SALT COD AND GOD: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFFECTING STATUS IN A SOUTHERN LABRADOR COMMUNITY

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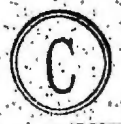

SALT COD AND GOD: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFFECTING STATUS IN A SOUTHERN LABRADOR COMMUNITY

by

Frank E. Southard

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the determinants of socio-economic status in Port Hope Simpson, Labrador. Some of the more important social and economic conditions in the community are detailed as they relate to the status of individuals and families. Factors which influence status are considered in chapters on material, social, and ideological conditions. The description of the community structure provides an insight into community values in order to present status from an emic point of view. However, some of the conditions which can affect status are de-emphasized by residents; they are, nonetheless, etically important.

It is argued that sociological explanations linking status to occupation, education, and income are inadequate to explain status in Port Hope Simpson. Here, community relations are carried out on an informal and personal basis. The actions of residents are highly visible within the community, and status is, therefore, determined by the observation of people's performance in many roles.

Although the primary source of employment is the cod and salmon fishery, the extremely short fishing season and the isolation of the community from specialized services make it necessary for people to exploit many different types of cash and subsistence production. In this way, life in Labrador has changed little since the first European settlement. Even though people may be officially unemployed for nearly nine months of the year, they still attach a great importance to work.

The bulk of this study is based on data gathered by participant observation during a fieldwork period of nearly a year and a half. Due to the scarcity of other contemporary ethnographies of southern Labrador, this may provide the most comprehensive data for a community in the area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without the help of what I now realize was an enormous crew. All "hands" made a contribution, not only to this thesis, but to my personal life. I am especially indebted to the people of Port Hope Simpson who devoted hours to explaining their lives and showing me how to do things, with no promise that their efforts would bring an improvement either to their lives or to the community. Their frank openness toward answering questions about their personal lives is a tribute to the Labrador tradition of complete honesty, sincerity, and hospitality. Also instrumental to my understanding of Labrador was Fred Andersen of Happy Valley, who, on a number of occasions, saved me a lot of money in hotel bills when the plane to Port Hope Simpson was grounded by bad weather.

Research from May to November 1979 was funded by a Northern Science Research Training Grant. From July 1980 to May 1981, I returned to the field as a research assistant for a project entitled "The Social Context of Work and the Consequences of Unemployment" directed by Dr. Robert Hill of the Department of Sociology at Memorial University. Bob spent a great deal of time helping me with the portions of this thesis pertaining to unemployment and editing my report for the project. This project was administered by the Community Services Council of Newfoundland and Labrador with funding from both Federal and Provincial Governments. For two years of my M.A. programme in Anthropology, I received a Memorial University Graduate Fellowship.

My friend and thesis advisor, Dr. John Kennedy of the Department of Anthropology, devoted many hours to the organization and content of this thesis and provided the steady guidance needed to overcome my habit of procrastination. I can only hope that he did not consider it too small a return favour when I introduced him to Rice-a-Roni which has always remained at the top of my list of exciting gourmet dishes. In addition, Dr. Raoul Andersen often gave me advice on my general writing style. David Taylor of the Department of Folklore, master of the semi-colon and archenemy of the dangling participle, picked away, as well. I wish to thank the typists, Faye Smith and Val Ryan for their efforts. Certainly not least, my deepest appreciation goes to the Cunningham family and all the others who let me eat their groceries while I was enrolled in the M.A. programme.

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PREFACE

Not long after I first arrived in the southern Labrador community of Port Hope Simpson to do fieldwork for my M.A. thesis in Anthropology, I became awake that a popular subject of conversation was the positive and negative aspects of other local people. In my conversations with people in their homes and at their daily tasks, I learned that some people were highly regarded and others were all but ostracized from community interaction.

Perhaps it was because I was raised in a middle-class community where ethnicity and occupational type mattered to one's status that I became interested in what distinguished people in a homogeneous community of tremendously high unemployment and little occupational diversity. Even a casual visitor notices that there is a great range in the appearance of houses and their facilities. Some houses have no foundations or "inside plumbing," are uninsulated, and have only wood stoves for cooking and heating, while a few are indistinguishable from the bungalows that line the streets of middle-class suburbia. I wondered if the occupants of these latter type of houses had better jobs or higher incomes than occupants of the former type. Were they better educated? Did they have a higher social status in the community? A few weeks of questioning and listening to residents talk about their fellows proved that there was little correlation between the appearance of houses or the quantity of consumer durables and socio-economic standing. It was clear that the usual markers of high status found in middle-class society were not applicable to Port Hope Simpson society.

When discussing a fisherman's personal traits, people would frequently refer to his production of salt codfish and his adherence to a God-inspired work ethic. Hence the title of this thesis. Of course, status is not measured simply by quantities of salt cod and devotion to God; there are many ramifications of status. This is what this thesis is about.

Port Hope Simpson is an actual place. An attempt to disguise the name of a community which is so easily identifiable in a sparsely settled area would be pointless. I have, however, used pseudonyms for the actual cases presented. A discussion of status must include the low as well as the high, and for this reason, it is possible that informants will be resentful if they suspect they have been so identified. I apologize if I have misrepresented them and can only hope that this work will provide an insight into some of the problems that Labradorians face today. While this study concerns conditions in Port Hope Simpson, it should be noted that similar conditions exist in many other coastal communities of the province as well.

Unless otherwise noted all quotations have been taken from my fieldnotes or the transcriptions of tape recorded interviews. Double quotation marks signify an actual statement by an informant, a quotation from a publication, or a term which may be unfamiliar to the reader. Single quotation marks are used to signify expressions common among Labradorians.

Chapter 1

Introduction

A. Historical Perspectives

The patterns of Labrador history are quite distinct from those of the rest of Canada or the United States. In a report concerning resources and settlement in southern Labrador, Jackson (1982:7) points to four recurring historical themes which illuminate the character of life on the coast today. They can be summarized as 1) neglect of opportunity, 2) a long period of anarchy, 3) the almost feudal dependence of Labradorians on traders, and 4) the struggle of families for independence through a subsistence economy.

It is possible that the Norsemen, who are believed to have frequented the coast of Labrador from 1000 to 1347 A.D., recognized the importance of timber resources there (Ingstad 1964:708-734). Archaeological evidence suggests that the sixteenth century Spanish Basques understood the importance of shore stations to their fishing and whaling industry (Tuck and Grenier 1981:180-190). However, upon the "rediscovery" of Labrador by European explorers, Labrador was considered more of an obstacle to the fabled Northwest Passage than a place for permanent settlement. Cabot, in 1498, and Cartier, in 1534, were

followed by scores of fishing expeditions when they noted the abundance of codfish in the Labrador Sea, but for two centuries no attention was given to the land. Even though England may have claimed Labrador by right of discovery, it remained a no-man's land until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 divided the Quebec-Labrador peninsula between England and France. Still, this agreement did not define a boundary. The 1763 Treaty of Paris defined the boundaries of the Canadian provinces and granted the coast of Labrador to the English through the governor of Newfoundland, but the interior remained unapportioned until the Quebec Act of 1774 took Labrador away from Newfoundland and made it part of Quebec. Even the Hudson's Bay Company, established in 1670, did not begin operations in Labrador until 1836 (Zimmerly 1975:86-102). The pattern of delayed development has continued from its historical roots resulting in today's residents still feeling the effects of neglect by government and free enterprise.

Labrador suffered a long period of anarchy that began with the hostilities fired by European contact with the Inuit. Raids were initiated by both sides until the late eighteenth century. At the same time, there was a ruthless competition over fish and, later, fur, by Britain, Newfoundland, France, and America, which was never successfully regulated by government. Settlement occurred sporadically and was dependent on who had control of the resources. In 1702, the King of France granted Courtemanche a land concession for trading with the Montagnais and Naskapi Indians and the Inuit, and in 1742 another concession was granted to Fornel (1975:38-49). Presumably Courtemanche and Fornel withdrew sometime before the 1763 Treaty of Paris gave

control to the British governor in Newfoundland.

In 1766, in order to maintain British advantage in the fishery, Governor Palliser forbade permanent settlement in Labrador as he had done earlier in Newfoundland. English settlement did not occur until 1770, when Cartwright established a furring and fishing post at Cape Charles. Conflict over fishing rights by another English firm, Noble and Pinson, probably accelerated other attempts at settlement of the Labrador coast, but these attempts were by no means the beginnings of systematic development. American privateers repeatedly violated the British sovereignty that Governor Palliser had regulated. Cartwright's settlement was raided in 1777 and again in 1779, and Noble and Pinson lost three ships to an American privateer (Jackson 1982:12). Quebec fishing fleets also vied with the British and Newfoundlanders for trade and fish. Still further, the competition between the Labrador merchants themselves became so severe that they asked the Governor of Newfoundland for protection against fellow merchants (Whitely 1977:19). Gradually, Newfoundland fish companies replaced those of Britain and by 1820 there were small permanent settlements at Petty Harbour, Fishing Ships Harbour, Occasional Harbour, Square Island Harbour, Cape Bluff Island Harbour, Snug Harbour, St. Michael's Bay and others as well as those that Cartwright had established (Jackson 1982:17). Still, the competition was unregulated. The effect was to drive down prices paid to fishermen and relegate settlers to a life of debt and subservience.

Jurisdiction over Labrador has been repeatedly transferred from one power to another. Quebec lost control of Labrador in 1809 when it

was again given back to Newfoundland. The boundaries were nebulously defined as the basin of rivers flowing into the Atlantic from the entrance of the Hudson Straits in the north to the River St. John in the south. In 1825, a section of coast from Blanc Sablon to the 52nd parallel and along that parallel to the River St. John was taken from Newfoundland and given to Canada (Gosling 1910:432-453). Nevertheless, conflict of jurisdiction continued as the Canadian, Quebec, and Newfoundland governments acted authoritatively in Labrador until 1927, when the British Privy council decided in favour of Newfoundland. However, this decision was never accepted by Quebec, even when Newfoundland and Labrador became Canada's tenth province in 1949. The issue of control over resources in Labrador continues to be disputed without much regard for its residents and results in Labradorians feeling little allegiance to either Newfoundland or Canada.

The absence of any strong civil authority in Labrador permitted traders and merchants to exploit the settlers by binding them to severe terms of obligation and credit which they could never pay off. Many residents chose to flee this system of bondage by joining American fishing vessels on their return voyage (Jackson 1982:16). For those that chose to remain, the only escape was for them to become as self-sufficient as possible. The minimal contribution of cash gained through marketing fur and fish was combined with heavy dependence on subsistence production. The technology available to the settlers came from their European background but included borrowed traits from the Indian and Inuit. Intermarriage was frequent and continued in southern Labrador until the core of the native groups was decimated

through disease and relocation. In contrast to northern Labrador, there are no distinct ethnic groups recognized today in southern Labrador. Were it not for the contribution of the indigenous populations to the settlers' way of life, it is hard to imagine how settlement could have taken hold.

But despite the hardships of Labrador life, the abundance of fish and fur attracted many Newfoundlanders who perceived it as better than facing the hard times at home. A long time resident of Charlottetown, Labrador put his experience to verse:

When I left my home on the Island,
I was only just a kid.
The government had told us all industry was dead,
And eighty thousand Newfies could no longer earn bread.

I stood one day at the seashore,
Feeling so very sad.
No way to earn my living
On the Island of Newfoundland.

So I traded my home on the Island,
For a little log cabin up north,
And there by the light of the candle,
I'd put on my caribou scawf.

One day in that northland I married,
I just wanted to make it my home.
My wife did the work in the cabin,
While I done the trapline alone.

Forty years now I've spent in this northland,
With its freedom a challenge to all.
I never think of retiring,
Or returning to my homeland again.

Should ever you ask me the question,
"Oh, why did you settle up north?"
I could easily give you the answer,
By telling a hard time I had.

(Powell 1979:174)

B. The Problem

This thesis is about the determinants of socio-economic status in Port Hope Simpson. The coastal communities of Labrador South can be characterized by primary wage employment being limited to a single occupation - fishing - which is seasonal, short-term, and is supplemented by various other means of cash and subsistence production. Communities have a high unemployment rate and are gedgraphically isolated from those communities having more diversified and remunerative economies. Community relations are carried out on a face-to-face basis. Aside from occupations which are peripheral to the fishery or are the result of the existence of the community, such as teachers, merchants, nurses, there is a notable lack of specialized personnel. Most people make their livelihood by the use of nearly identical resources and technology. But even in purely egalitarian societies having few ascribed statuses, status varies according to individual competence and performance. Therefore, measurement of status by one's level of income, occupation, and level of education required for a particular occupation, a technique commonly used by sociologists, can not be appropriate for Port Hope Simpson. What, then, determines success and failure? Why does the community award prestige to some and not to others? Why does it negatively sanction still others? For the answers to these questions, one must look at the values around which the community is oriented.

If one can understand what type of behaviour people value, the problem becomes to identify the factors which permit and limit attainment of valued goals. This is important because a description of the particular ladder of success of a community helps explain why its

residents behave as they do. The purpose of this thesis is to show how various conditions in Port Hope Simpson permit or restrict the attainment of what the community defines as socio-economic success.

Although this is not a comparative study, many of the factors influencing personal status in Port Hope Simpson may be quite different from those present in communities where the majority of relations are impersonal, the employment market is more varied, and the unemployment rate is lower. What I hope to demonstrate is how conditions peculiar to the Port Hope Simpson society and economy can affect the overall status of residents.

My working hypothesis can be simply stated: In a community where people have basically the same technology and resources at their disposal, socio-economic status depends upon competence and performance in valued activities.

An easily made assumption is that people having a history of similar lifestyles and occupations are embued with similar values. The independent variable, which I will discuss at length, is that residents do employ similar technological means to extract resources in order to make a living. The dependent variable is the effect of accomplishment of valued goals upon the status of community members.

C. Theoretical Orientation

The term status has two applications (cf. Linton 1936). A status is a social position in the pattern of a culture. All societies have an established and well-defined set of such positions relating to categories of age, sex, kin, and occupation. Some statuses are ascribed, as are

those relating to age and sex; others are achieved, as are most occupational statuses in the Western World. Some statuses are important to a person's reputation, and others are of little consequence. The status of any individual is the sum total of all the status positions which he occupies.

Exercising the rights and carrying out the duties associated with a status is the performance of a role. The way a person performs his role is the means by which he is evaluated in a status by others. Simply because a person occupies a prestigious status is no guarantee that he will be awarded a high over-all status. The reputations of two men who recently occupied the status of President and Vice-President of the United States illustrate this point. Similarly, how a fishermen's role is performed, partially determines his status in the community. Further determinants are his performance of the roles associated with his other valued statuses.

The distinction between a status and the status of an individual is important to his evaluation vis-a-vis the character of his daily relationships. In a community where an individual has many single-stranded relationships, he is judged according to that role in which he is best known. In a community such as Port Hope Simpson where a person has a few multi-stranded relationships, he tends to be judged according to his performance in all valued statuses.

A sizeable body of sociological literature exists on identifying a status hierarchy as recognized by a society or portions of a society. Much of this literature defines status in terms of occupation, income, and education. Weber, who was interested in developing a theory of social

and economic organization in stratified societies writes:

> The term of 'social status' will be applied to a typically effective claim to positive or negative privilege with respect to social prestige so far as it rests on one or more of the following bases: (a) mode of living, (b) a formal process of education which may consist in empirical or rational training and the acquisition of the corresponding modes of life, or (c) on the prestige of birth, or of an occupation (1947:428).

