hillside is precipitous, forming steep sea cliffs. This used to be negotiated by means of various board bridges, but a road has now been blasted and bulldozed for greater travelling ease and convenience. Along one cliff where a road is simply not feasible, a crib-work roadway has been built. The distance between the Point and SW Bottom is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The cliff blocks any view until a certain point is reached on the crib. SW Bottom has about 30 families, and the Point about 13. Flat land is more abundant in SW Bottom than in either other area, which may account for its greater density.

The demarcation between the Point and NW Bottom is not as definite as that between the Point and SW Bottom. The feature of separation is a granite face, now a gradual road. NW Bottom is more widely spread, with 19 families in a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distance. It stretches along the shallowing water of the

Map 3: Harbour Deep
1½ miles



harbour where it meets the rocky course of the stream. Because of the shallows, when the tide goes out much of the water frontage here becomes mud flats.

These are the three divisions and their ecologic base. In a later discussion in this chapter we will find that these divisions are not only physical, but have been credited with their own individual characters by those in the community. Each physical area can be correlated with a community value that corresponds to an idea of class and status. Before entering into this topic, we shall look at the exact make-up of the community in more detail, with an emphasis on settlement and interactional focal points.

The SW Bottom was settled predominantly by those who moved in from the outside coves in 1924, while those in NW Bottom are for the most part the newer residents from the Northeast Arm. The houses of many were barged in, up the arm of the sea, and landed on the beach, positioned from there by means of block and tackle. In SW Bottom, the houses are two or three deep from the beach front in places, now that more dwellings have been built. The Bottom was totally covered with thick stands of evergreens, the brook was close by so the prime spatial concern was flat land. After the trees were cut down in later years, the people were aware of how closely together they were settled. Said one older woman: "Yes my dear! People wouldn't have built so close nowadays--but we couldn't see each other so plain then"--a comment on the visual domain on a community scale.

Each fishing crew's flake, stage and store is positioned along the waterfront, most often in front of the owner's house. A few years ago, when two new families moved in from other areas, one man barged his house in, and then dragged it as far as possible up the stream bed to position it on the bank. Another simply floated his in on a high tide (moving a stage or two), and beached it. Gradually he has built up ground around the foundation--but the site still floods periodically during the year. Kin tend to build close to each other on the male side, if space permits. Residence is patri-local, with newlyweds living with the husband's parents until they can start their own home. The pattern appears viri-local as the family ages, since the parents most often move in with one of their sons. One of the factors in deciding on a house location is that of work and partners. Traditionally fathers and sons fished together, so their equipment, nets, boats, and stage were a central concern. Living near each other was practical and convenient, and they could aid in building new residences. Now with the children going out to University, and staying to work, the traditional pattern no longer exists to such a great extent. Settlement patterns then are a result of environmental factors, such as flat land, work patterns, such as a common occupation, and social groupings.

The residents of NW Bottom are primarily those who lived in the area called Northeast Arm (or 'the other arm') until ten years ago when the settlements consolidated. NW Arm is along the same sea inlet as Harbour Deep, but it is closer

to the open ocean, separated from the present community by a steep headland. The consolidation was a forced move--NE Arm was left without a school or a steamer stop. About 13 families were living in the Arm at the time, some having already shifted into Harbour Deep itself.

With this brief description and by using the maps provided, the reader can hopefully gain a general feeling for the layout of the community as it is mediated by physical/environmental features. With this layout in mind, community interaction in terms of spatial variables can be more clearly understood.

The effects of proximity and environmentally enforced spacing can be perceived at two different levels--that of the micro scale, and that of the macro scale--both levels dealing with the closeness of the relationship between the social and the physical groupings. At the micro level, a separating distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile is a barrier to interaction within the community. "Why, I haven't seen Kate since last Christmas. Never get down that way." This is especially true for some of the elderly who are not comfortably mobile (during the provincial election the owner of the community's only vehicle took those unable to walk to the polling place in the lodge. For some of these people it was the first time in about twenty years that they had been to the SW Bottom). On the macro scale on the other hand, the $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile extent of the community appears minute, which brings forth such comments as the observation that Harbour Deep must be "one big happy

family" (a comment made by a crew member of a pulp wood ship). This study will be based on the micro level, attempting to discern community space as the people themselves perceive and use it. We will want to know how the physical environment (in both the natural and man-made realms) affects the daily life of the inhabitants and their attitudes toward the community and others living in it. Again, the major problem to be studied is the overlap between these attitudes and physical space as cultural components and the effect of these components upon the definitions of those in the community concerning others within the community.

In a spatial analysis of community life, we become aware of various focal points and activity centers, just as in the study of the house a number of living areas became more clearly defined as to their place in the pattern of interaction.

In Harbour Deep, with its geographical layout, these focal points and activity centers are of extreme importance, as forces in everyday encounters. The analogy of a beautifully functioning flywheel engine could be applied to the community and its workings; interdigitated wheels, of various dimensions and varying contacts revolve around numerous centers, presenting a series of contacts flowing into one another. Some wheels are more isolated and smaller, while some have a multitude of contacts. Nonetheless, the rotation of one causes movement throughout. Such is daily life in Harbour Deep, with its interactional wheels constantly turning, the centers of which we shall term focal points.

Community Patterns: Focal Points

A list of the "public" areas and their locations, with reference to Map 3 (pg. 67) will aid in an understanding of the community process as a whole. These are the specific elements of spatial interest on a community scale.

Harbour Deep has a Post Office, a nursing station run by the Grenfell Mission, a power plant giving 24 hour service, a school for grades 1 through 10, a government wharf, a theater-poolhall-youth hall, seven shops (three attached to homes, two larger cash-and-carry establishments, and two merchants), a lodge which was the previous school, the Community Council house, and the Anglican Church. Located in the SW Bottom are: the Post Office, the nursing station, the lodge, two of the small shops and one cash-and-carry shop, and the church. On the Point is the school, the power plant, the theater, the government wharf, the other cash-and-carry and one small shop, and the local merchant--Chesley Pittman and Sons. NW Bottom is the site of the other merchant--John Reeves Ltd.--and the new council house. The location of these places has influenced the specific patterns of interaction that have developed. We will term each of these places a focal point, discussing their particular spatial-interactional attributes, and the part that their precise locations have played in the formation of attitudes and networks.

Focal Points and Community Use

From the enumeration of public constructions and their locations, two things are apparent that would conceivably affect community interaction: the first is that most of the focal points are either in SW Bottom or on the Point; the second is that each community section claims a government service element. What is most important for our purposes is the relative weight that each focal point carries in terms of contact and interaction: i.e. some points have a very limited use and have little effect on interaction within the community as a whole. To determine the importance of each element in the daily lives of these people, we refer to general ethnographic information as background upon which to base observations. The fact that Harbour Deep is isolated except for travel by water, and mail delivery, places importance on certain points for interaction, such as the government wharf and the Post Office--if their ties outside the community are considered by the people to be vital, which is a question, we must ask. Reminding ourselves of the isolated situation and emphasizing the necessity for face-to-face, person-to-person contact, we can look at the use of focal elements in the community.

Harbour Deep Spatial Systems

Public areas are usually designated for a specific use--additional usages are added by the particular needs of the community. For example, a school, by definition, is for the instruction of certain age groups at certain times. But it may also be used as a teenage hangout, a community center, a dance hall. Different locations then have defined as well as habitualized uses.

When buildings are constructed within the community various amounts of planning are employed. The Post Office and small shops are attached to the proprietor's home--a limitation to location--but the other public places on the list have no such constraints. Thus some locations are the result of planning with the total community in mind, and some locations are the result of historical accident (i.e. SW Bottom was the primary settlement and hence has the church and the old school).

SW Bottom

Through watching the road and the harbour, and by taking part in the daily activities, Harbour Deep becomes alive to the observer. The mail arrives Tuesday and Friday nights by boat in the warmer seasons, once a week by plane in the winter. It is sorted and collected by the people on the next day of business. Picking up the mail has its regular

routine for each family. Who does the collecting depends on family composition, distance and weather. Sometimes older people who have all day are sent, sometimes children go after school. Those from NW Bottom must take a relatively long journey to the Office, passing the merchants and shops on their way. This means that collecting the mail takes longer for them, but it also means that they have a chance to pick up community information and visits along their way. Some come by boat, a much quicker trip, but with no contacts. Those on the Point have a shorter trek, while those in SW Bottom can run up the hill--a ten minute job. Their opportunity to chat is limited to a shorter distance, and to those that they might run into at the Office. The arrival of the mail brings representatives of the entire community in SW Bottom.

At the Post Office is the CNT set, over which phone messages and telegrams are sent and received. The post mistress collects for C.O.D. parcels, fills out more orders, sells stamps, and operates the CNT radio-telephone. Thus a great deal of information about those in the community is channeled through her: she sorts the mail, send messages, handles money--but for her there is a definite separation between business and personal information. All interaction dealing with the Post Office is strictly confidential, and the only news imparted to others is that dealing with her own personal interactions. This would of course depend on the individual in the post mistress position: the office here functions for the most part as a formal communication center.

The nursing station, an imposing structure along the road to the Point, draws people for limited events and reasons. The nurse makes a daily round of the community, so the people come to the station only for treatment, emergencies, or special services such as the arrival of the eye doctor (the people are always extremely willing for the most part to pay a call to a visiting doctor, especially if they are told to do so by the nurse). News of the patients at the hospital in St. Anthony can be obtained at the station or through the nurse by means of a radio set in the station. The fact of the station being close or far away seems in general to be of little consequence, because it is a frequent destination as is the Office. What matters is the time involved: how long it takes to get the nurse; how often one must go for treatment; what the weather is like. The station is also used now and then to house certain visitors, for weddings and such. The station functions as a point of security because it is there and represents medical aid. As a public area it plays a small role in daily community life.

The lodge is also along the road to the Point and similarly to the nursing station it acts as a focal point only in special circumstances. This used to be the community school, but now is used for the Men's Orange Lodge meetings (Sweet Lily Lodge), the Anglican's Women's Association meetings, soup suppers to raise money for the church, wedding receptions for the whole community, and courses given by the Fisheries College in the fall of the year. To attend any

of these functions except for the classes, one must venture out on foot at night--which does not deter many when a "Time is on the go." The lodge does not bring people into SW Bottom itself, but rather functions to bring the three areas together socially. The events held in the lodge are not universally attended--not everyone belongs to one organization or the other, or cares to go to the social events. Also, when the stove must be kept warm, and the children looked after, either husband or wife must stay home. Which of the two attends the gathering is usually dependent on the type of function and the time of night. At a Time or soup supper the women and children plus teenagers are most likely to be present earlier in the evening, for most likely the men will be socializing elsewhere. Towards midnight all gather for a dance, and a little fun. So in most cases, the group in the lodge at any time is a select group, depending the variety of factors at work.