Weber's followers and theoretical opponents analyzed status as a means for indicating changes in stratified industrialized societies. For example, one such study explains that "there are cogent reasons for expecting that changes in occupational structure will be reflected, at least ultimately, in corresponding changes in prestige positions of occupations" (Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi 1966). Because the analytical units central to the concern of studying industrial societies are so large, the variables affecting status were essentially limited to those emphasized in Weber's work.

Occupational status can be easily measured if informants rank occupations on the basis of some given variable. Highly sophisticated statistical techniques have been used to measure the prestige hierarchy of occupations based on interviews with members of the group under study (e.g., Blau and Duncan 1967, Pineo and Porter 1967, Blishen 1967, and Tausky 1967). Weber's study and these capitalize on the analysis of a status of a hypothetical individual, rather than on the status of an actual person.

Status in Port Hope Simpson is not based merely on community perception of education, occupation, or income. In fact, I found that these variables were quite unimportant as a means for reckoning status.

Perhaps this is not surprising, since the techniques of Weber and the others were developed for stratified societies. Although Port Hope Simpson residents have a developed sense of "class consciousness," it applies to classes of people outside the community. The situation is similar in the Irish community of Inishkillane as observed by Brody.

> The traditions of Irish peasant life evidently do not encourage a hierarchical community. Indeed, a corollary to the value of farm-family independence is the absence of any such inter-family authority structure. The powers of vested authority came either from outside, in the form of landlords and colonists, or from people of specialized education and role, in the form of priests, teachers, and most recently solicitors. More generally, the authorities in rural Ireland constitute a distinctive class, occupationally or nationally far removed from local farm life. The community itself therefore tends to be one group with more or less identical life-styles, backgrounds and economic interests (Brody 1973:205).

Port Hope Simpson residents see themselves as having a common identity through the similar social and economic conditions that they face. This identity is reinforced through the opposition of outside lifestyles. As in Frankenberg's (1957) ethnography of the Welsh village of Pentrediwaith, the 'stranger' and the 'outsider' play an important part in preserving social unity, which results in people being recognized as being of the community or not of the community. This opposition has the effect of stabilizing potential disunity within the community.

Brody amply demonstrates that for Inishkillane differences in status among community residents is due to the varying degrees of their achievement:

> ...In Inishkillane, as in the vast majority of parishes in West Ireland, there are status differences - of which the farmers themselves are the sole arbiters - but not class differences: all householders are in the same relation to the means of production, even if they benefit in different degrees from that relation...It is true that the Michaels have a distinctive economic ascendency within the community, do have a form of life and a corresponding set of relationships which separate them both materially and morally from all other local families. All the information in this chapter points to that simple conclusion....But the Michaels' advantage depends upon changes in the economic lives of all householders as much as their own unusual way of exploiting these changes (1973:206-7).

In other Irish communities where there is probably an even greater degree of technical differentiation than in Port Hope Simpson, "...the organization of the community upon an occupational basis can be understood not in terms of such considerations as income, wealth, or skill or any such factors, but in terms of the place and function of the persons specializing among their fellows. It can be understood in terms of social relations and the organization of habit. Status based upon technical differentiation is built up out of personal relations in the work experience of community members" (Arensberg and Kimball 1961:271-2).

This suggests that performance in the sum total of all personal relationships determines the status of an individual in such a community. If my working hypothesis is confirmed by the data, the status model developed by Brody (1973) and Arensberg and Kimball (1961) may also be appropriate for Port Hope Simpson conditions.

D. Analytical Methods

Despite the presence of family and religious factions in Port Hope Simpson, the community sets the standards for the evaluation of

status. That is, people are constrained by the norms of the community rather than by a specific set of norms unique to a subgrouping such as a religious faction.

> Since it is mainly through face-to-face relations that a person's behavior is influenced by his fellows - motivated, cued, rewarded, and punished - the community is the primary seat of social control. Here it is that deviation is penalized and conformity rewarded. It is noteworthy that ostracism from the community is widely regarded as the direst of punishments and that its threat serves as the ultimate inducement to cultural conformity. Through the operation of social sanctions, ideas and behavior tend to become relatively stereotyped within a community, and a local culture develops. Indeed, the community seems to be the most typical social group to support a total culture (Murdock 1949:82).

Individuals are further judged by their association with others within the community. They are never disassociated from their conjugal families, extended families, or work groups. Commonly these three groups are found in the household. This is why the household is used in this study as a unit of analysis for economic and social relations. Furthermore, to divorce individuals from their household units would be antithetical to Port Hope Simpson thinking.

A broader unit which is also useful is the 'crowd.' Individuals are further identified by the reputation of their patriline. But, as Schwartz (1974) demonstrates, the term crowd is polyadic in usage. It can be used to refer to a grouping of agnatic kin. This unit of analysis is particularly useful in Port Hope Simpson where there are descendants of three unrelated founders of the community who all had the same surnames. The term can also be broadened to characterize people by assigning them membership in a group having common traits, such

as the 'welfare crowd' or the 'Pentecostal crowd.' The same principle applies when a fishing crew is labelled 'a hard bunch.' A further refinement of the term is made when it refers to places occupied during the fishing season. The 'Francis Harbour crowd' designates the Alcorn family and the unrelated sharemen who fish there. The 'George's Cove crowd' refers to several families with different surnames who are united by common residence in the summer.

Here, Faris' (1972) distinction between "general crowd" and "effective crowd" is useful. The general crowd is the agnatically related kin group. Although, unlike the general crowd in Faris' Cat Harbour, which consists of a kin group occupying houses in spatial proximity, the growth of Port Hope Simpson has not resulted in general crowds being kept within family garden plots. The effective crowd refers to a sub-group of the former, sometimes to a particular fishing crew, but more often to a group engaged in a common collective economic activity pursued at the same degree of intensity or productivity. Cross-cutting the general crowd is the 'crowd on the dole' or the cognitively opposite, the 'fish killers.' The concept of crowdship demarcates those holding different socio-economic, religious, and behavioural statuses, as well as geographic location.

Placing individuals, households, or crowds in relative positions on the community status hierarchy would be impossible. Not only does status change from time to time, but some people may consider a particular status of a person more important to his overall estimation than others. For instance, the performance of a Pentecost in his status as a lay reader may be considered more important to other Pentecosts than to non-Pentecosts.

For this reason, it would be impossible to establish a hierarchical order of individuals or social units and it would be a pointless exercise to do so. Nevertheless, there are community values and socio-economic conditions that determine status.

Rather than have individuals rank others on a supposed scale of the community's esteem for them, I have chosen to describe conditions which can permit or restrict the chances of attaining success according to the community's definition of successfulness. I believe people's values are better reflected if the anthropologist participates and observes life on a daily basis for an extended time, rather than by eliciting responses by formal survey techniques. Although I did administer a directive questionnaire to almost all household heads in order to survey what constitutes community prestige, among other things, a much more well-defined picture of community values emerged simply by observing people's behaviour toward one another. Interspersed throughout this study are actual statements of the residents themselves as well as my own reported observations, which I believe are indicative of community values.

Status involves those who claim it and those who honour the claim (cf. Horowitz 1972:310). Claims for status are expressed "in all those mannerisms, conventions and ways of consumption that make up the styles of life characterizing people on various status levels" (1972:310). The means by which a claim may be honoured vary. "Miss" may be a form of address reserved only for female schoolteachers. Persons who question the reputation of a well-respected fisherman may be negatively sanctioned. A person held in esteem by the community may have the

advantage of receiving many favours from a great number of people. These deferences are observable. In addition, it is usually not too difficult to detect how people feel about others by listening to their conversations about them. Therefore, through the daily experience of living in a community one comes to know which factors are important for determining the level of community esteem for people.

I have attempted to present community values from the perspective of residents. However, some of the socio-economic conditions which affect attainment of valued goals are not recognized by residents as being important variables. This etic formulation of the consequences of certain conditions is based on a comparison of those who have the advantage of a condition and those who do not. For example, informants de-emphasized a skipper's household composition as an important variable in his economic status. Yet, there was plainly a difference on a general level between the fishing income of skippers who had an optimum number of sharemen living with them and those who did not.

There is no single condition which is more important than others for determining the outcome of the community's estimation of a person. Social status and economic status are inextricably interrelated. It is easier to measure economic status than social status, but both are necessary to explain overall status. The strength of this thesis lies not in a quantitative assessment of the elements of status, but in the description of the unique conditions of the community which affect socio-economic status.

Chapter 2 shows how the community has evolved since its founding and the effect of that development on people's expectations. The description of the present socio-economic structure shows that, in many ways, modernization has altered economic life very little. A sketch of the community power structure and status indicates that it is still largely a Gemeinschaft-type community of traditional values. Chapter 3 describes the material conditions directly affecting economic status. Cash income is gained by active participation in a number of different types of work and by passive receipt of government transfer payments, but many of the variables influencing cash income cannot be directly controlled by individuals. Subsistence production enhances most household budgets. Utilization of cash and subsistence resources is restricted by traditional patterns and isolation of the community from outside influence. Chapter 4 describes some social conditions which can affect economic status and which, themselves, are indicative of one's social status. Chapter 5 describes some dominant ideological orientations which can affect status depending upon the degree to which they are embraced. Lastly, Chapter 6 examines the hypothesis stated above on the basis of the data presented.

Chapter 2

The Community Context

A. History and Development of the Community

Port Hope Simpson is a relatively new community located 26 miles from the mouth of the Alexis River on the south-east coast of Labrador. In 1934 when J.O. Williams, a native of Cardiff, Wales, began a timber operation to cut pitprops for British mines, woods work became the solution for many fishermen to the economic crisis they were experiencing. Fish were scarce and a depressed market yielded low prices both in Newfoundland and Labrador.[1] News spread by word of mouth or by notices posted in telegraph offices that the Labrador Development Company was hiring men for woods work in Alexis Bay, St. Michaels Bay a few miles to the north, and Lewis Bay to the south. Men were recruited from Newfoundland outports and from nearby Labrador fishing villages in the spring of the year, before the

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[1] Informants reported that 1934 fish prices had fallen to 85¢ a quintal, down from $2.00 the previous year. A quintal was then 112 lbs.; it is now 100 lbs.

fishing season started. In June, men arrived by motorboat or by chartered schooner, usually with other male kinsmen, and lived in tents until they had time to build cabins. In the summer and fall, when it looked like the site and the operation had a future, the rest of the family arrived. Overnight, a town, by Labrador standards, was created.

Some of the 600 employees lived in woods camps scattered along the river, but most built around the sawmill. During the second year the Company erected 'stud houses' which were rented to employees for $5.00 a month. Specialists were hired: a company cook, blacksmith, Marconi set operator, store clerk, medical personnel, harbour pilots, woods manager and other staff, and a contingent of Newfoundland Police - later called the Newfoundland Rangers - was stationed there. The company store allowed generous credit and utilized its own printed currency for exchange for goods. A community hall was used for basketball, boxing, and dances. A ninety-mile dogsled race to Battle Harbour and back was held each March 21st. A hospital was staffed by a nurse and later a doctor.[1] These facilities established by the Labrador Development Company and, not least important, the camaraderie created by the gathering of people were reason enough for centralization. In 1941, the Alexis Bay woods operation came to be called Port Hope Simpson after the woods manager, John Hope Simpson.

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[1]An autobiographical account of a nurse's personal experiences in Port Hope Simpson during this time is published in Dorothy M. Jupp, A Journal of Wonder and Other Writings. New York:Vantage Press, 1971.

Although Port Hope Simpson answered a need for wage employment in a time of economic hardship, life was by no means easy. During the first years, men were paid 25¢ an hour and worked a ten hour day. The tradition of boys contributing to the family income continued; boys earned 12¢ an hour. Food supplies often ran low during the winter and could not be renewed until the arrival of the first steamer in June. As in the past, frugality was absolutely essential to survival and people relied a great deal on subsistence foods such as fish, game and berries. Many people were continually in debt to the stores, and a few years after the operation had begun, low wages prompted one man to organize a strike which lasted an entire summer and allegedly brought fifty Newfoundland Policemen to maintain order.

The most obvious advantage that the Labrador Development Company offered was the availability of continuous wage labour. This was an innovation among Labrador fishermen who previously were able to exploit a fish-for-cash economy only during the short three or four month fishing season. However, the fishery was never totally abandoned. Fewer woodsmen were required in the summer months which permitted at least part of a family to maintain the summer house and fishing equipment, if only to prevent them from falling into disrepair.[1] Although some did leave the fishery permanently to become full-time woodsmen, a father or brother kept fishing skills, berths and gear within the family. As the Second World War

[1]Informants say that in the early 40's, men seeking woods work in the summer months were actually turned away because there was none available.

approached and fish prices began to rise, residents of Port Hope Simpson considered it more profitable to re-enter the fishery on a larger scale. Those who owned summer houses and fishing equipment left the woods operation during the summer. Many who came from Newfoundland with fishing equipment became established at summer locations. All returned to Port Hope Simpson after the fishing season ended and most continued their involvement with the woods operation, including a few families who had previously wintered in Rexton's Cove, a short distance away.[1]

The continuation of the summer fishery cannot be entirely attributed to its profitability. It was possible, in theory, to make more money if one stayed with the woods operation year round, but because consumption habits were never totally changed to purchase-for-cash, the seasonal subsistence cycle retained its importance. In addition, being permanently harnessed to low paying wage labour went against the traditional ethic of independence which Newfoundland and Labrador fishermen had always embraced. People never lost their identify as fishermen which implied not only fishing, but pursuing a lifestyle of seasonal cash income and subsistence production.

In spite of the advantages of Port Hope Simpson, centralization of a population which previously had dispersed in small coastal

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[1] Rexton's Cove was the winter settlement for people who spent the summer in Williams Harbour. In 1979 Williams Harbour became the year round settlement and Rexton's Cove was abandoned. Williams Harbour was electrified the next year and has become the winter home for about 80 people. It is 25 miles from Port Hope Simpson.

villages had a definite disadvantage. Game was never plentiful in Alexis Bay; caribou herds had moved further north by the 1930's and small game became increasingly over-exploited. In addition, Port Hope Simpson was located far away from productive fishing or sealing areas. As time went on, subsistence production took on less significance to the household income, yet wage labour did not wholly replace a subsistence economy because of the high cultural value placed on independence and self-sufficiency.

In 1944 the Labrador Development Company was suffering an impairment of operating capital and was unable to pay off the Newfoundland Government's loan at a satisfactory rate. A court of enquiry into the operations of the company was opened. The Commissioner of Natural Resources threatened forfeiture to the crown of the property that Williams had bought from British sources (The Evening Telegram, Nov. 20, 1944:3 and June 9, 1945:3). The outcome was that Williams agreed to repay only part of the original loan in view of the wood the Newfoundland Government had appropriated and that there be no export tax as long as the repayment terms were met.

The problem seemed to be getting enough men in the camps to increase production sufficiently to meet the repayment terms. The labour shortage not only indicated the reluctance of Labrador fishermen to convert to steady wage work, but suggested a reluctance to accept employment on Williams' terms. Additional men were recruited from Newfoundland. Williams is reported to have said while recruiting from the Newfoundland Hotel, "I couldn't get a man down till all the fishermen had gone...Men come to me looking for

work...and I cannot equip any more than the sixty-five who went out on the train Monday to connect with the Kyle at Humbermouth. I had a one and a half million dollar contract which had to be cancelled for want of labour" (The Daily News, Nov. 23, 1945:3).

Although there were problems of retaining a year round work force, it looked for a while like the Company was going to succeed. The Daily News reported that 30,000 cords of timber were to be cut in 1947 and the yearly harvest increased to 100,000 cords by 1950 (The Daily News, July 10, 1947:3). However, this plan never materialized, presumably for want of labour, and the Company went into liquidation in November of 1947 when it was unable to meet the repayment schedule. It had cut 120,000 cords since its establishment in Port Hope Simpson.[1]

As winter approached, the lumber camp remained without work, pay, or food. Williams could not convert British sterling into dollars to purchase food or transportation for the residents. By December ice conditions made transportation out of the question. The food shortage became serious.

> Teams of huskies with dogsleds have been standing by to rush food to the camp thirty miles inland when the ship arrives. They have waited nearly a week and emergency food stocks are almost exhausted. The plight of more than 150 children is desperate according to messages flashed from Port Hope Simpson. The stranded nine hundred know the ship has been trying to reach them for almost a week. Now they fear the ship is also jammed in the ice (The Daily News, Dec. 3, 1947:1).

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[1] See Royal Commission Reports 1974, Vol. 3:656. On the basis of the number of years of operation and the number of employees, I suspect that this figure is much lower than the actual harvest.

However, informants say that the situation never became as desperate as the news article indicated, and that by travelling to Mary's Harbour (about thirty miles away) sufficient supplies were obtained. A few years later, fresh meat and milk were dropped by aircraft to alleviate a similar shortage.

Subsequently, a man and his five sons purchased the remaining government owned equipment and a few horses to continue exporting pitprops to Britain. A few years later, railroad ties and pulpwood were marketed in Newfoundland. Another local entrepreneur also competed, hiring local non-kin. At various times in the 1950's at least two small contractors from Newfoundland brought in equipment and hired local help. None of these operations reached the proportions of Williams' operations, primarily because of the relatively small capital investment involved.

In the years following the closing of the Labrador Development Company, about forty families who had resettled from Newfoundland returned there. Today, there are seventeen surnames in the community, all of which were present during the heyday of J.O. Williams. Nine are of large families occupying two or more households, and eight are of families occupying one household. There has been no significant immigration, nor has there been a substantial emmigration since the withdrawal of the Company according to older informants.

Population figures established by government censuses show such a wide fluctuation from census to census that they are of little use in substantiating any demographic claim and are directly contradicted by

community residents who state that the population remained stable after the initial emmigration upon the shutdown of the Labrador Development Company. I suspect that censuses were taken at slightly different times of the year, some being taken during the time when residents were away at their summer fishing stations. The 1966 population decline could be only partially due to the phase out of the Bowaters pulpwood operation. The census figures are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Population of Port Hope Simpson 1945-79[1]

Year	Population	Change	% Change	Average annual Change
1945	352			
1951	252	-100	-28	-4.7
1956	311	59	23	4.7
1961	402	91	29	5.9
1966	148	-254	-63	-12.6
1971	232	84	57	11.4
1976	548	316	136	27.2
1979[2]	555	7	1	1.0

In 1962, Bowaters of Newfoundland Ltd. began a pulpwood operation near Port Hope Simpson. Due to a forest fire in 1959, the most profitable timber stands were some distance from the community. This necessitated moving the base of operations to a depot about five

[1]Port Hope Simpson Municipal Plan 1980:34.

[2]My count as of November 1979.

miles away and constructing a twenty-two mile haul road. Steel hulled 'winch boats' were used to move pulpwood down the river to the loading piers. In 1963 a government wharf was built and two years later Bowaters constructed a haul road connecting it to the depot.[1] Although thirty or forty horses were still used, the operation was more capital intensive than the previous ones because it also utilized heavy machinery and trucks. Bowaters employed about 300 men who lived either in Port Hope Simpson, in one of the wood camps, or at the depot. Again the operation did not prove profitable, and it was withdrawn in 1967 after cutting 57,000 cords.(Royal Commission Reports, 1974, vol. 3:656). This time all equipment was removed. A few people report that the absence of the operation caused them some financial hardship, but most were involved in the fishery and did not consider Bowaters the mainstay of their survival. Today there are five locally owned sawmills which cut lumber for local sale and personal use only; there is no export operation.

The size and permanence of Port Hope Simpson resulted in government attention to its material needs. Eastern Provincial Airways began a subsidized mail and passenger service to communities on the south coast of Labrador in the early 1950's. The Canadian National Marine service, also subsidized, operates two coastal boats carrying freight and passengers which call weekly during the shipping season from early June to late November. During the 1960's the road

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[1]The government wharf is unfortunately located three-quarters of a mile from the community in order to permit access to deep water.

circling the community was widened to facilitate vehicular traffic. Most houses were connected to electrical power generated by a Newfoundland Hydro diesel plant. Telephones were installed in 1965 and a relay station on nearby Blow-Me-Down Mountain now permits long distance calls to be made. Today, there are 115 telephones. Two school buildings were constructed to replace the old Anglican and Pentecostal schools.[1] The community was incorporated in 1973 which provided an elected mayor, deputy mayor, three councillors, and an appointed clerk. Medical services were made more accessible in 1975 when a clinic was built and permanently staffed by two International Grenfell Association (IGA) nurses.[2] A doctor, dentist, eye specialist and public health nurse make periodic visits. Television reception became available in 1977 when a booster station was installed. Thirty-seven wells have been drilled to provide water, some of which were made possible by government financial assistance.

Government services, however, have been minimal on the south coast of Labrador, and especially in Port Hope Simpson, in comparison to the north coast and the Island. Nowhere in coastal Labrador north of the Straits of Belle Isle are there roads interconnecting nearby communities. The unpaved road circling Port Hope Simpson and leading to the wharf has a poor base and is continually potholed. There is no airstrip. There is no sewerage system or public water supply.

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[1]The 'Anglican' school is administered by the Vinland Integrated School Board in St. Anthony, Newfoundland.

[2]The IGA is now the Grenfell Regional Health Services (GRHS).

Householders without wells must draw their water from Humby's or Black Water Brook or from someone who has a well. There is no volunteer fire department nor any fire fighting equipment. Electrical wiring is inadequate in most houses, hazardous in many. During the period of my field work, four houses burned to the ground in Port Hope Simpson or nearby communities, with the loss of one life. There is no resident doctor or dentist; patients requiring hospitalization must be flown to St. Anthony. Under the best of conditions this takes two hours from the time the hospital is called, and during bad weather, it is a feat demanding heroic efforts. During a recent night evacuation, which forced a pilot to fly only "by the seat of his pants", the pilot, and two nurses, as well as the patient, risked their lives.

There is no permanently stationed Mountie, welfare officer, social worker, or unemployment insurance representative. The two schools have generally inadequate facilities compared to many other schools of their size in Newfoundland. For example, the Anglican school has no gym or library.

Legal advice is not readily accessible in coastal Labrador. Although people have not traditionally litigated, there have been times when they might have - such as when a contractor was killed in an automobile accident before paying his employees for nearly a year's woodswork, or when a fish merchant refused to pay over a dozen fishermen for the fish delivered to him during an entire season. Any adjudication was traditionally initiated by the Mountie; civil torts were handled informally by the disputants themselves. Matters which

people in more densely populated areas routinely turn over to lawyers, such as wills, trusts, partnerships, and divorces are either settled by informal normative rules or not at all.

Years of neglect and limited government expenditures in this area of Labrador have resulted in a lack of even rudimentary government and municipal services accepted as basic essential requirements in other Canadian communities of similar size. Resulting from the poor communication between government and the community are ignorance of existing economic opportunities, inordinate delays, loss of income and services, disappointment and frustration. Although experience with outside agencies has bred some tolerance towards the rate of local change, exposure to the media has led people to expect the government to intervene in raising their standard of living.

The role of government, or more precisely, the failure of government, in improving the local and individual economic situation is the subject of much conversation. It is noteworthy that local residents perceive the governmental system as an inefficient impersonal entity. They do perceive the efficacy of dealing with individual government representatives, however. The traditional nature of personal contact is evident.

For example, after receiving forms in the mail for a government loan, a man said, "All them people working in the government want is to put things off. They're only in it for the money. The government don't care about the people of Labrador. I called them to see if I could get some money to get some equipment and all's they sont me was a bunch of forms. I'll call Blair Porter. He knows me and he works

for them. He should be able to do something about it."

When I told him that Blair Porter worked for a different department than the one he needed, he said, "He knows the fellers in [the appropriate department], and he's the only one I know who'll do something up there."

The district representative in the Provincial House of Assembly is frequently expected, as part of his duties, to function in areas outside his responsibility and control, which people in other areas may regard as personal favours.

A newcomer who is even suspected of being a 'government worker,' as I was, can hardly escape the consternation that residents express toward the real and perceived injustices of government. When it was discovered that I had effected no change, the feeling that I was "only in it for the money" intensified, giving way finally to the realization that, indeed, I was ineffectual in whatever it was that I did.

Confederation with Canada in 1949 brought a welfare state to the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Both the Federal and Provincial Government increasingly began to intervene on behalf of individuals and communities in an attempt to rectify low living standards and to buttress a sagging economy. Whereas centralization of the population in order to facilitate government services became a key political issue in Newfoundland and resulted in the Resettlement Act of 1953, Port Hope Simpson had already acted as a centralization point. There are, of course, a number of problems which make administration of services difficult, not the least of which is the

relative isolation of the community from official communication and road networks. However, the very existence of various social services has changed expectations and altered the social structure.

Expectations develop around existing programmes. A welfare officer/social worker stationed in Mary's Harbour visits the community monthly. Old age pensions have been increased to provide a more realistic income.[1] Unemployment Insurance benefits, locally called 'UIC' after the Unemployment Insurance Commission, which has since been replaced by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, are available to those qualifying by accumulating sufficient insurable employment. The Provincial health care system provides free or low cost medical services. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and the Rural Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme administer financial assistance for construction, purchase or renovation of houses. As throughout the Province, government bounties are paid to help defray the cost of building motorboats and longliners. Subsidies are available for the purchase of fishing gear. A Canada Works Grant has provided paid employment on a number of 'winter works projects', including a 'twine loft,' a community hall, a marine haulout, a slipway (to haul out small boats) and a brush-clearing operation. A Young Canada Works programme employed seven students to clear and fence an athletic field. All but a few people with full time jobs (e.g., schoolteachers, merchants and nurses) have some degree of involvement

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[1] The old age pension during the time of the Labrador Development Company, according to older informants, was $12 quarterly.

with these services.

The community facilities and benefits mentioned have the effect of retaining people notwithstanding scarce opportunities for full time employment, the distance from fishing grounds and the diminishing abundance of subsistence foods. However, Port Hope Simpson is still a winter community. Attachment to the traditional fishery did not cease with the presence of woods operations offering year round, long term employment. With the exception of a handful of men, most residents continue to make the annual move 'outside' to their summer fishing locations over twenty miles away by boat. While many still work in the woods in winter to procure firewood and lumber for their own use, they still retain their identity as Labrador fishermen. This implies following a seasonal cycle which is an intrinsic part of the lifestyle of a 'born Labradorman'.

B. General Description of the Present Socio-Economic Structure

The winter population of 555 occupies 102 households in separate dwellings. The summer population dwindles to less than 100. All but a handful of household heads have summer houses located near the fishing grounds. Few men are engaged in only one economic activity or receive income from only one source. For instance, one fisherman operates a sawmill, collects UIC, and gets welfare at different times of the year, as well as pursuing the various types of subsistence production. Further, few heads of households are the sole supporters of their families. Sons living at home usually are the trewmen for their fathers, or if not, they may work as sharemen for another

skipper. In many cases sharemen have more cash to spend than the skipppers because they are not responsible for maintaining the boats and gear. There is some degree of income sharing in households even if there is no formalized plan. Consequently, it makes good economic sense for a skipper-father to have his sharemen-sons live in his house.

Government transfer payments, such as Unemployment Insurance, welfare, or pensions, may be received by several household members concurrently. Although welfare payments are not large, a number of single mothers who receive them while living with parents, also contribute to household budgets.

Because of the extent of cash income sharing within the home, and because the home is the consumption unit for its several providers, it is more useful to take the household as the unit of analysis rather than individuals. The norm is for the household to act as the unit of economic production, whether its male members fish or cut firewood together. Women, generally, do not hold wage paying jobs, but, as will be described later, perform the domestic tasks that are so vital to this type of economic unit.

The most common and largest sources of cash income are fishing, the Unemployment Insurance that results from fishing, and Social Assistance payments. Most households get income from plural sources. Consequently, only a very few, such as the households of some merchants, teachers, and nurses, rely on only one income source. Sixty-five households have one or more members engaged in

the fishery, fifty-five of these qualified for UIC through one or more household members, and sixty-five households receive welfare payments for one reason or another. Table 2 shows the various sources of income. One individual may have income from several sources.

The inshore fishery involves 149 people directly and almost everyone else indirectly. In order to understand the labour market and the adaptations people have made to it, it is necessary to understand how the life of a Labrador fisherman is more than simply the pursuit of fish during the three or four months when they are available. This entails a knowledge of the whole seasonal cycle.

The seasonal round of activities, which includes subsistence production as well as short term cash production, has retained its importance and vitality for a couple of reasons. Firstly, the structure of the fishery prevents earning a weekly or monthly salary; fishermen are paid at the end of the season, after which they become "unemployed." Cash received at this time is used to pay off debts incurred since the beginning of the season, and unless it has been an exceptionally good year, many fishermen find that there is no way they can budget their earnings into equal installments over the coming year. Secondly, the short duration of the fishery forces families, in the off-season, to rely on UIC payments or welfare (in some cases, both at different times) which, although not providing a high income, provides a cash base for store-bought commodities which are supplemented by subsistence production. Subsistence foods, firewood, and lumber are procured according to the season when an item is available or convenient to obtain.

Wage labour - 'winter works projects,' road work, wharf work,

Table 2: Number of Individuals Engaged in Available Local Sources of Income[1]

Wage employment		
A. Full time:		
	Retail Store Workers	5
	Post office employees	2
	School teachers	13
	Preacher	1
	I.G.A. nurses	2
	I.G.A. clinic maintenance and domestic services	2
	Nfld. Hydro employees	2
	East Shore Labrador Development Association	1
	Nfld. Fisheries Board	1
	School janitors	2
B. Part time:		
	Nurse assistant	1
	Retail Store clerk	6
	Nfld. Hydro meter reader	1
	Garbage collection	2
C. Seasonal:		
	Road workers	3-40
	Wharfinger	1
	Post Office (Sandy Hook)	1
	Fish plant worker	13
	Job Creation Projects	6-17 (varies with project and season)
Self-employment		
	Fisherman	149
	Merchants	4
	Sawmill operators	5
	Carpenters, boat builders	5
	Pool Hall owners	2
	Fur trappers	6
Transfer Payments		
	Unemployment Insurance	93
	Social Assistance	81
	Old Age Security	21
	Family Allowance	89

[1]One individual may have income from several categories. The number of fishermen is the number of skippers and sharemen, not the number actually involved with fish handling. Family allowance refers to the number of households who can actually claim it by reason of having one or more children under the age of eighteen living at home, not the number of payments for children.

part time store work - is either short term, seasonal, or part time. Because the labour market is characterized by impermanence, insecurity, and under-utilization of man power, it is not surprising that wage work is supplementary to the seasonal pattern.

The shift from winter to summer life begins a few days after the ice breakup, generally around the middle of May. Activity intensifies as boats are caulked, painted, and launched, outboard motors and diesel engines made ready, the Port Hope Simpson house closed for the season, household furniture and utensils loaded into boats and moved to the summer home. The 'summer fishing stations' are located 20 to 40 miles away from Port Hope Simpson, and are dispersed in the coastal bays, bights, arms, tickles, coves and islands.[1] These places are collectively called 'the outside' by local people.

Provisions must be stocked because the salmon collection boats carrying supplies do not operate until the middle of June and, even then, the high cost of the goods carried by Fishery Products, Ltd., a major merchant, encourages the continuation of patronage of the Port Hope Simpson stores. Because the Labrador coastal environment is generally treeless, firewood must be rafted from Port Hope Simpson to the fishing stations. All this requires several trips.