The community Anglican Church was built eight years ago by the community with totally volunteer labour. It was repainted in the summer of 1971, again by volunteers, and the women in the community form weekly work parties to sweep and mop, and do whatever cleaning is necessary. The church is the site of special events such as weddings, baptisms, and confirmations as well as the usual Sunday service. An evening service, delivered by a lay reader (the principal of the school) is part of every Sunday. During the summer with the arrival of

the catechist two services are given--a morning and an evening one. Hymns are sung accompanied by the church organ--two of the women in the community take turns playing. The morning service is attended by men and children only, so that the women can cook Sunday dinner. The evening service is attended by women and children for the most part, with a few men present. Even without the morning service, the attendance of the men in the evening did not increase. Usually there are between 50 and 70 persons in attendance. Each family sits in a certain pew each Sunday, and here they leave their hymnals and prayer books. People are identified as to which section of the community they come from. Few of the men sit with their families, and instead they occupy three or four rows in the back of the church. Church for the children is entertainment, when they can poke or tickle each other until some adult puts an end to the shenanigans with a cuff or a stern word. Many in SW Bottom said they used to go to church regularly "down the other arm", but never now with it so far away--but this reason for not attending is expressed by the women, for the proportion of men not attending church who live quite nearby is also high. This distance factor for the individual affects knowledge of current events in the community--in church announcements are made concerning future socials, collections, or church news, such as the bishop's proposed date of arrival, the start of catechism classes, the progress of the Sunday school section.

Sunday is the women's day off, and they take full advantage of it. Women from SW Bottom visit friends in

NW Bottom and on the Point, and vice-versa. After church the men stand outside in a group, watching and talking, while the women go to visit friends for a cup of tea and a lunch, leaving their husbands home to watch the children and tend the fire. Women may stop by when the wife is elsewhere visiting, and will either wait for her, talking with the man at home, or will move on to another house. If a man is known to be "watching the fire", other men may on occasion drop by for a Sunday call. This is not necessarily to avoid the wife, but rather to provide some masculine company. Here the location of the church affects its attendance composition and also affects the make-up of the women's socializing group. From the nature of their daily routine, and intra-community work projects, the men are in contact more with one another than are the women, regardless of where they live. The church in this case seems to function not as an integrating activity, but rather as a scheduled activity and a meeting place for the women. In the church and its congregation we have the first example of sexual difference in the use of a public place--a difference which will be found to be basic to much of the activity in Harbour Deep.

The shops in SW Bottom itself are used mostly as "neighborhood" groceries: small items for immediate use are bought there, the bigger supply shopping being done at the larger shops. The kids buy ice cream and candy in large quantities at these shops, and the men buy their cigarettes and tobacco. One of these shops has the only license to sell beer

in Harbour Deep, and as a result draws more than just those from SW Bottom. Beer drinking is not allowed in the shop itself, so it does not function as any sort of tavern. Women usually send the children, even those of four or five, to the small shops for a needed item--possible because of proximity, an important feature in daily activity, a feature that NW Bottom lacks. In the evening one or two men gather here to watch the activity, talk to the customers and exchange a few tidbits of news. The women might have the chance to stop for a few minutes at the shop during the day, if the children are all in school, or if one of the older ones is at home, but they rarely spend much time in the shops socializing.

The larger cash-and-carry shop is very near the crib, a ten minute walk past the station and the lodge from the Bottom. The prices at this place are quite reasonable and it carries the only Ski-doo parts in the community. This shop is a branch of a Sops Arm based operation, and has quite a good selection--but does not extend the same type of credit as that given by the merchants. Unused to the cash economy, the people are reluctant to take advantage of the better prices. Also, loading from this shop is a bit more awkward if one comes by boat, which is the general transportation for the weekly provisioning which is on a larger scale than the small item day-to-day buying. With 50 lbs. of flour, a 50 lb. bucket of salt beef or pork or both, and pounds of potatoes, onions, and cabbage, one usually needs a boat! This cash-and-carry has a more difficult location for loading but is gradually

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expanding its clientele. All of these shops as focal points are similar in their use of "loitering" spots, especially for the men and the young unmarried chaps when there is no immediate work that must be done.

These are the focal points in the SW Bottom, and an interesting pattern emerges: focal points such as the Office that increase traffic but not visiting and interaction are offset by others such as the lodge which has the opposite effect. Some focal points have a strictly local (meaning from the Bottom) use, while others draw their clientele from the community at large, again increasing traffic and interaction networks within the Bottom. How do these focal points in SW Bottom compare and contrast with those in the other sections, and how do they relate to the community as a whole?

The Point

Two of the important community focal points are located on the Point--the school and the government wharf. The school is new, the most eye catching structure in the settlement, built high on the hill overlooking the wharf. There are three rooms with an enrollment of 99 pupils. It is also used for Sunday school classes, public meetings, and certain types of social functions (such as fancy weddings) when permission is given by the school board. Before the October '71 provincial election, the Liberal member for White Bay North held a public meeting in the school which was extremely well attended, at least one

member of each family present plus a scattering of young people. The men lined the walls at the rear, with the women for the most part sitting near the front. There seem to be no sanctions in this society about sitting with the opposite sex, but men and women sit as distinct groups out of preference and familiarity--another illustration of separate realms based on sex in terms of common interests and knowledge.

When school is in session the kids during recess rush down to the shops on the Point, spending pennies on apples and caramels and bars. Placed in the center of the community, the school draws the children to the most traversed portion of the community, the Point. Its location was not by accident, as it was felt that a midway point was only fair for the children in SW or NW Bottom. Because of its type of function, the school acts as a limited focal point within the community, removing the children but not directly involving the older people except when it is the hall for a meeting.

The government wharf contributes to creating a hub of activity on the Point. The steamer calls twice a week in summer, collecting and discharging passengers and freight. All incoming boats dock here, whether pleasure yachts, fishery boats, or the Strathcona from the Grenfell Mission. During the summer, most of the community, especially the young people, turn out for the arrival of the steamer, watching the passengers and helping with the unloading. The wharf as a focal element provides entertainment, information, and business all rolled into one. Here is the prime source of first hand information

as to exterior events. The wharf, is the coming together of the outside and the inside worlds, the contact zone itself--analogous to the porch of the house. A further discussion of the steamer and its part in the definition of Harbour Deep's isolation will be contained in the next chapter.

The local merchant is directly off the wharf, so that the goods unloaded from the steamer can be taken directly to his shop or into the storage space. Some of the older men say that the wharf should have gone in SW Bottom, since a vote was taken on the desired location for the wharf and the outcome designated SW Bottom (this was about 1952 or so). Others say the conditions of the water--depth and calmness--are better on the Point. The competition for the wharf gives us some clue as to the importance in the community patterns of this one element.

The Point merchant's has become a general informal meeting place, a place to find out the latest news. As in the smaller shops, the men stand about watching activities, telling stories and listening, while the women come and go on their errands. "Going down to _____" is a form of entertainment, as well as business--and one does not need any pretext to "loiter". Different times of day find various people in the shop--in the morning some of the older men sit in the sun on the soft drink cases. In the afternoon one is more likely to find the young men telling jokes, and teasing, whereas at night the family men have their own forum, usually punctuated with heavy silences. Much of this pattern, as everything else,

is dependent on the weather--rain and cold being an invitation to stay at home. Women do not usually come to shop at night but confine their buying to the daytime. This again does not hold for everyone, as some men and some women are rarely seen much outside of the home.

During the day one of the local girls helps with the customers, giving the kids candy, gum, soft drinks, bars, and fruit for their money. Buying goods does not entail much conversation: often one simply makes a list which is presented at the shop and filled by those behind the counter while one waits. Talk is on a personal or news basis, depending on what is current. The weather is always a good topic. Also, one does not get down to business immediately--usually there is a period of pacing and looking around, or passing a few comments with those present before the matter of goods is brought up. I have seen men pace and shuffle for at least 15 minutes before it was mentioned that they would like 5 pounds of potatoes and $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of chesse. This could be interpreted in light of the fact that the Harbour Deep world is extremely personal, and ties must be maintained. Coming into a shop and immediately beginning your business would be too much like a demand--an impersonal type of interaction. The bulk of the goods are kept in the storehouse, so that someone must go and fetch the amounts of produce required. The Point merchant differs from the Bottom cash-and-carry shop in that at the merchant's the goods are handled by the shopkeeper rather than the customer. The cash-and-carry is based on the idea of a

supermarket, even being equipped with a few shopping carts with which children make life dangerous. At the Point, one half of the shop is given over to household goods and clothing, and one is less conspicuous in this section while browsing.

Interaction takes place in the foodstuff section. During the day people can be seen through the front window as they enter the shop, but those coming in cannot see who is present. In the evenings the situation is in reverse, with those on the outside able to take stock of any group present. This visual reversal and how it affects interaction is dependent on the purpose for being there. During the day most of those coming into the shops are women, with specific errands. At night the visit to the shop is primarily social, and therefore the people present affect the decision to enter or not.

Going into the office off the general shop is an entirely different matter, for this area has connotations of being reserved solely for serious business. Here accounts are settled, and matters squared away. When three newspapermen from St. John's appeared in the community, the shop office was designated as the meeting room for the press conference. Four members of the five man community council were present, plus the other merchant, the owner of the cash-and-carry shop on the Point, the Point merchant and his wife, the anthropologist, and of course the three from the paper. The door to the office was shut on the large group of men and young fellows that had gathered outside--again

illustrating that privacy in Harbour Deep is in the visual realm, for much of what was said could be heard by those in attendance out in the shop.

At night, when the shop is open, the pattern of use is much different. Nothing of consequence is bought, business being primarily in bars, soft drinks, and cigarettes. The men present sit silently unless a topic or a story happens to crop up. When the steamer is due, or strangers are in the community and their boat is tied to the wharf, more men and perhaps a few women will be present. Even when a female is behind the counter at night, the women still do not normally appear. No one is allowed behind the counter, so everyone patiently waits his or her turn. The goods that are bought by others are noted and either commented on or conjectured about. If a girl buys a new dress, perhaps she is going on the steamer.

As for the information exchanged in this setting, it is on topics that concern the community in general, such as anything that is new in the place or anything that is expected to happen (such as the arrival of the woodship), or something that has happened. Talk here is along the same lines as kitchen talk, but does not venture on to controversial topics if a large group is present. Stories and tales are reserved for smaller groups and are not generally part of "shop talk". With the arrival of someone in the shop, talk slows until the person entering the door is identified, and then the topic is modified if need be (e.g. the arrival of the government official).

changes the tenor of conversation). This shop is not used by the youth of the community--they meet in the theater.