Although people are glad to leave the long winter behind and are

[1] Port Hope Simson residents occupy the following summer fishing stations: Dead Islands, Fishing Ships Harbour, Francis Harbour, Francis Harbour Bight, Georges Cove, Mary's Harbour, Murray Harbour, Peckhams Arm, Sandy Hook, Ship Harbour, Sloop Cove, Snug Harbour, Square Islands, Triangle, Tub Harbour, and Williams Harbour.

anxious to start the summer, there is not the same sense of urgency to protect salmon and cod berths from usurpers by setting old and useless nets during the interim between arrival and the actual fishing season as there is among some seasonal transhumants in other places. A few people claim that others have taken berths, but most agreee that there is respect shown for usufructory rights. Perhaps this is because there is not the heavy competititon from non-local longliners as there is elsewhere.[1] Nearly all fishermen complete the move 'outside' within ten days of the first boat to leave Port Hope Simpson. Because the people perceive the summer home as an escape from the social confinement of the winter village, the atmosphere upon arrrival at the summer place is much the same as it is for a city family moving to a seaside vacation cottage.

Many school age children leave school at this time to accompany their parents and help out with chores which results in June school attendance being about forty per cent of the winter enrolment. Those who do stay to complete Grade 11 public exams or to finish the school year often stay temporarily with relatives who reside in Port Hope Simpson during the summer.

Before the salmon and cod move inshore around the middle of June, men spend their time preparing their gear, fixing up the house, repairing the damage that winter ice did to their stages and

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[1]There is however, the occasional vandalism of fishing gear. This occurs most often when a gill net is cut as another fisherman lays his net over it. There have been a few cases of leaders to cod traps being cut and net bouys being riddled with bullet holes. This has been attributed to jealousy over another's superior fishing success.

stockpiling fisheries salt. Women get the house in order to continue their ceaseless routine of getting meals, baking bread, doing the laundry, bringing in water and firewood and caring for children. Their role in the division of labour becomes even more necessary and time consuming considering that there is no electricity in most places or the same time-saving amenities available as in Port Hope Simpson.

By the second week in June, the two CN boats, Petite Forte and Taverner, begin their weekly trips from Lewisporte, Newfoundland to Goose Bay, calling at Mary's Harbour, Sandy Hook, Williams Harbour and Port Hope Simpson among other places. For many, this is their first freight of the year. The CN passenger and freight vessels arriving later in the shipping season are the only means for shipping heavy items such as snowmobiles, boats, building materials, etc. Hence, the whereabouts of the CN boats is discussed at the onset of almost every conversation.

For those who have salmon licenses, the major fishing effort is directed toward 'salmon catching' from the middle of June to the middle of July when they are running.[1] A small collection boat comes around once daily from the Fishery Products Plant in Fox Harbour at which time salmon are weighed, noted on the Fisherman's employment record and packed in ice.

[1]The 1979 salmon season was poor, although prices for large salmon (over 5 lbs.) went as high as $2.40 per pound. The 1980 season was excellent. Prices paid were $1.50 for small salmon and $2.10 for large. Some fishermen earned over half their income from salmon in 1980. Not all fishermen have a salmon license and only those holding licenses can sell salmon.

During this time, and until the middle or end of August, cod - locally called 'fish' as distinct from other species - provide the main source of income. As they come inshore, following the caplin, cod traps are employed. Overlapping this time and into the late summer when the fish begin to move out of the range of cod traps into deeper water, gill nets, trawls, hand lines and jiggers are used.[1] Most of the effort is spent toward producing split and salted fish, or 'saltbulk.' Only a few people dry fish. Those who are located near the Williams Harbour fish plant and have the means to transport fish there, may sell some fish fresh, but never to the exclusion of salt fish production. This plant also buys sea trout which are available near only a few fishing stations.

Throughout the summer, fish, salmon, trout and herring are not only sold, but provide many meals. There is virtually no market for other species such as flatfish (flounder), turbot, crab, or caplin. However, a considerable amount of time is spent drying and salting caplin for personal winter consumption. Periodically, fish is sent back to Port Hope Simpson where it can be stored in home freezers, although some salt fish is also kept. A few mussels may be gathered, but sea resources are not used to their fullest potential for subsistence. People have not developed a taste for flounder, turbot, crab, squid or eels, nor do they gather shrimp, scallops or clams. By far, the greatest subsistence item on the menu is cod.

August is the time for picking bakeapples. Sometimes an entire

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[1] For a description of the various types of fishing gear see Firestone (1967:88-98).

family goes into the treeless hills, armed with buckets and lunches, to spend the whole day picking berries, or sometimes the adult fishermen of a family eschew participating in what they regard as women's and children's work. Considering the comparative unimportance of berry picking to fishing in the household economy, the latter attitude is more practical. However, even if men do not participate, they do not diminish the importance of berry picking in the seasonal cycle. Later in the season, blueberries, squash berries, partridge berries and dogberries are picked. Almost never are berries sold.

By September, the fish have moved offshore. People living on the headlands may have a slightly longer fishing season than those further 'back in the bay', but by October, unless one has a longliner to exploit the area a few miles offshore, the season is over. Salt fish are collected by Fishery Products Ltd., acting as an agent of the Canadian Saltfish Corporation, beginning at the end of August through October. Fish are graded according to size and quality and, a few weeks later, a cheque is issued after deducting the credit incurred during that or the previous year for items such as fuel, gear and food. Many families have little cash left over after paying off debts so that there is an increase in the number of social assistance recipients in the fall until the UIC cheques begin to arrive in mid-November to December.

In the fall, from the beginning of the move back to Port Hope Simpson until the end of December, a variety of sea birds are

hunted.[1] From the middle of October through March, spruce partridge and ptarmigan are hunted.[2] The fall is the time during which many fishermen take trips to Newfoundland or elsewhere to visit relatives, because some have a quantity of ready cash, especially sharemen with no expenses to pay, and it is a slack time of year before more important activities begin with cold weather. By the end of October, almost all have completed the move back to Port Hope Simpson and school attendance is up to its peak. This is the time when building construction and repair increases as residents have more time and anticipate the end of the shipping season and the onslaught of winter.

By November, as talk turns to the features of various snowmobiles, new ones are bought or used ones bargained for. Although there is a multitude of daily tasks which must be attended to, such as cutting and splitting firewood, repairing engines, setting snares for rabbits and completing home improvements, these chores are less arduous than summertime activities. The UIC payment season for fishermen lasts from November 1 until May 15, but delays in submitting forms and processing often mean waiting until Christmas for the first cheque. When freeze-up approaches, usually shortly before Christmas, it is not uncommon for a period of three weeks to pass without mail, until Labrador Airways can land on the newly-frozen ice. As the last freight boats arrive, the stores lay

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[1] Some of the different species of seabirds are locally called shore ducks, black ducks, divers, bottle-nosed divers, pinkers, eiders, pigeons, puffins, pie birds, wobbies, sea hens, shell birds, turres, hounds, loons and boks.

[2] Ptarmigan are called 'white partridges.'

in stock for the winter. A few men go 'into the country' to trap furs, and, for about three weeks before Christmas, a few men net seals in the 'outside' bays.

During the Christmas season, regular activity or "work" lessens with the holiday spirit. Beer becomes more available when the ponds and rivers freeze, enabling trips by snowmobile to the retail outlets in Charlottetown and Mary's Harbour. Church activities increase and remain the centre of the Pentecostal community's social activity throughout the winter. Visiting between houses increases, but, is always restricted to certain groups with a common identity and interest. There are only about a dozen Christmas mummers and they call on only those houses within their social network.

Throughout the deep winter, time is spent cutting firewood and hauling it by snowmobile and komatik to provide a sufficient supply for a full year. Timber is cut and hauled to a mill site where, later in the spring or summer, it will be sawed into lumber. In 1980, a Canada Works project employed seventeen men to widen and improve snowmobile trails. The few meetings held by the Community Council, East Shore Labrador Development Association and the Fisherman's Union take place during this time. The fact that there are so many snowmobiles running continously keeps men busy with repairs. Only a few days each weeks is spent mending twine [nets] and making gill nets and cod traps. Only a couple of fishermen use the unheated government-built twine loft, most preferring their own heated sheds.

As the weather gets warmer, boatbuilding begins. The average time spent building a speedboat is three weeks, once the lumber is

milled; a motorboat takes a little longer. Even before the snow and ice melt and Labrador Airways converts from skis to pontoons, people once again prepare for the summer move outside to their fishing stations.

C. The Community Power Structure.

A quick walk around Port Hope Simpson would reveal that there are, indeed, socio-economic disparities. The appearance of houses seem to range from the notion of middle class living to poverty level, although there are no "seedy" sections of the community. A newcomer might hypothesize that people living in the less attractive places pursue different occupations, or at least have a lower social standing than those living in suburban-type dwellings. In both cases the hypothesis would be wrong. A fisherman might live in a newly built bungalow with a concrete foundation and oil furnance, or he might live in an extremely modest house, built years ago with local materials only, no foundation, and heated with wood. The same could hold true of a merchant. Further, the appearance of the house does not necessarily denote the status of the household in the community.

To be sure, there is an unequal distribution of material goods and income and there exists a merchant/patronage power structure. However, there are no socio-economic "classes" as the word is used to mean distinctly stratified categories of people which are recognized, say, in a large city. The egalitarian ideology found in many Newfoundland outports as documented by Faris (1972), Firestone (1967), Nemec (1980), and Szwed (1966), incorporate norms that

residents of a community should be equal in their influence and status. This egalitarian ethic, which prevails in Port Hope Simpson, operates to pull the highest down to the level of the lowest. The comment made about one merchant (not all merchants), "he thinks he's so high and mighty now, he forgets how he was raised" typifies the feeling toward the community broker. Due to this strong sense of egalitarianism residents neither expect nor desire political leadership to come from within the community. Community Council members, although elected by residents, are subject to continous backbiting. "Some people think they are a lot better than we are, but we should all be equal" is a mild remark about what is seen as the danger of too much power. Although the Community Council has little actual authority, it is not as active as its counterparts on the north coast of Labrador. Meetings are few, poorly attended, and Council business is not well known. Contrary to the local belief, Council members are not paid.

During the last election for MHA (Member of the House of Assembly, the Provinicial Legislature), an unsuccessful Port Hope Simpson candidate was soundly defeated by the community. Most residents explained this by his relationship to the community rather than by his particular platform. When asked to name someone in Port Hope Simpson who would be a good politician, one woman typically replied, "I can't think of anyone from here. I wouldn't want to see anyone from her elected. They are always thinking of their own selves." Although it did not seem to occur to her that this might be the case with outsiders as well, it was apparent that she felt people

in the community would, and should, look out for their own families first. Generally residents seek and have come to depend on outside leadership.

Local politics does not depend on a formal system as it does in larger communities. There is a general distrust of such processes and many express a feeling that their participation in formal meetings is futile. People with intense feelings toward an issue have remained silent at gatherings because they felt they could not compete rhetorically with 'outsiders' who were more outspoken. Referring to meetings with the Board of Fisheries, one man said, "It don't do no good to kick because you get cut off." The real concensus is made after the meetings in someone's fishing stage or at home. However, it is impossible for this informal system to replace formal channels. In spite of information spreading very quickly via the oral communication network, the nature of this network excludes certain groups. Furthermore, it does not pass on information that may be relevant to an individual's economic future. For example, it may quickly become known that Anthony Cunningham caught fifty quintals of fish on a particular morning, but new UIC regulations, often of vital importance to the community, are not known or discussed. There is a misunderstanding of how fish buyers control quality. Commonly held misconceptions, resulting from what one has heard rather than fact, proliferate. For instance, a rumour was circulating in a few outside fishing stations that a man had received a letter from Bill Rompkey (Federal Government Minister of National Revenue) stating that "UIC used to be one-third of your income but

this year it was going to be cut back to one-fifth." This was blatantly false, but there were no plans to investigate the truth of the rumour.

Although gossip and ridicule are sanctions which discourage overt community leadership, this is not to say that no community politics exists. The influence and advice of some residents is valued more highly than others because of their status as 'experts.' In general, it is useful to distinguish two categories of influentials. The first is those people who have an ascribed status by virtue of a specialized occupation in the community such as teacher or preacher. The second category is those who achieve their status by excelling in their performance as community members according to local norms.

People in the first category, commonly 'outsiders,' have more formal education than others and are called upon not only for their professional expertise, but for their capacity as educated people believed to possess various kinds of information. For example, teachers are oten asked to complete income tax returns, a skill many Port Hope Simpson people lack.

The community at large respects those who have formal education only if it can serve some immediate need. Sometimes, however, their expectations are unrealistic. In one instance, a woman requested a school principal to complete a land lease application which required precise location and measurement of a house lot, a near impossible task considering the absence of established boundary markers and a house lot plan long since obsolete. Nevertheless, she remarked to her family, "If he can't do it with all the education he's got, he's

got no business being a principal." Thus, education itself commands respect only insofar as it relates to its utility. There is a high dropout rate in the local schools, and in the Anglican School no one has gone to trade school or to a university within recent memory. Teachers attribute disregard for higher education to a lack of understanding of programmes and a feeling that it is irrevelant to daily life in Port Hope Simpson. Most teachers feel there is little parental support for school achievement. As long as there exists a low educational level among the majority, the few who have transcended the educational gap will have something to offer the community and can be in a position to influence the community politics even if only indirectly.

The second category of influentials consists of those who are competent in the roles and activities associated with Labrador life. They may be above average fishermen, trappers, housebuilders, electricians, small engine mechanics, etc. In a small community these skills are readily observable, but simply employing skills for one's own benefit is not enough. The informal communication system must be used to one's advantage in order to achieve influence. There is a danger of over-communicating knowledge and skill; that is, bragging, which can have a deleterious effect on personal reputation. However, subtle communication of personal assets, sometimes shrewdly deliberate, can enhance one's influence. For example, a man skilled in electrical wiring would never approach someone building a new house, but would let it be known through the grapevine that he could be approached for his services. There would

ensue the whole complex of informal and indirect communication described by Chiaramonte (1971) to secure a contract between the client and the craftsman. The oral communication network is the means of "advertising" for contracts and one must be able to enter it and "keep the lines open."

To do that, an ability to take advantage of gossip is essential. There is a great value placed on knowledge of what others are doing. Subjects for gossip include fish catches, movement to and from the community, sickness, accidents, changes in personal relationships, new material acquisitions and the arrival of the Mountie or Welfare Officer. News travels quickly but seldom directly. Unless one can prompt another to reveal what he knows by offering various news items in exchange, he will learn very little. These news items have different values depending on how new or novel they are and how important the listener feels they are. Some people, because of their socio-economic position in the community and, consequently, their relationship with the communication network, have no information to give and are the last to hear information. The eighteen households who own CB radios in Port Hope Simpson and outside fishing villages are in a good position to act as brokers of information. The degree of an individual's socio-economic infuence, of course, is not determined independently by a person's manipulation of gossip, but by his ability to communicate advantageously his own competence and performance.

Thus, the elements of the community power structure are the formal statuses of teacher, preacher, merchant, nurse, etc. and use

of the informal communication network. For a person to continue his influence over others and, at the same time, still maintain community acceptance, he must temper his control so that he is not seen as rising above the community mean.

D. Values and Status in the Community.

Historically, the amount of physical work expended was directly proportional to he economic security of a man and his family. Previous to the confederation of Newfoundland and Labrador to Canada in 1949, the government played a minimal part in providing personal security. At that time, security was provided by the family efforts and the reciprocal efforts of other families. The reciprocity that families extended to each other provided the closeness and community solidarity that the older people in Port Hope Simpson say is gone, but a lazy man could not rely on his neighbour's help for long. Of course, there always were people who were less inclined to pursue the success ethic than their more ambitious neighbours, and there are people like that today. The only difference is that the security now provided by various types of government transfer payments, subsidies, and programmes is rendered on an impersonal level by a bureaucracy that has little recognition of an individual's status in the community. Hence, the ratio of work to security has been distorted by government intervention. However, government intervention has not changed the traditional attitude toward the value of work. How hard a person works is still the means by which he gains or loses his status in the community.

Work, which means physical activity directed toward providing family security, is considered proof of a man's worth. Community acceptance is not guaranteed by simply holding a job. Instead, participation in the work activities of the seasonal cycle help a person earn a legitimate social status - maintenance of the summer fishing station, work related to the fishery (including when a man 'quits' and 'shifts back in the bay'), gathering the winter's supply of firewood, small game hunting and sealing, cutting timber for lumber, etc.

The fact that residents are not occupationally mobile suggests an explanation for the evaluation of a man by the amount of physical work he does, rather than on what occupation he holds. As long as he is seen to be contributing to his own and his family's independence, he is legitimated. Independence is highly valued and has never been given up for the sake of steady wages such as that offered by woodswork. The moral community has formed around the quality of independence. Whereas UIC has a positive connotation because of the work required to obtain it, continuous receipt of welfare has a negative connotation because its concomitant of idleness poses a threat to the moral community. The income earned by a marginally productive fisherman is sometimes less than that which social assistance offers. One man sheepishly admitted, "To tell the truth, I get more when I'm on welfare than when I'm fishing." The fact that this is not the usual case does not prevent community condemnation of those who are seen to increase their income without working.

The different social status of hard workers and those who do not exert the unspecified amount of work time, is not always visible in Port Hope Simpson because of the availability of material products to the latter as well as the former. There is a marked disparity of living conditions, however. Some families live in houses not substantially improved in forty years, without benefit of plumbing, no concrete foundation or insulation, no telephone and few modern furnishings. Others live in commercially sided bungalow houses with all the trappings seen in modern suburban dwellings. In the last five or six years twenty houses of the latter type have been erected; six are now under construction. All have been framed with locally sawed lumber and sheathed and finished with commercial products. Most have drilled or dug wells. While many residents have utilized the various government and private mortgage plans, some pay for materials from their own savings, postponing construction, when necessary, until they can afford to buy materials, while living in their old house. There is a general reluctance, especially among older people to use commercial credit. In any case, neither the method of financing nor the appearance of a house are reliable indicators of status.

People conforming to the community work ethic or holding relatively higher incomes do not necessarily have new houses or modern furnishings. In one case a man chooses to reinvest in the fishery and in tools and machinery for his workshop. In another case, the money made in a marginal fishing crew is stretched so that he will not have to go on welfare and ten per cent of his income is

tithed to the Pentecostal Church. In a third case, there is a large family of children to be supported. Many justify their more humble surroundings by a rejection of modern values. "If people wants to know why they get sick, it's because of the carpets in their houses. You can vacuum all day and there'd still be germs in them. I'm not fussy about all that stuff. All a man needs is a good woman to keep the house clean." Of course, not everyone takes pride in living in the 'old way.' Once when I was invited for a meal, a women said, "You'll have to excuse the way it is around here. It's not so nice as down at Aunt Ethel's." Many people on welfare are apologetic about their present surroundings and would not choose to live in the old way.

Yet many older residents express regret that the community has changed. "It was a one hundred percent better life in all ways. There was more work, better medical services, and people were healthier. Things has changed so much around here, a lot of the old people up at the cemetery wouldn't stay if they came back today." Lamentation of days gone by usually centres on the change in social life. It is implied that Port Hope Simpson society used to be more homogeneous than it is today because in the old days there were no family or religious factions. Whether or not this was true does not diminish the importance of one man's remark as he recalled the exact location of the cabins of families who left Port Hope Simpson after the closing of the Labrador Development Company and which have long since been torn down: "The reason I can remember so many people's old houses is because everyone used to visit each other. Every

Friday night there's be a time at somebody's house and we'd bring out the home brew and dance 'til it got light again. You don't see nothing like that anymore."

Several events subsequent to the withdrawal of the Labrador Development Company are cited as the harbingers of social and economic change within the community. The establishment of the Unemployment Insurance Commission was seen to change work habits. After that, "You couldn't beg...you couldn't buy...a man to work in the woods once he got his stamps. No way would he go to work."

The abandonment of dog teams for snowmobiles in the mid-sixities was seen to strain people's cash reserves. "Now half the money spent by the community goes out on snowmobiles. In the old days only a lazy man couldn't afford to keep a dog team. Now everybody's got to have a Skidoo and this year's model at that." Whereas the number of dog teams were considerably less than the number of households, today there are over 200 snowmobiles in the community, some households with none and some with as many as ten. During the winter months one is hard pressed to find a time of day or night when at least several are not in use. Similarly, not all of the 47 motor vehicles are used for necessity.

The reluctance of people to visit and be visited in their homes on a community wide basis is attributed, in part, to people's preoccupation with television. Indeed, most houses have a television set on continuously whether young children are present or not. Selective viewing is not possible since only one channel, CBC from St. Anthony, is available. There are 109 TV sets in the community.

The growing Pentecostal element has factionalized the community

as is evident by the existence of two churches and two schools. Free visitation between adults of different faiths is inhibited. Pentecosts make a conscious effort to avoid close association with those who lead 'unChristian' lifestyles, and non-Pentecosts say they feel uncomfortable in the homes of those ascribing to the Pentecostal prohibition against smoking and drinking. Secular social events are few and must be organized to avoid conflict with Pentecostal doctrine. Drinking and dancing take place among non-Pentecosts only after the formalities of events such as wedding receptions or banquets are over and also on weekends, especially during the winter.

Since there is no retail beer or liquor outlet in the community one must exercise a degree of foresight and resourcefulness to obtain alcohol in any form. A "connection" must be made with someone in Mary's Harbour, Charlottetown, St. Anthony, or Goose Bay who will ship the goods by coastal boat or with a resident who is travelling to such a community and will return with an order. Bringing alcholic beverages into the community or procuring a drink from someone who already has it, precipitates a complex of exchanges. During the winter, the difficulty of obtaining beer is lessened when trips can be made relatively easily by snowmobile to Mary's Harbour and Charlottetown, about 25 to 30 miles distant.

The shift from the autonomous family of former years to increasing dependence on government intervention results in two different manifestations. On one hand, residents take pride in living under Labrador conditions, cognizant that they carry on a unique tradition of self-reliance and independence; they are survivors. On the other hand, they have developed expectations of

modernization - some reasonable and some not - which they feel are, in a large part, the government's responsibility for fulfulling. Older peole regret changes that have come with modernization - yet hopes are set on further community improvements.

A continuous complaint is the inadequacy and poor planning of existing community facilites. Transportation to places more than a few miles away is still unreliable and restricted to air and sea. There is no airstrip, which prohibits aircraft landings during the ice break-up and freeze-up periods. A water system which was planned to serve part of the community was begun but never materialized. Private sewers still empty into the bay. The road is in constant need of repair. Buildings produced by winter works projects have limited use. The 'twine loft' is located inconveniently away from the bay and the community, notwithstanding the fact that work on fishing nets is mainly done in the outside fishing stations. The community hall is seldom used because of the expense and lack of organization. The outside fishing villages remain essentially the same as they were generations ago with the exception of a fish plant in Williams Harbour, telephones in a few places, and a few privately owned gasoline generators. And the complaints go on. Frustration is salved by looking back on the community as it once was or could have been.[1]

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[1] In May 1980, the Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing published a number of recommended community plans for Port Hope Simpson and other coastal communities concerning land use, water, sewerage, solid waste disposal, electric power, transportation facilities, and fire protection. A year later these plans were yet to be adopted.

In fact, nostalgia for the early days is so great that the founder of the community, J.O. Williams, is raised to the level of a demigod at times. "This community'd be a lot different if old J. O. Williams was here today. He had big plans for this community. He liked it here so well, he ate the grass when he got off the boat in the spring. He never would've let half the stuff happen as went on since he left."

E. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, several aspects of the community have been described which provide a backdrop of the socio-economic situation in order to clarify the more detailed examination of conditions affecting status in the chapters to follow. From the history and development of the community, it can be seen that full-time wage employment was never reliable. Although government intervention provided a minimum level of security, modernization was not dramatic enough to change traditional values.

The inland community of Port Hope Simpson was founded as a lumber town by the Labrador Development Company in 1934, which at one time, employed upwards of 600 woodsmen. People from Conception Bay and Gander Bay in Newfoundland and from nearby fishing villages on the Labrador coast were attracted to the employment that the timber operation offered. Most men had been fishermen and many continued to fish during the short Labrador summer by establishing fishing stations near fishing grounds off the coast. Those who gave up fishing entirely in favour of woods work repeatedly encountered operations that were short-lived and financially insecure. At

present, there is no export timber industry and most former full-time woodsmen have returned to the fishery.

The traditional fish merchant/patron power structure allowed Labrador fishermen little economic control over prices and marketing. Although this situation has been improved somewhat through government arbitration and a recently introduced fisheries union, the isolation of coastal Labrador fishing communities from market centres and new technological opportunities has left Labrador inshore fishermen far behind their contemporaries in other places.

Increased government attention to the fishery and community facilities has led people to expect a great deal of government assistance, but geographical isolation has made government communication and administration of programmes difficult and time consuming. Many people feel bitter about the excessive delays in implementing desired change in the community and the fishery.

The description of the present labour market reveals that, if anything, economic security has worsened. Wage labour, whether in the fishery, government sponsored programmes, or self-employment, tends to be seasonal, short-term, and unpredictable. Labradorians observe a seasonal cycle which includes cash and subsistence production as well as reliance on government transfer payments. Generally, people utilize similar technology to extract resources in order to make a living. Because there are few occupational specialties, physical work is a highly valued criterion for the evaluation of an individual's status.

The description of the community power structure demonstrates that there are few ascribed power positions. The egalitarian ethic, which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5, inhibits authoritarian control and discourages people from seeking overt leadership statuses. Power tends to be expressed informally through personal relationships.

The absence of occupational types which provide a range in status indicates that status is determined by the degree to which one embraces common values. Although it could be argued that most residents are dependent on government aid to varying degrees, a sense of independence is highly valued. Fishermen feel they are their own bosses, even if they realize they are not in full control. They do not rely on services provided by specialized occupations; they have an ability to innovate. They can cope with the harshness of the Labrador climate on land and sea. They take pride in continuing a traditional lifestyle of hard work.

Yet, not everyone has the ability or resources to achieve a high socio-economic status in the community. There are certain material, social, and ideological conditions which can provide opportunities or which can restrict or prevent attainment of success. These conditions are discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Chapter 3

Material Conditions

A. Cash Production

Of the 555 people who winter at Port Hope Simpson, there are 350 men and women 15 years of age or older. Notwithstanding the few who are over 65 years of age, the maximum potential labour force is about 350. 8.8 per cent of this age group is employed in wage labour full time (31:350). By far, the largest sector of the labour force is the 149 self-employed fishemen who constitute 42.6 per cent of the labour force (149:350). Except for the 4 self-employed merchants and 31 individuals who hold full time wage employment jobs listed in Table 2, all other jobs are either part time or seasonal. 32 women are employed in some capacity; 5 are schoolteachers, 2 are nurses, and 5 are store or post office workers. The remaining 20 are employed part time or seasonally.

In locales having an industrial employment market, the figure of 8.8 per cent of the maximum potential labour force engaged in full time wage labour would be cause for alarm. However, in Port Hope Simpson the actual labour force, those who are employed plus those who want to be employed, is much less than 350. Women generally do

not fish, do not seek to enter the full time employment market, and do not consider themselves disadvantaged if they are unemployed. They are not considered by the community to be a significant part of the labour force. The local definition of the labour force, therefore, would include few women, thereby reducing it by almost half.

Further, in spite of the requirement that UIC recipients be registered with Canada Manpower and be available for employment, many fishermen could not take a job in Port Hope Simpson or elsewhere and maintain subsistence production or keep up their production in the fishery because of the time required to mend nets, repair gear and boats, collect firewood, etc. If the unemployed are defined as those actively looking for paid work in the last four weeks - the definition of the Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey - there are times when most Port Hope Simpson men would be defined as not in the labour force. In such cases, the unemployment rate would be very low during the winter. Alternatively, if the unemployed are defined as those without jobs, wages, or salaries, unemployment would be very high during the winter. Not only is the measurement of unemployment sensitive to changing definitions of unemployment, but official definitions of employment have little to do with local definitions of work.

Nevertheless, there is a great value placed on work. When a person is 'working' he is accomplishing those tasks associated with the seasonal cycle in the support of himself and his family. In fact, there are few days when some member of the family is not at work,

even though they may be forced to rely on welfare. Because of low wages and the short-term work available, there are seasons when such work is an option many feel they cannot afford, and to tell a man that he is not working when he is cutting firewood, building a boat, or mending 'twine' (nets), would intensify his feeling that outsiders understand little about Labrador life, or, at the very least, bring a scornful smile.

The work activities which contribute to both cash and subsistence production must be co-ordinated with the seasons. Daily activities differ markedly not only from summer to winter, but from month to month. Each season with its associated activities is anticipated and there is much conversation in regard to past experiences with particular activities. Almost everyone participates in the seasonal activities according to the role assigned by their age and sex, although 'outsiders' such as nurses, preachers, and teachers may be less involved. So ingrained are the seasonal changes in work activities that the feeling is expressed by those who have previously worked at wage labour in Goose Bay or 'on the mainland' that "it's so boring there, one month is just like another." Because the work associated with the seasons is so highly valued, it is not surprising that seasonal productivity affects socio-economic status.

The structure of the fishery is the framework within which most people make a living. Since the material conditions of the fishery affect one's economic status, a description of present fishing technology will aid in understanding the variables which influence individual economic status.

Fishing technology in many respects has changed little from generations past. Fishing vessels used in conjunction with the outside fishing stations are the 17-24 foot speedboat powered by a 25-50 horsepower outboard motor, and the 35-42 foot open motorboat powered by a one cylinder diesel engine. There are only four longliners owned by residents and they are used in a variety of ways. Two owners of 40 foot vessels use theirs in conjunction with shore-based homes, a third does not have a shore-based home, and the fourth owner of a 65 foot boat uses it to collect fish. Seldom are the furthest nets more than a half-hour's 'steam' from the outside home. Salmon nets, gill nets and cod traps are checked two to four times daily, a return to the fishing stage being made after each trip. Hand lines and jiggers are used by those without nets or if nets are proving ineffective. When fish are not being caught, nets and traps must be moved frequently, so that at least as much work is involved as when the fish are 'on the go.'

When a boat returns with a load of codfish, a shareman pitchforks them onto the 'stage' and then into a large wooden tub (salmon are much more carefully handled). Then a 'cutter' places a fish on the splitting table and makes an incision along the belly and another beneath the gills. The 'header' snaps off the head and removes the viscera, throwing them through a hole in the stage wall. The 'splitter', usually the skipper, then removes the backbone with a square tipped knife and throws the split fish into a wooden tub filled with seawater. After the tub is filled, the fish are pitched into a wheelbarrow and taken to the rear of the stage where they are

salted and stacked in tiers about three feet high where they remain until they are collected at the end of the season. Salmon are simply gutted and a portion of the head removed before the daily collection. Herring, once 'headed' and gutted, are stored in a barrel of 'pickle.'