This shop is a hub of information exchange, through location primarily, and its strong position as a link in a familiar pattern. The shop allows for contact between people without visiting another's home. The people passing, the boats docking, the conversation flowing all make this shop the major focal point it is, in information exchange through face-to-face interaction. Seeing this area as a type of building complex which attracts participants, we now move to a discussion of that part dominated by the youth--the theater.

The theater, a rectangular plywood building immediately off the wharf, is run by the merchant's fourteen year old son. It appeals primarily to the youth of the community, and is equipped with pool table, juke box, and a movie projector with which cowboy movies of the 1949's are shown. The theater area on a summer night is a busy scene with groups of young people outside on the steps as well as inside. Youths alternately gather on the road, and go to the theater. Most of the action is from those playing pool when a movie is not being shown, with teenagers sitting on benches around the periphery of the room, watching, talking, and munching on sweets or chips from the canteen. The juke box is usually playing--the company man appears once in every four months to change the selections. The theater closes between 12 and 1 o'clock (and before midnight on Saturday nights), and is open during the day for any who have time for a game of pool. The movies are well

attended, and the audience hushed and attentive. When the University crowd is back during the holiday, they also frequent the theater, joining in the activities. Now and then it is used for a dance but there is not enough room for a large number of people. During the winter, and the school year, it is open less frequently.

After seeing a film, many of the marvels are recounted at home for the benefit of those that were denied the experience--fight scenes are rehashed, and people and plots rehearsed. TV in this case is a mediating factor, for it shows the new and current, in contrast to the older movie fare.

Thus the theater is the center of social activity for the 4 to 25 age group and their guests. Parents view the theater with mixed pleasure and dismay. It provides a place for the young people to go, but it means too that money must be found for the movies, and that the young people will invariably be late returning. Because of the nature of Harbour Deep, few parents are afraid to let their children stay out late at night, but when the nights stretch into the wee hours of the morning, conflicts arise. A late night usually means a late morning the next day, with fewer chores done and less help around the house. Someone is usually awake until everyone is in for the night.

With the joint location of the government wharf, the local merchant, and the theater, a social/business complex is formed--a daily attraction for certain segments of the community. Here the location of these focal elements is of

the utmost importance, for each augments the other in the pattern of community use. These become central to interaction on a community scale and serve as dominates in the information process. Interaction through space is focussed on areas such as these which serve a multitude of purposes..

As for the remaining element of the Point: the cash-and-carry shop and the small "porch" shop are not noticeable interaction centers, although the item selection in the one is very good, offering some variety. The small shop handles ice cream and sweets for the children, and does not serve as a place in which to loiter, or to pick up any news, since it is actually part of the living quarters of the proprietor. The power plant contributes little to social patterns, being strictly a work area for the two men--both from SW Bottom--who are employed there.

Thus the wharf seems to be the most powerful focal point, drawing the people at certain times to the Point. The local merchant's then assumes great importance as an interaction and information center, so it seems that the two complement each other. The theater is part of this whole pattern, as is the school. Focal points can be extremely powerful dominates in intra-community relations in Harbour Deep. Among certain sectors of the population--primarily the young and the men--these focal points act as areas for group activity and play, whereas for the women the effect of these is indirect, depending on what is brought into the home as far as information and news.

NW Bottom

NW Bottom has the other merchant on its periphery, along the road to the Point. John Reeves Ltd. is not the general information exchange that the local merchant's is--it is farther from the wharf, and from the other community activity centers. Even though the number of men patronizing the two is about equal, Reeves is the less favored place for a chat.

The Community Council house is also in this Bottom. The Community Council was begun in 1970, as a further development of the previous community body, the Road Board. The council handles the fees collected throughout the community, and allots any government money such as the grant that was given to build the community road. The Council house was purposely located in NW Bottom to try and offset some of this "one-sidedness" in terms of activity centers, indicating that the effect of a focal point is recognized by some in the community. This decision of location was made by the chairman and one or two of the Council members. When the local road was built from August to November the men came to the Council house for their pay cheques. Otherwise, it is used infrequently, except for the Council meetings, and most of the people have not been inside. It is hoped to put a community library in the house, to serve all the people. This might then become a focal point located in NW Bottom itself.

NW Bottom does not have any community focal points as such, nothing that draws those from the other areas as a usual part of their daily routine. Because of the centers in the other two areas mentioned, it can be seen that NW Bottom is the least travelled portion of the community for those that live in the other sections. The others in the community are then less familiar with this Bottom, especially in the case of the women. Life long residence in Harbour Deep does not mean an equal acquaintance and familiarity with each section. Some from SW Bottom have never been in certain homes in NW Bottom and vice-versa. But because of the focal points found in SW Bottom and on the Point, such as the Church, Post Office, the government wharf, which serve to bring people into these areas, these sections are better known to the majority of the inhabitants. The result of this lack of direct information is that misconceptions are common and false opinions based on area residence are held. This is not to say that contact would remedy all biases, but rather that the lack of contact breeds certain false impressions, and also creates very distinctive cultural definitions, even in a place the size of Harbour Deep. Here is the end result of focal points on community attitudes in general. The location of certain points within a community molds the information at hand, and defines others in relation to these models.

NW Bottom also has no small shops, so that any daily shopping requires more time and distance. The absence of shops means that the women from this Bottom cannot send small

children to fetch an item, but must wait to send an older child or man, or go themselves with the children in tow. Daily shopping can be an important part of the information-spatial system for many of the NW Bottom women because of their greater relative isolation concerning personal contact and visual information. Hampered by children, it is often most impossible for a woman to leave the home in order to plug in to some of these outside information channels.

After describing and discussing the focal points throughout the community, we will look at some patterns of daily life in order to grasp the essence of movement in Harbour Deep. Only then can we appreciate the community as a system of flow and exchange. Here we will look in greater depth at sexual differentiation in the amount and kind of knowledge possessed about the community. Also, it is important to discuss the seasonal character of various patterns of community use, from snow fall through summer and autumn, patterns which vary according to employment and possible means of transportation.

Seasonal Patterns: Male and Female Spatial Differentiation

In summer, Harbour Deep takes on fairy tale qualities, with clear hot cloudless days and cool nights. Men leave for the fishing grounds at sunrise, the putt-putt-putt of their Lister engines punctuating the dawn. They usually remain out in the boat until sometime in the afternoon, depending on the

conditions of the sea outside and the amount of fish caught. They carry lunch bags, complete with a bun of homebaked bread, tea or coffee, sugar, and milk, hard bread, salt beef, salt pork, and onions with a lassie bun or sweets for dessert. If it's a "good day on shore" they tie up in a cove, stewing fish, or having a pot of fisherman's brewis, eaten on the clean scoured rocks. At these times the only males in the community are the older men who no longer go out fishing, those men doing repair work to their gear, or those otherwise disabled or employed elsewhere such as the men who work at the power plant. During these days, the women and children are at home or out of the community visiting (inter-community relations is the subject of the next chapter). The women and girls scrub, bake, tend the gardens, wash the clothes, chase the children and go to the shops. The gardens are focal points for the women, especially if the plots are located along the road. Someone at work in the garden invites comments from all passers-by, some of whom stop to chat over the fence. Weeding the garden brings adjacent women out to comment on the state of the produce, and how it was in previous years. The gardens are located close to the owner's house if at all possible, unless jointly owned by kinswomen. Each garden, as well as that area around the house is fenced as a mark of ownership as well as a means of keeping out marauding animals and children. There are few gardens in NW Bottom, in some places because of the lack of suitable soil, in other cases for other reasons. Garden produce is often sold within the

community if someone's cabbage or turnip crop is particularly large. Hence in the summer, location of her garden can expand a woman's daily contacts and socializing.

Mail is collected and posted by the women and children and magazines such as Time and Life are well thumbed in spare moments. When the men return, the evening meal is served, and then they are back to the stage to clean and salt the fish. Sometimes the fish are finished first, before the meal. One or two of the women help their husbands with this task, especially if the catch is heavy, and extra hands are needed. The women in the past were a major part of the fishing process, but now with the smaller catches, and fish sold fresh or heavy salted, they are not needed down on the flake. A few fish are dried now, but only enough for the family use. After supper women clean away the dishes, wash up, ready the children for bed, and perhaps crochet or watch TV. The men usually congregate on the road, swapping tales and information--to be discussed in more detail later.

Not much visiting takes place during these busy summer days, except for the women going next door (usually) to see their mother or mother-in-law. This visiting pattern has altered for some women as a result of modern technology in the form of TV (which as mentioned in Chapter II has also changed the traditional use of the Room). Some Houses have now become afternoon focal points by virtue of TV ownership. At four o'clock most of the women and girls can be seen scurrying along for the daily episode of "The Story"--The Edge

of Night, which is a long-running serial type of soap opera. Often a house will be blocked with women and children, seated on the floor, for no one wants to miss an afternoon. This program has become a common topic of conversation, catching up on what was missed, or speculating about tomorrow's portion. If kept after school by the teacher, children will be inattentive--they are missing the Story! This has created new patterns for some of the people, but for the most part the women are restricted in their use of the community during the day because of commitments at home.

The men's outdoor congregating points are important as informal open elements in the use of the community, and deserve a more detailed analysis. When the nights are warm and mild and the biting insects not too thick, the men get together out on the road. Groups do not seem to have a stable composition, or any regular meeting place but grow and expand as those coming along the road join in. Few ask who is there, and it is considered terribly impolite to shine a flashlight into anyone's face. There are no street lights, so often the voice is the only distinguishing feature. The topics range from joke-telling to fishing to more controversial subjects such as each man's share on the roadwork, who should act as foremen, etc. Because of the open air situation, confidences are not exchanged. Conversation wanes when someone is heard approaching, depending on the topic. In the more intimate confines of the home true opinions are aired between husband and wife, between women and between men--again depending on who is present.

Nevertheless, the road is considered a legitimate gathering place.

Sunday, during the times when the women are cooking dinner or washing up, are days for "men's meetings" (as these road gatherings are rather facetiously called by the women) because it is a day when no work is supposed to be done. In SW Bottom all the men would gather in the sun, pacing back and forth, at a convenient point, accompanied by a few children but no women. The women say they do not have the time to group out on the road, but they do their visiting later on in the evening (see previous discussion about the Church). One place in SW Bottom had been given the name "The Parliament House" because one could always be assured of a meeting going on there no matter what time of day. The following has

so the meetings are poorly attended now. With the colder weather the men would begin to congregate inside--"with all their old cigarettes and men talk" a situation not relished by the women. The men invade the kitchen, joking, arguing, poking fun, and playing cards. Women at times provide a lunch for these groups, and it is their task to clean the floor and the dishes the next day. This is seen by the women as an encroachment on the part of the men, coming into the women's area of work and family. Women seldom gather in groups in the house, except for the Sunday visits or a sewing or card-playing get together. With this type of interaction, the house takes on the character of a focal point, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The men might also gather now and then at the stage head, especially if some special event, such as the catching of a tuna or a shark, had taken place, or if they have some idle time to spend before dark. The stage heads did not seem to be places of regular gatherings, except in the event of a celebration such as a wedding with some beer available. Then the men would gather with the boys at the stage head, and then return to the lodge for the dance. At a dance, it is unusual for a man to dance with his wife, and most of the dancing is done by the single girls and young men. On a night when nothing in particular is happening, the men stay at home, or stroll over to one or another of the shops for a smoke and a visit.

Thus the men, both married and unmarried, are the most mobile members of the community: their fishing acquaints them with the outside area, their socializing informs them of daily happenings. But during the day, the women in a limited sphere at home, usually in that area surveyable from the bridge (discussed in The House Chapter) may act to gather news--such as talking to the newly arrived fisheries officer, and later relaying the information to the men when they return. The community focal points takes on varied meanings for each sex, depending on how a place is used, and where it fits into the daily or special routine.

In the late summer and fall, the daily schedule changes in character. The days are shorter, the outside waters rougher, and fishing begins to drop off. The women

start to harvest carrots, cabbage, potatoes, and turnips from their gardens, storing them in the cellar or the deep freezer. The older children go back to school, leaving their younger playmates rather forlorn. This is berry picking time, when everyone knows of swarms ("tousands and thousands of 'em my dear") of blueberries, raspberries, squashberries, and partridgeberries just waiting to be gathered.

Blueberries are found throughout the woods along with squashberries, and raspberries. Because of cutting wood in winter and summer, hunting and streamfishing, the men are much more familiar with the choice spots and the web of trails, but the women do most of the berry picking, battling black flies and deer flies. Usually a berry foray ends with the women trying to explain where they were and the men attempting to tell them where they should have been. Even after many seasons of berry picking the women have a limited mental map of the woods, and tend to spend much of the "expedition" time battling their way up cliffs and through marshes. Partridgeberry picking is more a joint effort, because the berries grow thickest in the outside coves on the barrens. The men take the women there by boat, so all hands join in, this outing often becoming a family affair. One boat will often carry a number of women, usually those who enjoy berring together or those whose husbands do not have a boat, and can not go otherwise. The men usually travel in pairs, ranging up higher and farther, looking for remembered patches where the partridgeberries grow thickly. The women fan out, searching

the more immediate area, within shouting distance of one another. Often the slower or the weaker ones stick together, and seldom does anyone wander off on her own. Light lunches are packed and left near the boats so that a snack can be eaten with the others if anyone is so inclined. Berry picking becomes a measure of worth--those who can pick the fastest and the most are acknowledged to be very "clever" and "quick". Amounts are compared and excuses made if one does not come up to par (e.g. "I picked mine really clean [with no leaves or twigs mixed in]" or "Berry picking bores me after a couple of hours...").

Berry picking groups can be seen as indicators of community affiliations, and they are generally grouped with the Point and the SW Bottom going together, with NW Bottom on its own. In some cases a few women that thrive on picking berries for hours might go together no matter in which part of the community they live, because they are then always assured an eager partner. The wooded section behind each portion of the community is considered to almost be private property, in that those from the Point and SW Bottom are not to invade NW Bottom's bushes and vice versa (by tacit agreement). The women and girls go into the woods only for specific reasons, such as berries, never to simply walk or explore or for recreational reasons. Again, this is one aspect of sexual differentiation in community surroundings, in knowledge and in use.

This sexual differentiation also extends to the knowledge of community members as well. In a four month period--from August to November--the men were employed in work that involved all the able-bodied in the community. Loading the Chesterbrooke, a ship out of Corner Brook which carries pulp wood, was one such activity, and widening the community road was another. In these employments men from the various sections worked closely together, stopping for tea at whichever house was the most convenient, sometimes even staying for a meal. The social factors in this arrangement--i.e. which house will be visited and which will not--are not spoken about, and the only places mentioned are those at which a man did stop. The men as a result are also much more knowledgeable about those in the community, having worked and visited with them. The women have no such communal activity, unless they attend the Anglican Women's Association, and are selective and wide-ranging in their visiting. Men would also get together for the Fisheries College course on the Japanese cod trap, where while knitting their fishing twine they told stories and discussed community news. After a day of work, the men would bring some of this information home, relating that which they felt was of interest and was appropriate.

In an environmental, areal, and personality sense, the men are much more informed as to the activities in the community. For them the focal points function as indicators of group gatherings but they are not their only source of

contact. For the women, the focal points outside of the home are often their only means of interaction on a community scale. As the previous discussion indicated, life in a small homogenous community is not the same for all of the inhabitants, and varies in discernible ways between the categories of male and female.

The previous descriptions have been those of the fall and the summer seasons. In the winter, with a good snow fall, the interaction chain of the entire community is "speeded up" in a distance/time sense--as a result of faster transportation provided by the ski-doo, and also because with the cold weather, there is more free time for socializing. Every family in Harbour Deep owns at least one ski-doo with the teenagers usually pressing for the latest model. A few of the younger women do drive, but most of those out and about are the men and the younger segment. The ski-doo makes visiting easier, and shopping quick. But again, the women are not likely to be out "cruisin'" alone--unless they go by foot over the gullied roads as before. The ski-doo is a work vehicle for the men, carrying passengers and goods to the mission plane which lands a few miles back in the country on a large pond. On the return trip the mail is brought out. Hunting is also done from the ski-doo, especially when the distances are great, and the game far from the settlement. The ski-doo has replaced horses and dogs on the wood paths, hauling firewood into the settlement as well as lumber for building puposes. The work pattern in the winter is quite different as the men spend their time readying gear for the

coming season, and are around the house more frequently. The women still have the daily routine of cooking and baking and washing, which the weather affects but doesn't erase. Visiting becomes an indoor activity now, and more time is available for knitting, crocheting, and chatting. The women get together when their husbands will drive them to a friend's house, or when two couples decide to meet for a card game of 500's.

In these ways does use of the community vary with the season. Since an examination has been made of the spatial use of the community dependent on seasonal and sexual factors, a look at sectional attitudes as a spatial comment follows. How do those in the community feel about one another? Because of what has already been said about the male/female "boundaries of knowledge", certain differences in attitudes along these lines may appear.

Community Attitudes

"The longer you stays here, the more you'll know the truth of it." Shopowner in Harbour Deep. Living in the community, one is very aware of various attitudes. The two merchants live on the Point, and their wives are involved daily in running the shops, having little time for handiwork, housework, or baking. They often ask other women in the community to do favors for them--to serve at this or that function, to sew or crochet an article or two--and are never

refused. These are the only ones on the Point for whom this holds true, the others being wives of fishermen, or the nurse. The kin ties and community ties are the same, but these people have much more access to information, as well as contact with the outside world. Each section is considered to be more or less ignorant about current matters and modern ways, and the community's three sections are very distinctive localities with defined attributes. One Bottom considers the other less clean or more gossipy, and base these generalities on the fact of residence. The children in school know little of opposite areas, since it is not common for them to venture into others parts of the community until they are in their teens. The attitudes between sections are not universal, especially among women who met for the AWA or helped with the soup suppers, because this served to expand their knowledge about a particular family or section. The men, as discussed previously, are better acquainted with one another, but many from SW Bottom while working on the road in NW Bottom expressed surprise at the number of young children they had seen "down there." Thus these attitudes are based on gross sectional generalizations as to the type of people found elsewhere in the community.

Kinship plays a large part in determining attitudes toward individuals and families, so this essentially breaks down a totally sectional outlook because kin are not necessarily grouped together in one area of the community. No one is referred to as "neighbor" in Harbour Deep--everyone is called by name or by relationship (such as Gran or Pap). If the same

names apply to various people within the community, qualifier adjectives are added such that John becomes Old John, Young John, etc. The adjectives usually deal with a quality of age or of size. What determines attitudes in the case of kin is the section that is considered to be home. Thus, a woman marrying and moving into SW Bottom with her husband is still seen as being from NW Bottom, which may be used to account for the way in which she does things. Visiting with relatives is a common form of entertainment, but one will just as often go to see friends instead. Sunday is the day to visit kin that one does not see during the week, especially parents, brothers, or sisters. Here too the knowledge of some within the community is greater than others because their kin ties spread throughout the community. Kinship acts as a mild uniting factor, although for most kinship is not a dominant force (over distance) for interaction within the community itself (its effect on interaction outside the community will be discussed in the following chapter). Kinship thus most generally affects attitudes and community use in that it is a reason for people to relate over space and distance--more importantly for women, because of patrilocality as well as their more restricted use of the community.

Before leaving the discussion of community as the integration of various spatial elements, it is necessary to incorporate the home into this picture, as a functional part of the whole. We have already pinpointed the home as a distinct unit of spatial characteristics. How does this unit relate to

other units and life in the community? As mentioned in the introductory statements to this chapter, I hesitate to make the distinction between "public" and "private" when referring to community and home in Harbour Deep because of the peculiarities of the community. Rather, areas of use in Harbour Deep may be placed on a continuum between "Public" and "private"--and most places incorporate both. The kitchen is not a private area--no one is refused nor told to leave (under normal circumstances)--but neither is it public, because the homeowner has certain rights which are not accorded the visitor, such as rummaging through the pantry. Privacy can be achieved by retiring to the bedroom, or changing the topic of conversation when someone arrives. If one does not feel like talking, it is not considered rude to continue to work when a visitor arrives. Even those persons one may not be particularly fond of are invited to stay for a lunch. The bedroom offers a choice of behaviors, because one can choose whether to go down and join a group in the kitchen, or listen to a bit of the 'goings on' from upstairs.

We have essentially looked at thresholds in the discussion of house structure, and in considering the house in relation to the community, we must also discuss the manner of visiting--going from the outside to the interior. Visiting is a case of making an appearance, of walking in the door. Usually one tries to determine if anyone else is in the house, or if a visit will disrupt any ongoing activity. In winter this is easily done, for the ski-doos are all parked outside, and

each owner is known. Visitors upon entering take the nearest convenience spot, and may sit with very little being said (or nothing said in the case of children). As a special visitor, if staying for tea, one gets the best china, silverware, tea cloth, and goodies until one becomes more familiar in the community, at which time a mug is allowed, and less formality apparent. In some cases a special visitor may be escorted to the Room, and served a drink (if any liquor is available). When a visitor becomes a frequent guest, helping to clear the table and wash up a few dishes is allowed. The fact that someone special would bother to stop by seems to be a high compliment to any household in the community, and most of the women seem to enjoy getting out their best wares. The visitor brings in information and entertainment, and new topics for discussion.