The quality of salmon and fresh cod varies little if it is sold soon after it is caught. The quality of saltbulk, however, varies considerably and depends on a number of factors. Cod caught in gill nets are generally recognized to be inferior because they drown before being landed. Jigged fish are better, but many are damaged by the jigger. The best are cod trapped fish which come into the boat alive and virtually unscathed. A pitchfork is used to unload boats and move fish once they are on the stage, which can cause cullage by tearing and blood-spotting the flesh, unless they are pronged through the eye. The skill of the splitter is important because too much flesh or too little bone can be removed. Inexperienced splitters can ruin a whole catch. In addition, some fishermen put the split fish through only one wash, whereas others use three. Plant managers recommend a fresh water wash, a near impossibility in most areas. Lastly, fish can be salted too much, too little or improperly stored. The fish caught at the beginning of the season are of a different quality than those at the end, by the time they are collected. Some fishermen take a great deal of pride in producing a high quality product, while others are seemingly unconscious of quality control. In the stages, the colour of fish and sanitary precautions differ considerably.

In previous years, fish were graded predominantly for size and differences in quality made little difference in the price paid. In recent years, notably the last two, the Canadian Saltfish Corporation has made an effort to gear prices paid to quality.[1] For instance, the buyer pays $55 for a quintal of 'Extra Large Choice', $35 for 'Extra Large Standard', and only $9 for cullage. In theory, the difference in prices paid should encourage higher quality production even though labour time may be increased slightly. However, the practice of grading fish is quite different from the theory. In the first place, many fishermen do not realize fish are graded by quality. Among those who do recognize that quality affects price, a rumour circulated that there was only a difference of five dollars a quintal. Secondly, there is little care taken in the actual process of grading by the collectors. Only occasionally does a Fisheries Inspector accompany the collector and grading often favours some fishermen more than others. Grading is even less stringent during the rush at the end of the collecting period. There is then a

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[1]The Canadian Saltfish Corporation's 1980 prices for saltbulk, which average 2.7¢ per pound higher than in 1979, are as follows:

Extra large Choice (over 27")	.55/lb.
Large and Medium Choice (over 17" to 26")	.52
Small Choice (over 12" to 17")	.36
Extra Small Choice (under 12")	.14
Extra Large Standard	.35
Large and Medium Standard	.31
Small Standard	.25
Extra Small Standard	.09
Cullage	.09
Rock Cod	.10

considerable range of quality within the grades.

Fish are graded at the stages in order to determine a price. They are then stored in the collection boat's hold without any attempt to keep sizes or qualities separate. Fish are roughly handled and crushed as men constantly walk on them, while taking no extraordinary precautions against spitting or disposing of cigarette butts. Due to deterioration enroute and the fact that fish are not kept separate by grades, at the processing plants on the Island, the fish are regraded.

Because the collection vessel is the only means for marketing salt fish, unless a crew wants to continue fishing for their personal winter consumption, the family closes up the house for the winter and heads back to Port Hope Simpson. Until the fish plants send the balance of the payments for fish after the expenses have been deducted, a few weeks may pass before the skipper knows exactly how much his income is for the season.

The productivity of fishermen varies tremendously. Table 3 shows gross fishing incomes, in decreasing order, from a sample of eight skippers who are heads of households. There are, likely, only a couple of other fishermen in Port Hope Simpson who gross as much as Sam. The reason for Sam's high productivitiy is that his fishing station is located near an area which has always produced good catches, and he has accumulated more gear than the others (see Table 4). Sam uses a longliner in conjunction with his motorboat and speedboats. The engine-powered gurdy on the longliner enables him to haul more gill nets than would otherwise be possible and allows him

Table 3: Annual Household Cash Incomes of Fishermen - 1980

Skipper	Crewmen*	Fishing Gross	Expenses**	Share	Skipper's Part	Fishing Income of Other (Winter) Household Members	Non-fishing Earned Income From Skipper	Non-fishing Earned Income From Other (Winter) Household Members	Total Transfer Payments***	Total Household Income	Per Capita Income
a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	j.	k.	l.
Sam	1P,4S	45,000	24,000	3,750	3,000	0	1,600	0	3,278	7,878	2,626
Joe	2S	28,000	9,095	4,667	9,572	4,667	450	5,932	4,922	25,543	3,649
Hal	1P	24,150	3,115	10,517	10,517	0	1,000	0	3,900	15,417	7,708
Cam	3P	22,826	8,104	3,681	3,681	0	200	0	4,875	8,756	1,459
Sol	2S	18,010	4,619	3,002	7,388	9,446	0	0	6,540	23,374	2,597
Dan	2S	14,716	5,317	2,453	4,494	4,906	160	0	13,702	23,262	2,584
Mac	2S	9,510	2,430	1,585	3,910	3,170	0	0	11,177	18,257	1,404
Art	2P	1,989	1,305	228	228	456	0	0	14,130	14,814	2,469

* Excluding skipper
S - shareman
P - partner

** Summer only, includes food for entire household

*** Includes U.I.C., S.A., F.A., and O.A.S., but excludes fishing subsidies

to extend the season by a month when, in the fall, the fish move into deeper water than can be fished from smaller boats. However, he explains that even though his catches are large, his location near the open sea causes more damage to gear and requires more frequent changes in berths due to severe wind, tide, and ice conditions than those fishing stations located in the sheltered bays. Accordingly, this necessitates a large crew and more expenses. Sam and his father are partners and they employ four unrelated sharemen from the Island. Because of high expenses and the number of sharemen, Sam and his father each made only a 6.67 per cent cash profit ($3,000:$45,000). He feels that if he reduced the number of sharemen or cut down on the acquisition of new gear, his profit would be even less. Sam is unusual in the respect that his acquisition of capital goods is annually higher than others. His investment in fishing gear has caused him to have less cash at the end of the season than his sharemen. As can be seen from Table 3, other skippers who employ sharemen have a higher cash return than their sharemen. Presumably this would be the case with Sam in another year, although he insists that his sharemen almost always make out as well or better than he. It would be economically advantageous if Sam had his sharemen or partner living with him in the winter, but he has no brothers or sons eligible to be sharmen and his father lives elsewhere in the winter. Most of the others listed in Table 3 have sharemen or partners living with them in their winter household.

There are four longliners owned by Port Hope Simpson residents. Besides the one owned by Sam and his father, there is another one

used in a similar operation, a third is a 65 foot boat normally chartered for salmon and Arctic char collection on the north coast of Labrador, and the fourth is owned by Joe who lives mainly on his boat in the summer. Not only does this increase his mobility for selecting productive fishing areas, but expenses go directly for fishing effort, rather than house and stage maintenance. The disadvantage is that since he lacks curing facilities, he must sell his catch as fresh fish, which prevents him from selling a larger percentage of the catch in the form of saltbulk. Because Joe's expenses are lower than Sam's, Joe earns a 34 per cent profit for himself ($9,572:$28,000), and because one of his sharemen lives with him in the winter, his household earns a 50.8 per cent profit from the fishery ($9,572 + $4,667:$28,000). Joe's productivity might make it seem obvious that others could increase their productivity if they owned longliners. However, Joe's expenses were much higher for a few years after he built and outfitted the six-year-old longliner. Not included in his fishing expenses are repayments made during the off-season to the Fisheries Loan Board for an $11,000 loan. The high initial capital outlay for a longliner and electronic equipment, despite subsidies, inhibits others from making similar investments. Perhaps one reason Joe could afford such an investment is because his wife has one of the few permanent part-time jobs in Port Hope Simpson.

The gross fishing incomes of Hal, Cam, Sol, and Dan reflect the availability of fish in 1980 and high prices paid. These skippers have only a moderate amount of equipment (see Table 4) and have not produced such high yields in previous years. Simply because a crew

owns only a moderate amount of equipment does not mean it is doomed to produce a low income. Hal and his partner earned $10,517 each. Expenses were kept low by investing in little new equipment and by not hiring sharemen.

Although Cam is involved in a low budget operation, expenses were relatively higher than, presumably, they would be in subsequent years if they continue to fish by using the same technique of combining their few nets with handlining. Since Cam's father and brothers were earning less from their woods operation, they decided to become more intensively involved in the fishery. This necessitated building a new house 'on the outside' and renovating the stage. Although his profit from the fishery is only 16 per cent of the gross ($3,681:$22,826), entering into a partnership with his father and two brothers instead of hiring sharemen, has allowed a bigger investment at less risk for each of the partners.

By comparing Sam's case with others, it becomes evident that high production does not necessarily guarantee high cash profits for the household. Rather production must be balanced against expenses. If sharemen do not live in the household, their pay is an expense; if they do live in the household their pay adds to the household income. Even modest producers benefit if the crewmembers live in the same household. Table 3 shows that the households of Sol, Dan, Mac, and Art profit much more from their relatively modest fishing incomes, although Art's income is extremely small. For example, Mac's household, which includes his two sharemen sons, earns 74.4 per cent from the fishery ($3,910 + $1,585 + $1,585:$9,510).

Despite the higher percentage of cash return, however, Mac's household makes $7,080 ($1,585 + $1,585 + $3,910) compared to Hal's $10,517 and Hal has no other income producing members.[1] What Table 3 does not show is that certain locations produce more fish than others, certain locations require more expenses than others, certain skippers want to produce more fish than others, and certain crews work harder than others.

Mac and Art have berths not noted for particularly good catches, have comparatively little equipment (see Table 4), and, at least partly because of this, expend less effort at fishing. Most of their expenses are for food for their families. There are thirteen in Mac's house and six in Art's house. In both cases, low income and dependence on welfare prohibit reinvestment in more gear.

With the exception of Mac and Art, the others have licenses to sell salmon. There have been no salmon licenses issued to new entrants or to fishermen who have not sold salmon the previous year. Consequently, some crews cannot fish for salmon even though they may have salmon nets. There are now 50 salmon license holders in Port Hope Simpson.

There is considerable money to be made in salmon fishing. Compared to the preparation of saltbulk, salmon requires less labour for higher earnings. The price of $2.10 per pound for large salmon, paid in 1980, makes salmon catching highly profitable. Sol made

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[1] Nor does Hal have as many people to support in his winter household, which is why per capita income has been included in Column 1 of Table 3. Hal has only his wife to support whereas Mac has a household of 13, including himself.

$11,500 from salmon, over one and three-quarters of his saltbulk earnings. Salmon, however, are less dependable from year to year than are cod.

Table 4 shows the same fishermen listed in Table 3 in the same order of decreasing gross fishing income. It is certainly no coincidence that, without exception, the amount of fishing gear decreases correspondingly. The number of household members can be a liability or an asset depending on the proportion of income earners to non-participants, although, as previously mentioned, women play a vital role in the support of the crew. The remainder of the household income after its consumption expenses, which are largely determined by its size, can be used for reinvestment in fishing gear to increase production the following year. Although the crews in the sample rank roughly in the same order of productivity from year to year, a bad year can severely limit gear replacement, especially of those crews of lower productivity. If a fisherman cannot afford to replace or add to his original equipment after a good year, as probably will be the case with Dan, Mac, and Art, in a bad year he will suffer a greater loss than the fisherman who can.

Fish production is influenced heavily by the material variables of berth location combined with the annual movements of fish, weather, crew size and experience, and quantity and type of fishing gear.[1] Income from fish is influenced by the quality of production

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[1] Fishing berths tend to be inherited patrilineally (see Chapter 4, Section A). There is no annual drawing for berths as there is in some Newfoundland communities.

Table 4: Seasonal Household Composition and Amount of Fishing Gear

Skipper	Summer Household Members	Winter Household Members	Dependents	Total Crew	Boats*	New Nets**	Total Nets
Sam	10	3	2	6	1M, 3S, 1L	1C, 40G, 10S	6C, 70G, 60S, 15H
Joe	3	7	5	3	1M, 1L	10G, 6S	80G, 12S
Hal	5	2	1	2	1M, 1S	4G, 3S	1C, 6G, 16S, 8H
Cam	6	6	5	4	2M, 3S	1C	1C, 12G
Sol	8	9	7	3	1M, 1S	2G, 1S	1C, 6G, 14S
Dan	8	9	5	3	1M, 1S	10G	3C, 18G, 16S, 8H
Mac	13	13	5	3	1M	1G	1C, 4G, 1S
Art	6	6	0	3	1M		1C, 4S, 2H

* M – Motorboat
S – Speedboat
L – Longliner

** C – Cod Traps
G – Gill Nets
S – Salmon Nets
H – Herring Nets

and marketing methods. Fishing income is also enhanced by the sale of salmon. Fishing expenses are determined by the number of sharemen or partners, amount of new gear, gear replacement, maintenance of gear, and household composition in summer and winter. The economic status of fishermen varies widely because of these material variables.

Fishing is not the only means of cash production for Port Hope Simpson residents. Traditionally the alternative was woods work. However, since the withdrawal of the Bowaters operation, woods work has not offered full-time employment. The five sawmills do operate at various times in the fall and spring to provide lumber for local use. The largest sawmill, made up of equipment brought from J.O. Williams and Bowaters, provided limited employment for four men until they became involved in the fishery. In 1980, they made only $200 each because a large part of their time was spent milling timber for their outside houses. Another sawmill owner made a larger profit by milling 105,000 board feet of lumber in his homemade outdoor mill powered by an automobile engine. Shawn cut, hauled, and sawed 15,000 feet which, at 20¢ a foot, he sold for $3,000. He also sold 90,000 feet of lumber at 10¢ a foot to those who delivered timber to his mill, thereby making another $9,000. Shawn's case is anomolous, however, as forest products no longer provide a significant cash income to residents.

While most households bring in small amounts of cash through one or more members engaged in such activities as snowmobile repair, winter works projects, contribution of labour for logging or house construction, sale of handmade articles, etc., this income is only

supplementary to the fishery and its consequent transfer payments.[1] There are, in fact, only twenty-two households that rely on employment outside the fishery for their main economic support, as shown in Table 5. Since five of these involve self-employment, only seventeen households are dependent upon the wage labour market for their primary source of income.

Table 5: Households with Non-Fishing Employment as Their Primary Source of Income

Self-Employment	Merchants	4
	Boat Builders	1
Full Time Wage Employment	I.G.A. Clinic Services	1
	Newfoundland Hydro	2
	Janitors	2
	Administrative Functionaries	2
	Teaching	7
	Nurses	1
Part Time Wage Employment	Wharfinger	1
	Garbage Collection	1
	TOTAL	22

[1] UI benefits are reduced if income during the unemployment period exceeds 25% of the weekly payment.

There is a marked variation in the social status of non-fishermen just as there is a great diversity in their economic returns. Throughout the history of Labrador, merchants have wielded tremendous economic power over residents of their communities. This is still true of the fish plant managers who buy fish and sell food, fuel and gear and also extend credit. It is also true of the four store owners in Port Hope Simpson. Credit is given to individuals within certain limits depending on their estimated earning power, promptness of repayment, need, and personal relationship with the store owner. The reputation of a person's crowd is no negligible factor in determining the extent of credit given. A single household may have credit at all four stores. Merchants occasionally receive "gifts" of trout or birds, presumably to ensure friendly relations for credit purposes. Fishermen returning with a meagre catch, sometimes evasively report that they caught 'the best part of a good bit' or a 'midship roomfull' [a full fish well of an open boat] to reassure the merchants of their ability to repay credit. No interest is ever charged, although prices reflect the cost of maintaining large numbers of long term credit customers. Seemingly, there is no competition to attract customers among the four stores. There is never any advertising, nor are there "sales" on particular items. Customers do not shop comparatively for lowest prices. Neither do the merchants engage in price collaboration.