Another aspect of community interaction through space is the custom of passing a note of invitation around the community in the case of a reception or a wedding. Usually this note is carried by a child, who goes to every door--it is a rare occasion that everyone is not invited. Sometimes an invitation may be posted at the Post Office as well since no R.S.V.P. is necessary. The note is information for all who wish to attend.

Community Patterns

In summary then, we have seen Harbour Deep as a spatial configuration with details provided about daily existence, kinship, visiting patterns, environmental knowledge, and sectional attitudes. Each of the public buildings within the settlement has been discussed as a focal point, each with its own particular effect on the community interactional process. We have also examined exactly what it is about various focal points that integrates them into a Harbour Deep cultural system. When speaking of any community and its patterns, sexual differences must be acknowledged and dealt with. This was discussed in regard to "outside" surroundings, the community itself, and the others within the community, and we found that male/female worlds appear to be distinctly varied for the majority of the population. What groups think of one another can also be linked to spatial factors, and for this reason Harbour Deep sectional attitudes are described.

Here we have a system comprised of four features: 1) solid constructions and 2) their use integrated with 3) general community knowledge and 4) attitudes. Spacing and location affect all of these features in a community, and awareness of this system is important to gain an understanding of a community and a culture at work and at play. With this examination of house and community, inter-community relations are the next components for study.

CHAPTER IV

Inter-community Patterns

Community patterns, just as those patterns of house and intra-community use, can be analyzed in terms of space and the ways in which people handle this space.

Inter-community patterns do not deal with particular buildings and focal points, but are instead concerned with movement, "traffic flow" and attitudes. In a spatial framework, isolation can be seen as a matter of distance in contact terms. This aspect of isolation, dependent on mechanics of travel and communication, is physical and can be discussed as to the method and means which people use to interact over distance, and the specifics related to these means. Just as patterns of interaction within the community are spatially oriented, so it is with relationships between communities.

Isolation too can be viewed as a state of mind, an outlook on the world. Isolation in this way affects the approach taken towards others, and the attitudes held about these others. Thus, far from being simply a case of time and distance, isolation as a spatial reference point is an important mental attitude and realization. Isolation in this sense applies to the city dweller as well as to the outporter, but the basis for such an outlook differs.

In this chapter, isolation will be approached in two ways--as physical separation and as a world view, a

cognitive structure. Both of these aspects of isolation give rise to particular cultural forms and interaction patterns. Isolation becomes a factor in the spatial and cognitive framework, depending on the community's position on what could be called a "contact continuum".

Isolation is also one of those concepts that can be discussed at either the macro or micro level. Again, my discussion will take the micro point of view for the most part, dealing with the people of Harbour Deep, their movements and relationships outside the community, and their attitudes toward others, and toward isolation itself.

The Physical Aspect of Isolation

The coast line of White Bay on its western side is rugged and fiordlike. Huge headlands jut out, faced with sheer slabs of clean-scoured rock. Small coves, often open to the sea, nestle on the more gentle slopes and small flat pieces of ground. In some places, as in Harbour Deep, the sea extends 6 miles or more inland as a narrow arm. Thus the coast is extremely rough, and relatively inhospitable except for the sheltered nooks and inlets. It begins to soften up towards Englee, and going north one finds the landscape becoming less high and rugged. The coastal waters are for the most part deep and clear, with few hidden shoals or submerged rocks awaiting the unwary mariner.

Harbour Deep is in the middle of this most rugged stretch, separated by water from communities north and south. The nearest community with a road is about 37 miles by sea (refer to map--geographic section)--Jackson's Arm to the south, Englee to the north. Translated into hours away, this is about three hours by steamer, five hours by longliner, six or seven hours by small boat depending on the weather. When referring to these places, one always goes "down" to St. Anthony and "up" to Jackson's Arm. Although this terminology cannot be explained by the locals, it would seem to illustrate their orientation to the sea--Jackson's Arm is at the foot of White Bay and therefore down, with St. Anthony just the opposite.

In this physical setting, both the inhabitants and outsiders refer to Harbour Deep as an "isolated" community. As far as transportation, it is linked physically to other communities by the CN steamer service, and in a limited sense by sea plane (such as that used for medical missions by the Grenfell Association, those of private owners for sport fishing or hunting, and in the winter, by the mail plane). "Isolated" appears to mean in general usage that there is no connection by road, and hence no easy access.

More than solely indicating a spatial world, isolation has some very obvious realities concerning life style. Nothing dealing with the movement of goods or of people is certain, for there are many possible variables affecting transportation. Leaving or returning to the

community is never a simple matter of packing up and going. The steamer may be days late, or appear early in the day or late at night. As long as one's schedule is fluid this imposes no hardships but for those involved in the workaday world of set events and registrations, etc., problems do arise.

The Steamer

In any consideration of the isolation of a fishing community, the sea assumes foremost importance. Transportation by water is an essential service. The steamer service deserves a very critical analysis, because of the large part it plays in the life of a community such as Harbour Deep.

In previous years along this coast, a provisioning vessel would call in the fall of the year, from which the people could purchase their stocks of food and rum to last them through the winter. When the ice cleared in the spring, regular runs carrying fish out and supplies in would begin again. This left at least six or seven months of the year with no possibility of extra supplies. Many of the older men tell of spring die-offs in these small cove settlements before the return of the supply ship. These multiple deaths were probably due to nutritional deficiencies, leading to TB (or what they called "consumption"). Mail was carried overland from cove to cove, and nurses and doctors were brought out by boat, or in dogsleds. Boats

at this time were rowed by 4 to 6 men out to the grounds, for technology had not advanced to the outboard engine. Thus, use of the water was limited by the means at hand, and the interaction of the people was governed by the possibilities environmentally determined.

The situation has now of course changed, but the steamer still remains vital to the life blood of the coast, and especially to Harbour Deep. All the produce to the shops within the community is brought by steamer (unless a special trip is made in a smaller boat). Machinery and household items too large to be mailed (such as stove, kitchen chrome sets, etc.) are loaded on the steamer as well. The social aspect of the steamer is to a certain extent the most important consideration, for it brings sons and daughters, relatives and friends--new sources of information with talk of other people and places. Summer is the travel season, for the most part, when the water is smooth and calm. Visits are made, and visitors arrive. The women, with children in tow, board the steamer for a run up or down the coast to visit relatives. Teenage boys and girls travel back and forth quite freely, restricted only by funds. Men seldom go visiting, unless they are no longer fishing. For the men, their daily world is outside of the community along the coast where they set their nets and traps. Travel for them is usually in small boats, running with the good weather. In any case, many sleepless nights are spent, and many packs of chicken legs devoured

while waiting for the steamer.

From Lewisporte to St. Anthony and back again is supposed to encompass a round trip of one week, meaning two calls in Harbour Deep. The outward bound vessel is most anxiously awaited because it is from the Lewisporte warehouses that most of the goods come. As mentioned before, a watch is kept for the lights of the boat as she comes up the arm from the sea. A radio report is given out daily on her progress, but often it is inaccurate and is not taken to be the gospel truth. News of the steamer is a common topic on the road. With the steamer's arrival, activity commences. The young people and the men usually hurry down to see what's happening, and to help with the unloading. Some may already be down at the shop or at the theater, and are on hand to help catch and tie the docking hausers. If specific goods are known to be on board (or even if they are hoped for), there is a full complement of willing hands. The goods are unloaded from the hold with a winch onto the wharf, where they are claimed and moved to the owner's shop. The women may go down to the wharf if they are in a mood for a walk, or if someone is expected to be on the boat. Instead of walking, the men will often take the family up to the wharf in their boat. Those taking passage grab their parcels and cases, and charge down with the rest. The crowd gathers on the wharf, talking, laughing, and watching. The younger people may go on board for a lark while she is docked, but the major entertainment is

standing and talking. The steamer may remain anywhere from $\frac{1}{2}$ hour to all night depending on the outside conditions and on how much there is to be unloaded. After a visit of the steamer there is increased cause for speculation and an increased flow of information. Everyone knows who is in the community, and who is not, because departures and arrivals are publicly visible, even if one is in a small boat. There is talk of why so-and-so came, how long they will stay, etc. There is discussion about the new shop goods that have arrived, as well as any other large parcels. Again this is possible because the evidence can be seen.

In these ways the steamer is important to the community. It represents the main link in a physically separated world, maintaining ties with the outside. In a spatial context, the steamer, can be described as a social and community fuel system, bringing in goods and people, and the possibility of travel with greater ease. It creates an event, a community gathering point, and the chance for a "get-together" as well as reinforcing solidarity when all pitch in to help.

When the steamer stops her runs, usually in early January, the mail as well as the hospital patients are brought in by plane which lands on the ice on a back country pond about a mile from the community. Supplies do not have to be flown in, for the shopowners have ordered goods adequate for the winter months, stored to last until

late April or May. The plane landing is an attraction but does not replace the steamer's arrival as far as community interest and attendance. For one thing, the trip must be made by ski-doo, up some relatively steep trails, in cold weather. Also, the plane brings little "valuable" information in the form of passengers or goods. As such, the plane as a spatial link is mechanical rather than social.

The steamer is the major community tie, with the plane acting as a seasonal variation. Travel by small boat entails extra time, is not as comfortable, and is impractical in rough weather. Small boats are used for smooth runs along the coast between Englee and Jackson's Arm, but do not usually go any farther north. Ski-doo's are locally used, not for long journeys.

Community Ties

With these means of transportation in mind as links, networks outside of the community will complete the spatial map. All of those in Harbour Deep have some ties elsewhere, either with kin or with friends. Therefore outside links are important, and a significant factor in the dynamics of the community.

One of the inputs to consider in the relationship of community to outside world is that of outside employment. Many of the family men and young men (perhaps as many as twelve from the community at a time) worked at

the whaling station in Williamsport. Williamsport, about fifteen miles to the north is a vacant settlement from which the people were resettled primarily into Englee. A couple of the former residents return to fish in the summer, but for the most part it is deteriorating and unused. The whaling station is further up the same arm of the sea, and is run by a Japanese company. The men employed remain at the station for the entire season (about five months) except for occasional jaunts back to Harbour Deep for an evening or a few days when no whales have been brought in, or when they have a few days off. This outside tie brings in money in the form of pay, but it also affects community social organization in that some of the men are absent during community decisions or affairs. A good example of the results of this is the water line installed by the men in SW Bottom. Plastic pipe and all fittings were given by the government, in order to have a continual supply of water into the houses. The Community Council paid men to lay the general portion of the pipe from a high brook down to SW Bottom. Each householders that wished to be connected to this supply was then responsible for his length of pipe and shut-off valves. The men that were in Williamsport then had to pay someone to put in their pipe, or return to do their own. With the lack of general leadership, each man did as he wished, with the result that those that connected their homes later caused many of the other individual lines to split, sending up

fountains of water under houses and in gardens, because of the continual changes in water pressure due to turning the main pipe off and on. Needless to say, this had a direct effect on relationships within the community: the result of absence due to distance as well as the absence of any integrating force within the community.

Besides the whale plant, Harbour Deepers are distributed over the island with some working at the hospital in St. Anthony, some in St. John's, Corner Brook, etc. Women from the community, marrying outside, extend the kin ties as far as the U.S.A. Cousins, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, and grandparents are found along the White Bay coast, in Jackson's Arm, Bide Arm, Englee, Roddicton, and St. Anthony for the most part. These are the lines of outside focus for Harbour Deep.

Education is also affected by isolation, and affects the community in turn. The community school with its three rooms is equipped to handle the youth of the community until Grade X. Those taking Grade XI must leave home at fifteen or sixteen, to attend school elsewhere. Some live with relatives, others find places in boarding houses. Home is far away, because the schedule of the steamer is rarely certain for weekend runs, so visits are made during holidays only. The return of "the crowd" (those outside the community) is eagerly awaited. In the fall of 1971, there were twelve from the community attending Grade XI outside, and sixteen going to university in St.

John's. A glance at the Population Pyramid (Chart 2, pg. shows the impact of this on the sexual composition of the community.

These are the aspects of isolation to consider when dealing with factors in the physical realm. The steamer as a focal point and catalyst of the community, employment, and education will all take particular configurations in the culture of Harbour Deep as a settlement; these physical elements also have emotional manifestations and promote a specific world view.

Community Attitudes to Travellers and Outsiders

What does travel and absence mean for the individual as well as for the community? Short jaunts are looked upon with excitement and anticipation, but the length of stay, and the reason for going can cause others to ask questions. The fact that some people "can't seem to stay home" causes some comments. People that are forever on the move, and not content to remain in any one place are considered troublemakers and malcontents. So it is with women who happen to be on the move for visiting enjoyment most of the summer--their husbands are pitied for having to "shack themselves" (i.e. do all their own cooking, cleaning, etc.). Often in this case the lone man will be invited to stay for meals, or may even move in with relatives. Journeys to the hospital are in no way questioned, and inquiries are

made frequently about the health of anyone in the community who is away. The nurse gets news of such patients on her radio set in the nursing station, and relays the messages to the families. During the summer when the regular nurse was gone for two months on holiday, much was said about the fact that the temporary nurse would never have any information about people in St. Anthony, although this was probably due to the fact that she was unfamiliar with those in and out of the community. Many spoke about this as if it were a conspiracy on her part, or at least a definite breach of faith.

Those on holiday are envied--"They must be having a good time." If the trip has been to some place unfamiliar--such as Wabush or even St. John's--their return is eagerly awaited, to hear all about the trip and the new people met and the sights seen. The nurse's vacation was followed with intense interest ("She must be in England now") and all were anxious to hear what her husband had thought of all the places he had seen on his first trip to Europe.

What seems to be at the base of the objection to the "gad about" travellers is that they are expressing dissatisfaction with the community itself, demonstrated by their lack of ability to stay there. Those on holiday are not put in this position, for a holiday is a travel of a different nature and magnitude. Business trips for the most part go unremarked. The people were alternately

awed and skeptical when the owner of the cash-and-carry shop on the Point returned from a buying trip to Corner Brook with a pickup truck. But for the most part, business trips are considered necessities, and above reproach.

Those that leave the community for schooling, for a job or whatever, are not totally forgotten, but most talk of them deals with when they were last in Harbour Deep, and when they will return again. Even nurses that were there for only three or four months are remembered and accounts are retold of what they did in the community, how much they liked (or disliked) the place, and where they are presently if that is known. Postcards and greeting cards from people outside are saved to be shown to visitors, and to be marveled over. Contact is maintained by infrequent letters in most cases, because of the difficult communication via the radio-telephone. As elsewhere in Western society, birthdays are now and then remembered, Easter cards are occasionally sent or received, but Christmas provides the usual opportunity to "drop a line." Most in the community do not have a long mailing list, and correspondence is usually limited to kin outside the community. Anyone from the community who does return is happily greeted, and their returning is felt to be a compliment to the place itself.

Ties to the outside are also created from within the community, by those members who live in Harbour Deep now but were not reared in the community. Strangers are

people one does not know and one man in the community is still thought by some to be a stranger after forty years in Harbour Deep because he does not socialize and keeps very much to himself. He too is referred to by name, so one would not have the impression, except for a few scattered remarks, that he was placed in any category different from the others. The Community Council, a body of five, has three members who are not locals: the Chairman (the school principle from Montreal), the secretary (family man from Sop's Arm) and the Nurse. Much can be said for this composition as representing a pattern common to Newfoundland outports, where the "strangers" are chosen to bear the brunt of community criticism. The position of Nurse and teacher is held high in high regard by those in the community, and for that reason people may mention that these particular people are "from outside the place." Many of the men find it difficult to understand either of these two people, but they approach this as a failing on their part, not on the part of the speaker. The only others in the community who are not locals are the man and wife mentioned above, and some of the other wives. Again, the only way of knowing this is by asking for information pertaining to genealogies--this is not a topic of conversation. Sometimes peculiarities of a visitor are explained by the fact that they are from some place else where this may be normal behavior.

"Stranger" in Harbour Deep seems to apply to those whom one has never met. A wife was summoned on my arrival

in the house by her husband shouting "Come down! The stranger's here." As stated before in the chapter on the house, another expression used often by one of the older men was "I've never met a stranger." One is supposed to show due respect to a stranger, by not asking too many questions, or "going on with too much old foolishness." No one remains a stranger for long in Harbour Deep is personal contact is maintained. The persons most suspicious about my motives were those that had read books or articles written by anthropologists, and wanted no part of it.

Often included in the "stranger complex" in the literature is mummering. Mummering, the custom of dressing up in a disguise and speaking with indrawn breath to hide one's identity, takes place in Harbour Deep primarily around Halloween, and includes most of the younger people, ususaly those under age the age of eighteen. The mummers knock on the door with a chunk of wood, and enter, asking what there is to eat. The family gets a great deal of fun out of trying to guess the identity of each of the mummers, and the guessing game usually ends up in laughter on both sides. At Christmas the women may also dress up, and visit a few select homes of friends but this is not often done now. Mummering has been explained as being based on the fear of strangers in the outport communities, but it seems to be more in line with the depicting of the stranger as "boogey man"--the terrifying unknown--rather than as "stranger" per se.

The Mountie as a stranger and an outsider is easily the most feared member of society at large. One woman told of her encounter with the Mountie when all of the dogs had to be killed because of their numbers. The officer came to her door, asking questions such as "Is this your dog"? "Do you have many others"? She said she was so afraid that all she could answer was "Yes"---"And if he'd said 'Can I take you into the bedroom', I would have had to say Yes!" The Mountie represents for these people as well as for many urbanities the enforcement of the Law, and the punishment of wrongdoing. The threat of the Mountie coming is used to frighten children into being co-operative---as in the statement that "Mommy will go away on the steamer and leave you." His appearance in the community means either that someone told him about something illegal (such as a moose out of season) or that he is trying to find out what bad things people have been up to---even though he may in fact be on a routine check, enjoying his trip down the coast. The Mountie's presence is a manifestation of the rifts within the community, and an open acknowledgement that all is not "one big happy family". Part of this reaction can be considered spatially based, for the Mountie has to come all the way from Roddickton by boat or plane depending on the season---he is not a resident of the community, and has no kin relations there and often does not know anyone personally.

The only other unfamiliar persons who now and then appear on any regular basis are the minister from Jackson's Arm, the Grenfell Mission pilot, and a few sports men or yachters. These people cause little flurry within the community because they are not totally unknown as to position and reason for being in Harbour Deep. Suspensions are levelled against those who are strangers and have no one in particular to vouch for them. The catechist, who arrived at the same time I did, was immediately recognized in that role, while it was said at one point that I was working for the government, for why else would I watch men build a road? The fisheries officer who came to teach the class on the Japanese cod trap was in much the same category as the catechist. Others like him had been in Harbour Deep before, and he had a specific duty to do. He was held in great awe by the men because of his quickness and skill at knitting a net, and because of the wonderful pictures and diagrams he could draw. Most of the men were noticeably meeker in his presence than they were at other times. In this case, his esteem was something he earned rather than an ascribed quality. He was not totally accepted as "one of the boys" and did not wish to be. This was not held against him in any way, and he was accepted as a fine teacher.

The driver who operated the D4 tractor when work first began on the community road also had his precedents, and also a role--but he "wouldn't talk or be

friendly," and as a result was not well liked. After his foot was injured on the job he was replaced by another driver--a man who had the respect of the men in a short time. This driver was a model of hard work--he took short breaks with the men, but was often on the tractor for 10 hours a day. He had "some wonderful stories to tell," and was much friendlier. This driver was invited to various houses for his breaks, and also for meals. Here were two different expectations dealing with outsiders: on one hand, the fisheries teacher, who was not required to fraternize, and on the other, the tractor driver who was disliked if he did not. Thus outsiders too have their defined roles and positions, and are expected to fulfill them.

From this discussion of strangers and travellers it can be gathered that the average Harbour Deeper views the outside with a certain amount of mistrust and wariness. The stranger is a person to note, which is only to be expected when the fact that stimulus in contact terms from the outside is very limited, especially in the winter when the steamer stops running. Except for the stranger, everyone's function within the community, and their relation to everyone else is known. Something of everyone's background and kin ties is common knowledge, and provides a foundation for patterned interaction. The totally unknown shakes this very secure knowledge, and behavior is no longer certain. Strangers are usually considered to either be superior, or very foolish people--which of the two is up

to them to demonstrate. In any case, the stranger is the outside personified, and represents contact between the community and the world at large.