Although the merchants undoubtedly have the largest investment and highest gross income of any other business, their net returns vary considerably not only from year to year depending on the

profitability of the fishery, but from each other. At least one merchant's net income is exceeded by the higher incomes from wage work and fishing. Some of the risks of the store business are the loss of perishable goods and estimating demand. If goods spoil in transit, are damaged on the trip from the wharf to the store, or spoil before they are sold, the owner must bear the expense. Legitimate claims against damage by CN Marine Coastal Service are often difficult to be remunerated, and, in any case, take a long time. If the supply of goods runs short before the shipping season begins, there is the high cost of air freight. Unlike stores connected by road to nearby wholesalers, a larger inventory must be kept on hand and the opportunity to introduce new goods on an experimental level is reduced. In addition, there are no guarantees when and if credit will be paid off. One merchant has a half dozen customers with three years of outstanding bills. The effect of inflation on the value of repaid bills that have been long outstanding must be very great.

Still, when a man said, "The merchants is all rich off the fishermen," he was close to the truth, especially in the instance of one of the four merchants who not only sells food, dry goods and building materials, but is also the sole distributor of Skidoo machines and parts, gasoline, diesel fuel and fuel oil. He has a combination bulldozer and backhoe, is the postmaster, and is the ticket agent for Labrador Airways. He is also the mayor. He employs several members of his household full-time and occasionally employs others part-time. He is both needed for the goods and services he

provides and criticized for the economic power that he holds over others.

Self-employment, other than in the fishery, has formerly been limited to the sale of imported merchandise. There have been no entrepreneurs willing to innovate ways of converting local resources to cash, although it has become possible to get grants from various government agencies to establish small businesses. A number of people have plans to obtain franchises in order to sell fast foods, furniture, or other makes of snowmobiles than are currently available. To date, only one individual has received a grant for producing goods from local timber resources. This man has begun a boatbuilding business for the local market using the labour from his own family.

Wage work available to native residents is highly coveted, if it pays well. Wages paid to the garbage collector by the Community Council are extremely low so that there is no competition for the position. The other jobs - I.G.A. Clinic service personnel, Newfoundland Hydro power plant maintenance men, or jobs such as telephone repair man, currently held by a man from a nearby community - are in great demand and there is a certain amount of jealousy over those who hold them. One of the Hydro employees lamented the loss of his former friends when he got the job: "Used to be the house'd be full of people every night, but not since I took the Hydro job. Only a scattered one comes now." A similar job offered in Williams Harbour had twenty-three applicants, some of whom were from Port Hope Simpson.

The number of wage employment jobs offering a household its primary income is extremely limited, as are seasonal and short-term wage work which supplement other sources of income. Compared to the work involved with fishing, these are sinecures. Whereas work done for one's own benefit, such as building a house or cutting firewood, is considered laudable for the security and independence it gives to a family unit, and whereas the amount of such work which can be performed in the community is unlimited, the same does not apply to wage-paying jobs. The underlying ideal in this circumstance is that everyone should have an even chance of obtaining the limited number of jobs available so that wages can be distributed to those in need throughout the community. It is considered rightful to maximize and disperse monetary benefits from such jobs. If two can be hired to do a job which really requires only one, it is seen as justifiable and more equitable.

One of the two Hydro employees expressed displeasure at the other because he was painting the interior of the power plant building, a job which could have been contracted out to someone else. "He don't have to do that. Might as well put a few bucks in someone else's pocket. There's enough around here that needs it, and he don't get a thing for it."

In addition to wage labour, there are 'government jobs.' Several in this category provide part-time supplementary income; two provide primary income. The business manager of the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union (NFFAWU) holds a position which is little understood by the majority of the community. Though he is

knowledgeable about the Labrador fishery, his knowledge is of a different level than that of fishermen. There is misunderstanding about what he does, where he gets his money, and the benefit of his efforts. He is seen to have a political position which is capable of influencing the economic position of his friends and people see him as having trangressed the egalitarian ethic by awarding advantages to only a few. In contrast, the local development association worker is seen to have the benefits of a 'government job' without undue power over people's lives.

Though the ideal implies that wage labour and 'government jobs,' like fish, are common property resources, jobs are highly coveted. They are held by individuals as long as possible, and they are perceived as being available only to certain 'crowds.'

Of the thirteen teachers in Port Hope Simpson, five are single and are newcomers from Newfoundland who board with various families, and are not the primary supporters of households. Eight teachers are married, but two of them are married to each other, resulting in seven households with teaching as the primary source of income. Nine teachers are immigrants and four are natives of the community. The two nurses who reside at the clinic are considered as one household. Both are immigrants from the United Kingdom.[1] Traditionally, teachers and nurses come to Labrador from the Island or from abroad,

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[1]A reason why so many trained nurses are recruited from the United Kingdom is that, unlike Canadian nurses they have benefitted from a full-year course in midwifery. Now, however, women about to give birth are sent to the hospital in St. Anthony. A point of fact is that nurses stationed in Labrador clinics do have more authority and responsibility than their contemporaries in urban hospitals.

stay a few years, then leave. Because of the required education, their occupations were effectively unattainable by Labradorians until recently, and they occupy a status separate from the rest of the community which is underlined when they are commonly addressed as Mr., Miss, or Mrs., regardless of the age of the speaker. The net incomes of teachers and nurses are substantially higher than those of fishermen in the community.

Table 6 shows the household incomes of non-fishermen. Elmer, Shawn, and Charlie have jobs; George is an unemployed welfare recipient. The desireability of full-time wage labour becomes apparent when the income of Elmer is compared to that of Sam shown in Table 3. Elmer's job as the Newfoundland Hydro maintenance man provides most of the household income. He has no business expenses and earns more than six times Sam's cash income. Elmer's per capita income for a household of seven is over a thousand dollars more than Sam's per capita income for a household of three. Sam is a very successful fisherman, but because of his expenses and family composition, his total household income is the lowest of the fishermen in the sample and lowest of the non-fishermen, save George who is wholly dependent on welfare. In contrast, Elmer has the highest income of all in the sample. This would seem sufficient reason to explain why Elmer's job is so highly coveted.

Shawn not only mills lumber for others but uses his own lumber to build boats. He began this enterprise a year ago (1979). His high initial expenses of a truck, two snowmobiles for hauling timber, and shop machinery were not covered by the sale of five motorboats and

Table 6: Household Income of Non-Fishermen

Household Head	Household Members	Gross Income From Wage Work	Business Expenses	Net Profit	Other Earned Income From Household Head	Earned Income From Other Household Members	Total Transfer Payments	Total Household Income	Per Capita Income
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
Elmer	7	18,157	0	18,157	0	7,740	1,550	27,455	3,922
Shawn	9	9,900	17,760	-7,860	12,000	15,882	3,570	23,592	2,621
Charlie	5	2,600	162	2,438	0	4,850	3,985	11,273	2,255
George	4	0	0	0	0	0	5,227	5,227	1,307

one speedboat, but were offset by the money earned by milling timber for others and a $900 loan combined with a $2,000 grant from the Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development. Also contributing to his household income are his wife, who provides domestic services to the I.G.A. clinic on a part time basis, a son, who is a shareman with another family, and a daughter, who works on a Young Canada Works Grant project. Presumably, his expenses will drop substantially next year so that he will realize a profit from his boat building business. Although many people build their own boats, there is sufficient demand to keep him busy.

A much less desireable job is that of the garbage collector. Charlie is paid a contract fee by the Community Council during the months when he can use his 2 1/2 ton truck to pick up garbage. The low wages he and his son get for their bi-weekly duties result in very little net income. Charlie pays his own truck expenses. His family depends heavily on transfer payments, but low earnings, despite his son's efforts as a shareman, do not permit him to invest in fishing equipment. Although he could fish with another son who maintains a separate household, pride most likely keeps him from doing so. Because his opportunity for economic growth is limited, he says, "I'm just bidin' like a lot of other people around here." Charlie depends more than anyone else in the sample on subsistence foods.

George is a member of the 'welfare crowd' and exists wholly on welfare and family allowance. From 1972 to 1977 he had taken various short-term unskilled jobs in five different places in Labrador and

Ontario, but has since chosen to remain in Port Hope Simpson, his birthplace. George has plans to build a house with the assistance of a social services programme which will pay his and some of his non-household relatives for their labour in its construction. The programme also pays most of the mortgage incurred for building materials. George and some of his blood relatives are victims of a genetically transmitted muscular condition known as "myotonic dystrophy", which, in the case of this particular family, is only mildly debilitating, but could affect their ability to do heavy work. Perhaps this is why he chooses not to fish with his relatives. The existence of this condition is not generally known by the community. Although not given to embracing the community work ethic, he is quite bright. In another employment market he probably would have a job.

In addition to primary income, most households rely to some extent on supplementary cash income. There are various ways of earning small amounts of cash in the community.

Occasionally, men will be paid to help construct a building. During the period of this study, a merchant paid a boy to help him construct a warehouse, and another merchant hired seven men, two of whom were non-kin, to build a new store. A couple of men in the community are hired, on occasion, for their skills as craftsmen to build kitchen cabinets or lay foundations, but most home construction is either done solely by the home owner or labour is recruited among kinsmen and informally exchanged without monetary transactions.

More lucrative part-time and seasonal jobs are the summer

postmaster in Sandy Hook, nurse's assistant, store clerks and pool hall owners. All of these jobs are recurring, but will be taken by the same people each year. The fish plants also provide employment for 13 men and women, which is the primary income of only one household. There is a higher turnover rate of employees and a slightly better chance that the demand for labour in the fish plants will increase.

Fur trapping is no longer considered a means to obtain a viable second income. There were probably never any trappers in Port Hope Simpson who relied on fur for their primary income and in other nearby communities trapping has ceased to be of the economic importance it once was. Forest fires and civilization have driven fur bearing animals far from the community and people generally want to avoid the isolation and hardship of running a trapline. Nevertheless, there are about six people who trap 'for the fun of it.'

Sealing does provide slightly more income, but in recent years there haven't been the great seal herds older people once knew. Seals are hunted as much for meat, as for the $35 each pelt brings.

'Winter works projects' or 'make work programmes' funded by Canada Works Grants give short-term employment to over a dozen people each year.[1] Such projects as the 'twine loft,' community hall, an athletic field, slipways, and trail clearing operations have been funded by this source. Projects are recommended by the local East

[1] In 1980 Canada Works Grants were replaced by Canada Community Development Projects which are administered by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

Shore Labrador Development Association, which hires and supervises the employees. The unofficial hiring policy is based on need: married men with families first, next, those who are on welfare at the time of hiring, and lastly, those who need additional 'stamps' to qualify for UI. For example, in January, 1981, a trail widening operation began which employed seventeen men. Nine men are married, sixteen were receiving social assistance, and all will be able to qualify for UI benefits when the project is completed. The foreman gets $189 a week and the employees get $152 a week. The project lasts ten weeks in the winter and an additional three weeks for the following fall. This particular crew cleared about 30 miles of snowmobile trails during the ten weeks.

It is universally recognized by the employees and the rest of the community that the purpose of winter works projects is to put money and employment 'stamps' into the pockets of those who have failed to earn sufficient income through the fishery. Winter works projects offer legitimation for those who would otherwise be 'on the dole', or at a low economic level. However, work on the project contributes less to the status of the worker than self-employment for either cash or subsistence. The socio-economic composition of the work crew both indicates and reinforces the status of the work they do. The value of the work involved lies directly in its immediate short-term monetary gain; one chooses this work as a last resort for it may become a form of dependence. In fact, it must be very difficult for a person to achieve the same sense of pride in cutting brush for ten weeks as he would develop during the same period in the various

seasonal work activities which contribute to his material and moral independence.

Attitudes toward the results of the projects vary. The community recognizes the usefulness of improved snowmobile trails, but other projects have seen little use. The 'twine loft' is located too far away from the community for convenience, is not yet wired for electricity, has no stove, and has been used little since it was built two years ago. People feel a few families will monopolize it in any case. The community hall, built three years ago, has only just begun to be used. The athletic field is smaller than originally planned and still ungraded because funds ran out. Moreover, it is located on mucky ground which becomes besieged with clouds of black flies in the summer and is therefore unusable. A hockey rink was built seven years ago but has also never been used because it has been impossible to flood it properly. The marine haulout was used mainly for one boat and has since been damaged. The Department of Fisheries had threatened to remove it until the local MHA successfully blocked the attempt.

The Community Council provides employment with similar aims as the Canada Works Projects to a few people each year. The Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing provides most of the revenue which is used mainly for road and dump maintenance (see Appendix A). In 1979, the Council received a special grant of over $17,000 for dump maintenance. Although most of it was paid to the three owners and operators of heavy equipment, the Council made an effort to give employment to about forty men who needed additional 'stamps.' Some

worked only for one day. During the late summer, a half dozen labourers and a heavy equipment owner and operator are hired to grade the road circling the community. This work comes at an inopportune time for fishermen. One man complained bitterly that road work cost him more in lost fishing time than he gained in wages.

Supplementary wage work, of course, is in demand in a community which suffers chronic unemployment and underemployment, but the social status of those who perform this work is contingent on the degree of independence from welfare a particular kind of work offers.

B. Government Transfer Payments

Transfer payments include UIC, Social Assistance (SA), Family Allowance (or, 'baby bonus'), and Old Age Security. Fishing subsidies are also a type of government transfer payment, but have not been included in the summaries of household budgets because of the confusion that existed in the minds of informants over how much they could get or whether they were eligible at all. Fishing subsidies will be discussed at the conclusion of this section.

UIC and Social Assistance have the most significance to the household budget. The rate of UI benefits is 60 per cent of the average insurable earnings made during qualifying weeks. Maximum weekly insurable earnings are $290. If that amount were earned, a claimant would get $174 per week during the unemployment period. Because of the short fishing season, fishermen in Port Hope Simpson claim the "seasonal benefit" which entitiles them to claim benefits from November 1 to May 15. Welfare, of course, is allocated within

the limits of regulations according to need. Family Allowance is paid to every Canadian parent at the rate of $21.80 per child, per month. Old Age Security, which increases quarterly with the cost of living, consists of an average basic payment of $190 per month, plus a supplement which can be a maximum of $314 per month.

Diagram 1 shows the ratio of earned income from fishing or other sources to transfer payments to the total household. In some cases the amount of the transfer payments is substantial. Transfer payments can be used for reinvestment in the fishery (or another enterprise, for that matter) only if they constitute income above the margin of family maintenance costs. That is, if transfer payments combined with earned income exceed the amount it takes to support each dependent household member, transfer payments can be used to purchase more gear, to replace lost or worn gear, or to increase production. This is why qualifying for UI benefits is so important. Those who do not qualify for their winter's 'pogey' are forced to live off their summer's earnings and/or welfare, thereby putting them at a disadvantage when it comes time to buy gear. Qualification for UI is one reason why successful fishermen remain so, and is cited as a reason why the 'rich get richer and the poor get poorer.'