Spatial World View

As might be expected, isolation and lack of contact produces certain widespread outlooks and attitudes dealing with more than strangers, involving the outside itself. Most in Harbour Deep have been out of the community at one time or another, and have various impressions about others and their places. The men speak of working in the woods near Roddicton or Jackson's Arm. Quite a few of the young unmarried girls go to St. Anthony to work at the hospital. A death along the coast causes much commotion and sympathy, for often the person himself or her relatives are known. Knowledge of far-flung areas of the globe comes from travel experience or, for some, from war journeys. One of the old "veterans" in the community delights in telling of rendezvous with nurses in London, England, during his stint in World War I. The war was over without him seeing action but his experiences and travels are still fresh in his mind. Kin lines spread outside the community primarily through the marriage of the female members to men from other parts. Marriage residence, as mentioned previously, is patrilocal, and thus brides are brought into Harbour Deep. When I asked about an outside cove, one

old man pointed to his blushing wife with a beaming "That's where I got her to!" This pattern is changing now as more young men and women go out looking for jobs elsewhere. That a son or a daughter is outside the community is a source of great pride--especially if they have a job.

Travel spots are limited to the places where one has kin. No one would simply plan a trip to some place for the sake of "sight seeing" or "getting away from it all". Travel has the end purpose of a visit and a stay with relatives and friends. One couple took a journey to Labrador City to see their married daughter. Both were impressed with the "neatness" of Labrador City, with "no old stuff around". The merchant and his wife have been to the States, again to visit a married daughter, and he also make periodic trips to St. John's on business. A distant relative of a friend was said to be in Toronto, but no Harbour Deepers seem to have made what is considered to be a typical Newfoundlander's journey to Mecca.

The lack of wider experience and exposure which is not necessarily germane, only to the isolated community, causes gaps in understanding and credibility. Attempting to describe a plains type of environment is extremely difficult for there is usually no such landscape in their experience. Speaking about 13,000 foot peaks in the Rockies calls forth comments such as: "I thought these were the highest mountains in the world!" This gap also

revolves around exposure in general. Quite a few households now take magazines such as Time and Life, where they may begin to encounter through pictures the scope of the worldwide possibilities, in more areas than landscape. Radio as a form of communication has its biggest audience for the weather report, the steamer report, some religious programs--and also for the Open Line shows, some which have a faithful daily following in Harbour Deep. This leads to the question of the impact of TV in a situation like this. Most of the mention of TV in the community is on the entertainment side, not the informational. Programs that deal with nature, or "local" politics, are sometimes discussed but these are realms within their experience, and as such can be understood. The flight and video recordings of the astronauts were vehemently disbelieved by some, and other programs are simply not comprehended. The impact of video violence and intrigue is left up to conjecture at this point.

In order to summarize many of these attitudes toward outsiders that are held by those in Harbour Deep, we must look more fully at their cognitive world.

Race means little in Harbour Deep because there is limited contact. The Japanese are considered to be very clever people, good managers and fishermen, being the closest to "health food freaks" with their varied sea menu. A few blacks appear now and then associated with the Mission, but they are almost a source of

embarrassment, being completely unfamiliar. Because of this, there are few stereotypes about the behavior of various skin types.

Education is an emphasized good, and "educated" people per se are held in awe. Education is also expected to have certain results--that once young people go to school, they will return "too good to talk to you", haughty and unfriendly. People comment on this point, but this does not seem to lower the value of education as it pertains to the job market in the least.

Religion is the strongest immediate criterion for any outside group, although the transient visiting individual is not confronted on this point. Harbour Deep is overwhelmingly Anglican, and questions the faith that others profess. Outsiders are categorized as to religion, especially in the case of the more evangelical and crusading sects, such as the Apostolics or the Salvation Army. The people drove one such group off the government at one time, defending their own beliefs. These people who follow various offshoot religious groups are subject to comments as to their way of life, for it is very difficult for the community to conceive of a worship so totally alien to theirs. These sects are considered terribly funny, and stories are told of attending some of their services for amusement.

Another attitude to consider in terms of a cognitive map is that towards modernity and towards the issue of "Women's Liberation"--both outside values. Women's

Lib is never discussed--but as one spokeswoman said in St. John's, the women in the outports are far ahead. The attitude as specified in Harbour Deep deals with birth control. Harbour Deep has those that do and don't use some form of contraception. Birth control is not talked about, and it seems to be neither totally accepted or rejected. Limiting the number of children is seen to be desirable--probably because more of those born now survive and there is less work to be done on the flake. Also parents now wish to provide certain benefits for their children, most of which, like education, cost money. The attitudes toward birth control express more the ideas of modernity than do other store bought commodities, for birth control is not simply a matter of consumption and comparison, but instead represents a world of new ideas and outlooks. Harbour Deep is certainly on its way.

Attitudes Toward Isolation

When dealing with a cognitive approach, we must ascertain how the people themselves see their situation and what they feel about it. Statements of a spatial nature are quite common expressions in Harbour Deep. Compiling these, one can get a glimpse of isolation as it is felt by the people who live it.

Travel by boat is disliked by many of the women in the community and feared as well. From a lifetime of

experience with the sea, water travel is worrisome. For the men it is an everyday fact of life. Stories are told of skiffs cut through by the ice, and near drownings. The actual death rate in Harbour Deep due to this cause seems to be zero, but the possibility is always there. None of the men can swim, although a few of the youngsters have learned. The numerous trips back and forth during the holidays made by the university and high school students are cause for alarm. On one occasion, the steamer's engine room caught fire with many aboard and narrowly escaped disaster. The sinking of a longliner after striking on submerged rocks, again while carrying students (and the anthropologist), further confirmed strong fears, even though no lives were lost. Communication by means of radio-telephone is a laborious process with poor reception and difficulty of transmission. The most commonly used device is the radio--which brings news in, but does not take information out. Hence the feeling of separation is enhanced because of the difficulty of contact with other places, even if simply by phone. One has a sense of helplessness when the campaigning member for the district circles overhead in a plane on three consecutive days, unable to land because of the winds for the public meeting. But these are to a certain extent extensions of the mifictions of physical isolation. The complaints of isolation that are voiced are fear of water travel and of the safety of the young people. The inability to buy certain items and a variety of foodstuffs

are seen as drawbacks. The people themselves are a bit unsure as to how they compare to those on the outside. They are flattered that someone would be interested in their way of life, and also that an outsider would wish to return to Harbour Deep once again.

Although they are isolated, Harbour Deepers are not intimidated by those from outside. The people on the steamer are always fair butts for good jokes. Their speech is mimicked, and their clothes commented on, especially if they stroll about for any length of time fraternizing with the people. The old men particularly enjoy these sights, slapping their thighs and laughing heartily recalling an innocent comment or question. One common statement that results in derision is anyone off the steamer saying: "My what a pretty little place this is! What do you call it?" The men would cough and answer honestly, but begin to wink and carry on once the visitor's back was turned. They seem to regard this comment as a sort of "left-handed" compliment--or perhaps their reaction was to be expected after years of hearing the same question. The crew members on the steamer were not friendly with anyone in the community, and no one made much of an attempt to begin any sort of relationship. The crews were on for two weeks, and off for another two so there were two alternating sets of men, but fairly stable as groups. The community's men were not favorable towards hobnobbing with the transient outsiders--as though they considered this behavior to be

demeaning.

But for all of this, the people in Harbour Deep have refused to leave, preferring their way of life to that in a resettled community, or in the cities. Their defense of the community is vigorous, and the few pessimists about its survival are ridiculed. Harbour Deepers seem to be gradually gaining a feeling of worth--as their community improves, as their children become better educated, as more and more outsiders come to visit and to stay. The contact that they do have with the outside does not appear to increase their sense of isolation, for there is little that the outside seems to offer them. If the call was strong enough, they would have gone with those from Little Harbour Deep, from Williamsport. The expressed opinion about isolation, and it is not actually about isolation per se, is that they will leave when their children no longer come back. When a newspaper columnist spoke of them as "isolated from the outside world" one of the girls commented: "We're all on the outside of the world--none inside!"

Talk of a road is always in the air, and access across the country to Port Saunders. The mass return of the young people from school and university at every chance they get speaks well for this type of life. Many of the teenagers fight going out to school, even going so far as to purposely flunk a year or two so that they won't have to leave. This seems to be the case because of the strong

family ties within the community. Home is all security--one knows who one is in Harbour Deep, and has others that know you. Applying a single term of this feeling would be inadequate. Many of those at work outside the community buy beautiful gifts for those at home--one woman's daughter bought her a clothes dryer, others buy TVs, radios, anything to further the enjoyment for their parents. Gratitude is also shown by the elderly parent or parents being part of the family, living under the same roof. There are no old people's homes in Harbour Deep.

Circumstances force their leaving, for jobs, for education, for husband or wife. Isolation to them adds a special flavor to life in Harbour Deep, but also presents difficult obstacles for them to stay. A road built to follow kin ties and relationships up and down White Bay would be a high impossibility because of the terrain with its high marshy uplands and its deep fiord-like arms. The proposed siting of the road across the peninsula will have many implications: besides decreasing actual physical isolation, it will link them with unrelated people, unknown in Harbour Deep.

The people express conflicting opinions about this proposed road. If it comes, they realize that their present mode of living will disappear. Strangers will be in and out of the community at will, carried by the automobile. House will have to be locked or guarded and children will no longer be safe on the road. But they also

see a road as their only hope of survival, as the link that will bring their children back more safely and perhaps permanently. The road will mean work and jobs for the men, and more opportunities for social life. In spatial and emotional terms, Harbour Deep has a vast future to face.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This has been a study of Harbour Deep dealing with space as a medium: in the house, in the community, and between communities. At this point we shall consider how the spatial aspect meshes with the general culture of Harbour Deep.

In the house we saw how house construction itself is a meditating factor in the impingement to the group upon the individual. The physical construction and its use supports certain expressed ideals, such as cleanliness and friendliness with checks and balances imposed (the gradual entrance, the visual possibilities). It assumes characteristics in an acoustic and a visual sense from the particular situation in this community--the unsoundproof construction of dwellings influences interaction and community information, as well as visiting patterns. In this way actual physical construction becomes a link in the manner of communication.

Sexual domains are apparent, with the removal of the daybed and any remodeling that takes place vouching for the power of the female at home. The furnishing of the kitchen space has its own specific pattern of use, dependent on age-sex characteristics--so that physical objects in themselves are an integral part of the spatial system. The effect of something such as the TV has also

been noted--a feature of modernity that changes not only interaction or non-interaction in this setting--constructed to augment certain cultural patterns.

In the community we looked at various public places as to their specific effect on community interaction through space, calling these public places "focal points". Focal points were demonstrated to serve a variety of purposes, with different results. The weight a focal point carries in terms of community interaction reflects its use and its power to involve the entire community. Some focal points are important information exchange centers, while others are reserved only for limited use--the Point merchant's as compared to the nursing station. An evaluation of a public place in terms of worth to the inhabitants would be an entirely different analysis with differing results. Variation in sex-limited roles appear in the use of certain places, such that the church is an area which shows a marked difference in use for the male and the female. The influence of its distance on the make-up of visiting groups was shown as well. Looking at the culture of Harbour Deep and moving away from the house, the man's world begins to expand while the woman's trends to become more limited. The spatial system in this case actually divides groups along male/female lines of information and accessibility.

The focal points within a community have a great effect on daily patterns; the lack of shops in NW

Bottom results in a different use of the community for the women living there. Focal points that augment one another and create a hub for a cross section of the population form complexes of interaction--such as the Point Merchant's, the wharf, and the theater.

Focal points location within a community can then determine information flow and specific interactions mold patterns of community use on the public level, and influence knowledge about the others within the community. The lack of focal points in NW Bottom means little outside traffic is drawn into this section, so that it is the least travelled portion of the community, and least often seen by the majority of the inhabitants.

Another aspect of community space is knowledge about and use of the surrounding environment. Male/female differences appear in degree of knowledge about the others in various sections of the community--the man's daily pattern takes him into contact with a variety of others, while a woman's circle is more limited.

In the chapter on inter-community space we dealt primarily with the aspect of isolation, as a physical and a psychological force. The steamer is an emotional tie as well as a supply link, and serves a specific role in community cohesiveness and interaction--people get together for the arrival of the steamer, and arrivals and departures are clearly visible to all. Isolation in this culture creates bonds and a certain definition of

location. The diffusion of attitudes toward travel and visiting outlined the extent of the Harbour Deepers' fears we all as his outside ties and kin lines. Continual travelling expresses dissatisfaction with the community. Conceptions of outsiders in the community were found to vary depending on the individual and his ascribed role, and the conception of certain outside groups was found to be limited by direct experience. TV and radio have an impact on a community such as this--in terms of information as well as exposure. The most important aspect of isolation is, of course, its effect on the community's future, and on the lives of its inhabitants. Hence a spatial component can determine a point of negative growth.

From this study of spatial attributes, we become aware of certain cultural patterns which underlie much of the behavior of this community. Through structure and placement, when coupled with use and attitudes, we gain a spatial perspective which allows an understanding of the context of various social situations as defined by Harbour Deep. In summary, looking at Harbour Deep in terms of its spatial components enables an observer to perceive activity in terms of location. This perspective allows us to define various community focal points as to their effect upon interaction between individuals and between groups.

Spatial construction and usage is neither accidental nor unplanned, even though it may not be

verbalized, as it most clearly illustrated by the house form constructed by the people of Harbour Deep. The response is emotional, stemming from culturally instilled patterns and familiar interactions. Space provides a powerful stimulus for various "states-of-mind"--a stimulus which is recognized in the way people plan their own personal spaces. Construction within a culture should be based on feelings engendered by familiar and unfamiliar surroundings. Hall maintains that:

We will undoubtedly develop subtle ways of using space to assist man in many ways, to help him in his work, to increase or decrease his interactions with others...We will eventually learn the laws of space and how to apply them effectively (1961:

Anthropology can play a large part in this learning process, viewing man in all his diversity based on certain principles.

Spatial usage has for the most part been determined from a vantage point external to the culture--an "etic" approach (Esber 1971). Anthropology, because of its emphasis on field work and cultural relativity, has the disciplined ability to add the "emics" of the situation as viewed by the inhabitants of any community. Anthropology provides a detailed context for behavior, and a system of inter-relationships on a total cultural scale.

An illustration of possible anthropological input is provided by Charles Thomas Thompson in Patterns of House Keeping in Two Eskimo Settlements:

Although the women were traditionally the dominant figures in the tent household (and when in camp still retain that position), their authority seems to have been usurped when they have moved into housing in the settlement. The home does not "belong" to the woman; she has had nothing to do with building or furnishing the house; she is not responsible for buying food or any other articles in the house (1969:20).

A situation such as this which creates a change in social organization and relationship involves much more than a substitution of physical and structural features. The situation also allows for modification through knowledge of the lifeways of a people, and information about possible conflicts that may appear between the old way of life and the new. Anthropology has the methods and the interest which can be utilized and applied.

Good design becomes meaningless tautology if we consider that man will be reshaped to fit whatever environment he creates. A long range question is not so much what sort of environment we want but what sort of man we want (R. Sommer 1969:179).

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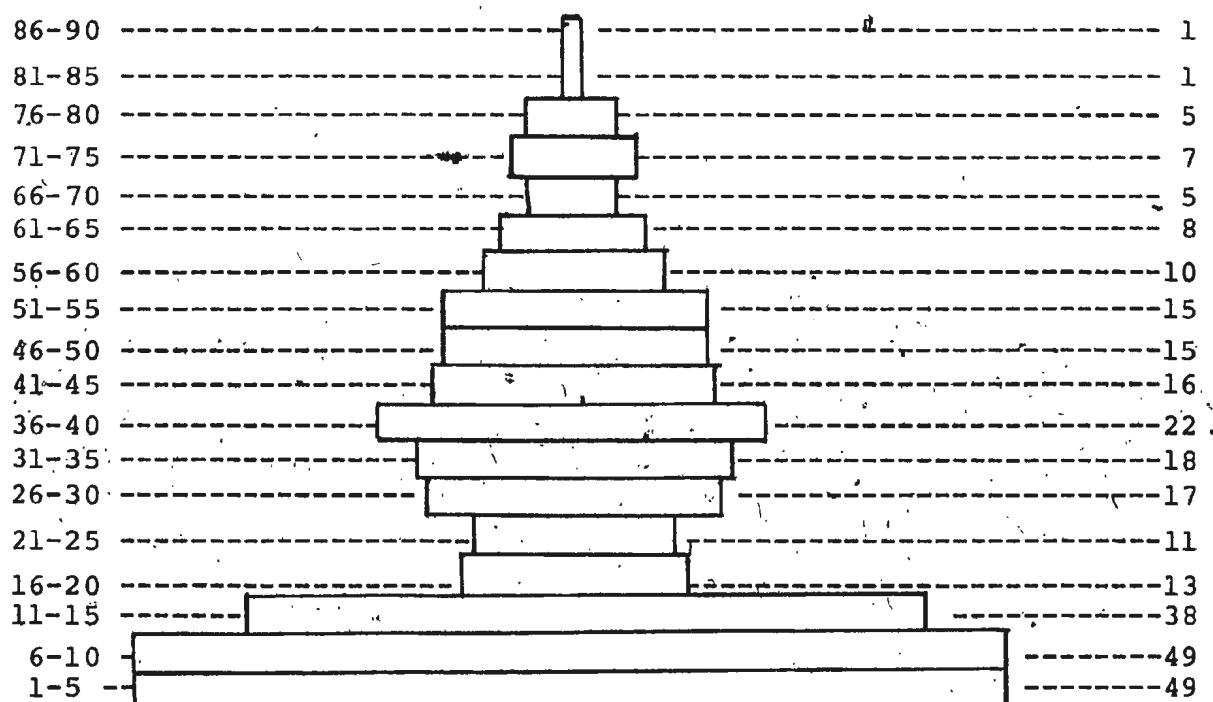
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Total in Chart



Total Population by Age

300

Chart 1: Population Pyramid: Harbour Deep, August 1971

Horizontal Scale: 1/10" = 1 individual
 Vertical Scale: Cohorts of 5 year intervals
 male and female aggregated.

Total in Chart

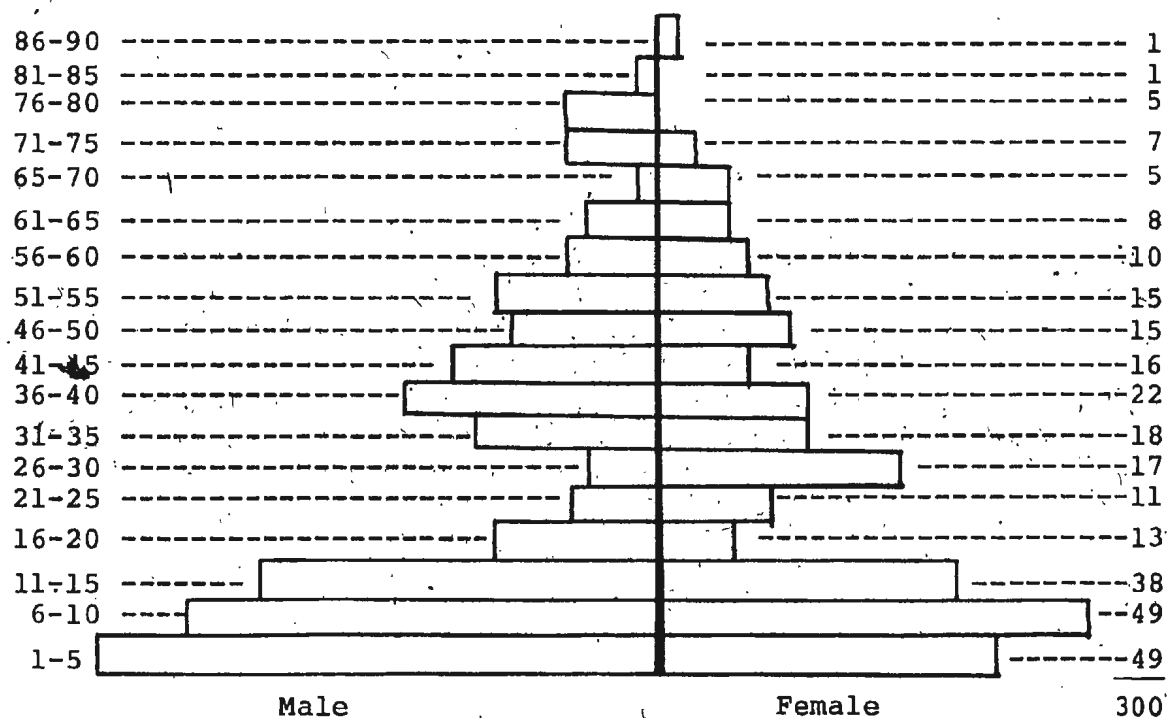


Chart 2: Population Pyramid: Harbour Deep, August 1971

Horizontal Scale: 1/10" = 1 individual

Vertical Scale: Cohorts of five year intervals diagrammed by male and female respectively.

HARBOUR DEEP

NORTHWEST
BOTTOM

THE POINT

SOUTHWEST
BOTTOM



VIEW FROM
THE BRIDGE



KITCHEN



THE ROOM ON
A SUNDAY



FOURTH BIRTHDAY



SQUID JIGGING



GOING TO THE STORE



WOMEN IN THE
GARDEN



THE MEN'S
MEETING

PUTTING UP THE FISH





THE STEAMER



UNLOADING FLOUR



GOODS FOR THE SHOP



FISHING OUTSIDE

THE SCHOOL FROM THE
GOVERNMENT WHARF

LEAVING