It is noteworthy that the types of transfer payments differ in their likelihood of adding material security. Social Assistance will provide only the amount necessary to bring the income of the recipient and his dependents up to the minimum necessary for their support. Following Diagram 1, for example, with welfare, Mac's total household income is $18,257. There are thirteen in the household

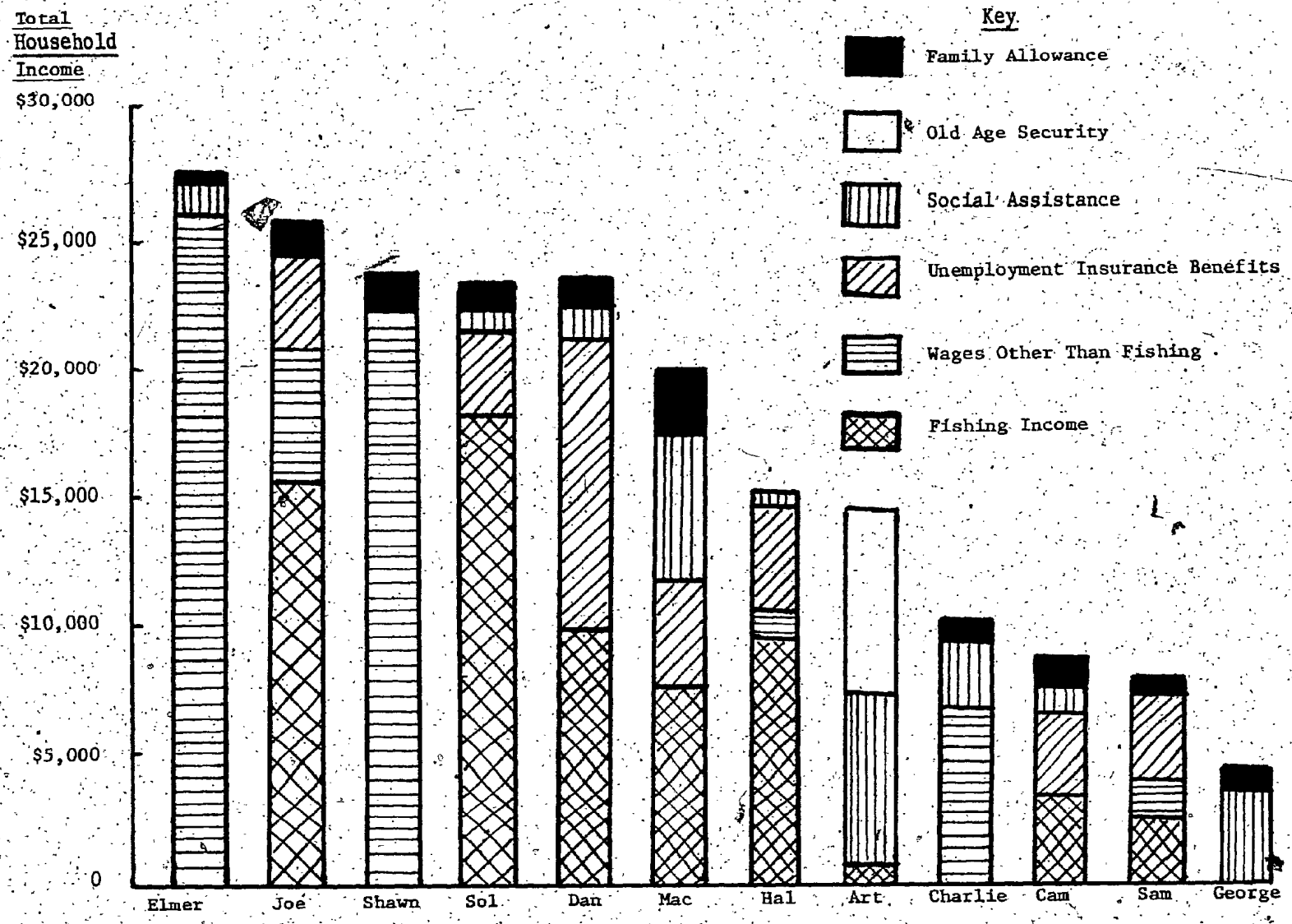

Diagram 1: Relationship of Earned Income to Transfer Payments of Households

making the per capita income only $1404. Art's household of six earns only $684 from fishing so that the Old Age Security his parents get and the welfare his brothers and sister get is used mainly for living expenses. Charlie's household budget is another example of welfare functioning to bring the per capita income up to the margin for minimum support.

A slightly different, though common, use of welfare can be seen in the household budgets of Sol, Dan, and Hal. Whether it is a case of uneven cash flow beyond their control or simply poor budgeting, they get welfare in the spring and fall between fishing and UIC seasons. In fact, many fishermen balance UIC against SA. Due to the short fishing season and few other opportunties for cash production, most people have come to rely on either or both of these two transfers.

In November of 1979, 64 per cent of all households received partial or continual welfare through the household head and/or other members. There were 81 individual recipients, of which 12 were unmarried mothers, 14 were seasonally unemployed non-fishermen, 9 received long term disability, 16 were able bodied constant recipients, and 30 fishermen received seasonal assistance. Over half of the skippers of fishing crews, who had bought their equipment, applied for Short Term Social Assistance (STA) between the end of the fishing season in September or October and the arrival of the first UIC cheque around the first of December.

Diagram 2, drawn from the data in Table 7, shows an increase in STA expenditures during the interim between the UIC benefit period and

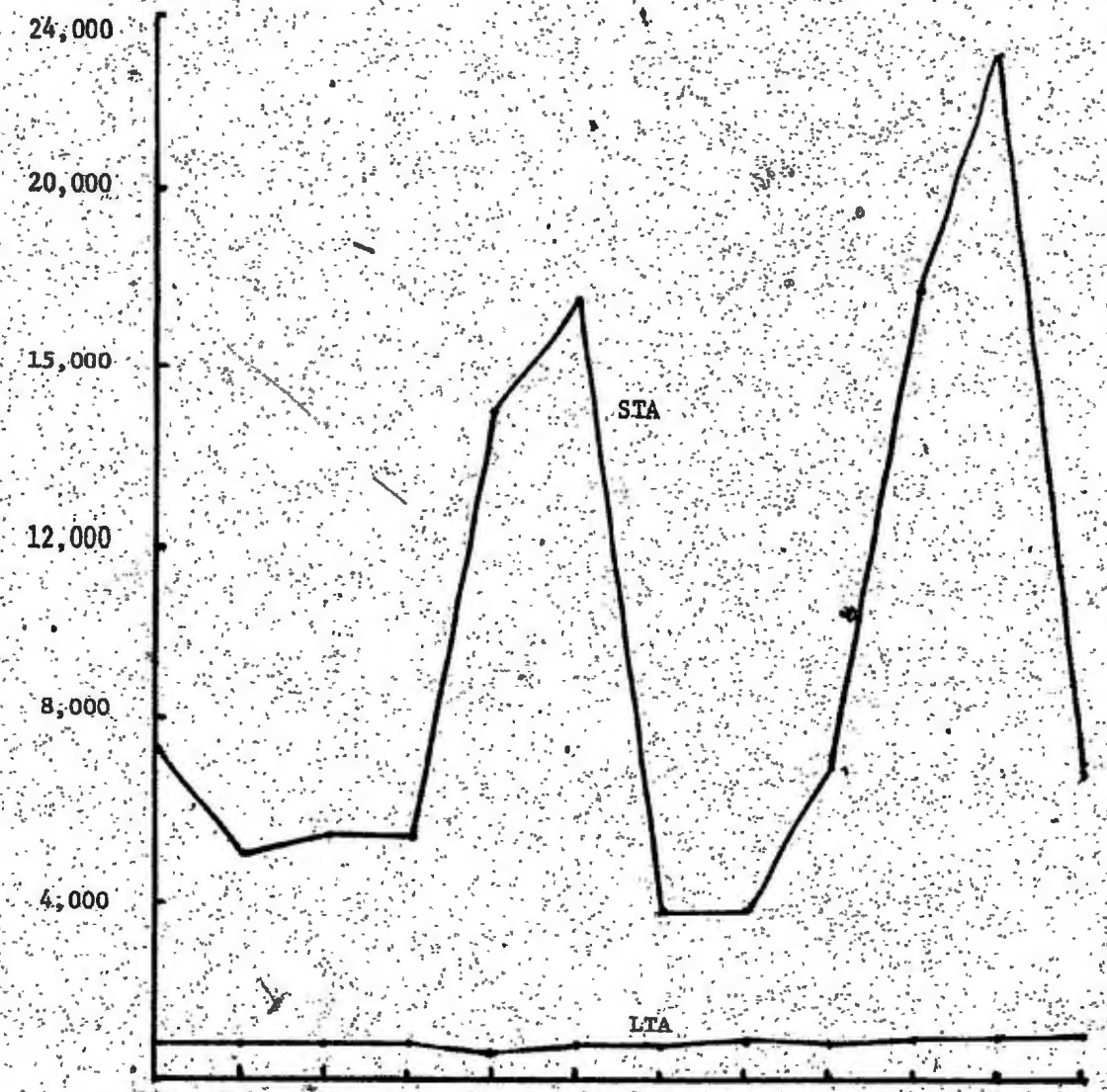

Diagram 2: Seasonal Changes in Social Assistance Expenditure in Port Hope Simpson

the fishing season. As Table 7 shows, not only does the amount of STA increase but the number of recipients increases in June and again in October and November. Table 7 shows that the average and median size of the cheques increases during this time. This is because there are more large householders applying for STA during these months who warrant larger payments than the constant recipients who tend to have smaller families. Long Term Assistance (LTA), given to people over a certain age who, in the judgement of the welfare officer, will not be employable, remains constant and the average size of the cheques is lower than those of STA.

The high standard deviations of welfare payments indicated in Table 7 means that there is a wide range of amounts. For instance, in November, the cheques ranged from $456 to $4,916. Keep in mind that welfare is not necessarily given to support the entire household, even though it may be shared by the household. There are a number of cases which point out the fact that welfare is based on individual income, not household income. The most outstanding example is Sam's household (see Diagram 1). Although Sam's earned income is high enough to support his whole household, welfare is received by his two sons, one of whom has a wife, and who are no longer Sam's legal dependents. Attitudes towards this practice vary and will be diacussed in Chapter 5.

A survey conducted in November 1979 revealed that of the 149 fishermen, 93 had either received UIC benefits or expected to receive them in a few weeks. That is, 62.4 per cent of the fishermen were eligible for UIC benefits by their fishing efforts alone during the

Table 7: Monthly Welfare Payments to Port Hope Simpson - 1980

		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
	TOTAL $	7,453	4,985	5,563	5,475	14,985	17,628	3,829	3,853	7,068	17,683	23,243	6,822	118,460
	n	38	32	30	31	68	72	18	21	34	59	69	37	N=112
STA	$\bar{x}$ $	194	156	185	177	220	245	213	183	208	300	337	184	μ=217
	Md $	176	130	176	168	242	258	194	146	194	328	315	146	
	s $	134	101	120	108	117	78	76	103	129	154	208	127	σ=148.34
	TOTAL $	782	782	782	782	757	757	638	785	757	830	866	866	9,388
	n	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	7	6	7	7	7	N=8
LTA	$\bar{x}$ $	130	130	130	130	126	126	128	112	126	119	124	124	μ=123
	Md $	118	118	118	118	118	118	118	82	118	118	130	130	
	s $	49	49	49	49	48	48	54	51	48	48	52	52	σ=46.13

Key to Abbreviations

STA = short-term assistance
LTA = long-term assistance
n = number of monthly recipients
N = number of recipients in 1980
$\bar{x}$ = average monthly payment
μ = average 1980 payments
Md = median payment
s = monthly standard deviation
σ = 1980 standard deviation

1979 season. Over a dozen more actually were able to qualify after they gained a sufficient number of employment weeks by working some type of short-term employment. The 1980 fishing season was significantly more productive. Not only did the number of fishermen increase by about 10 per cent, but many who had failed to qualify for UIC in 1979 were now successful. Although quantitative data is not available to contrast UIC expenditures for the two years, informal questioning ascertained that there was an increase in UIC payments in the winter of 1980-81 over the previous year. This was undoubtedly due to the increase in number of new entrants and re-entrants to the fishery who were encouraged by the availability of more government subsidies, as well as an excellent salmon season which added qualifying UIC weeks. The consequence of a good fishing season tends to raise UIC payments and lower Social Assistance payments. Informants in the Department of Social Services indicated a much lower expenditure of seasonal welfare payments to fishermen in 1980 than the previous year.

Table 8 shows that considerable savings in fishing expenses can be realized by taking advantage of various government subsidies. However, information concerning these regulations is not widely or accurately known among fishermen. The business manager for the N.F.F.A.W.U., who resides in Port Hope Simpson, fills out most of the applications for subsidies. Of the 96 licensed fishermen, there are 78 union members, which, perhaps, accounts for the reluctance of some of the non-union members to approach him. The general lack of knowledge of available subsidies as well as jealousy over

Table 8: Some Common Fishing Expenses and Subsidies - 1980 Prices[1]

Item	Cost in $	Type of Subsidy	Less Subsidy	Cost after Subsidy in $
Motorboat (35')	3,500[2]	Prov. Bounty	$1,575	
Diesel Engine	5,000	$45 per foot		
Combination	8,500	35% Fed. Subsidy for Hull and Motor.	2,975	3,970
Speedboat (18')	800	Prov. Bounty	810	-10
Outboard (35 HP)	1,600	$45 per foot		1,600
Diesel Fuel, gal.	1.47	27.3 per gal. disc.		1.20
Gasoline, gal.	1.73	27.3 per gal. disc.		1.46
Gill net - 50 fathom				
a. Ready Made	140	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	42	98
b. Hand Made	121	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	36.30	84.70
Cod Trap				
a. Ready Made	3,000	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	900	2,100
b. Hand Made	2,600	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	780	1,820
c. Japanese	4,500	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	1,350	3,150
Buoy Marker (48")	32	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	9.60	22.40
Grapnel, 60 lbs.	54	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	16.20	37.80
Nylon line, 1/2", coil	50	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	15	35
Jiggers, ea.	2.50	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	.75	1.75
Hand Line, 50 fathom	9	30% Prov. Gear Subs.	2.70	6.30
Salt, sack (slightly less than 2 sacks req'd per quintal)	4.50	Salt subsidy of $1.50	.75	3.75

[1]A provincial bounty of $45 per foot is paid on all new boats over twenty-five feet long in Newfoundland and Labrador, if the owner is licensed, has been in the fishery for at least two years, and earns at least seventy-five per cent of his income from the fishery. Curiously enough, in this particular area of Labrador, the same bounty is available for boats 17'1" and up. In this case, the bounty on speedboats would equal or exceed the cost, including labour. The Provincial gear subsidy specifies a number of nets and equipment for new entrants to the fishery, or up to one half of the gear already owned by fishermen previously involved.

[2]The actual selling price is less than $2,500, but boats are priced for purposes of the bounty on fair market value in Newfoundland.

Newfoundland fishermen who are believed to have the advantage of more and bigger subsidies was reflected by the statement, "A man in Newfoundland may not even own a nail in his boat; the government doesn't give as much to we on the Labrador." But when asked why he didn't apply for certain subsidies, the same man replied, "I don't bother with that. That's too much fooling." Whether it is because of ignorance of existing programs, misunderstanding about qualifications, or pride in one's independence, there are some who pay full retail price for gear even when subsidies are available.

C. Subsistence Production

The seasonal cycle described in Chapter 2 is an integral part of Labrador life, and subsistence production is as much a part of the yearly cycle as the different modes of production for cash. While it is true that subsistence production has fallen off due to changing environmental factors, and the time spent at subsistence activities has a lower value than the time required for market production, nearly all families pursue various types of subsistence activities. It would be misleading to say there is a simple relationship between periods of unemployment and subsistence production. Instead the intensity of subsistence production is integrated with the intensity of commodity production for cash. The time spent on subsistence production by the self-employed fisherman varies with the availability of fish, crew size, equipment, weather and personal drive. The time spent on lumber production for cash depends on similar variables. Therefore, the nature of self-employment allows

time for the pursuit of seasonal activities during both the "employment season" and the off season.

It is essential to classify the various subsistence activities in order to achieve an understanding of the part they play in the household budget. In Chapter 2 they were presented according to the seasons in which they occurred. In this chapter an attempt will be made to place a value on particular activities for their contribution to they household economy.

The relative value of subsistence production is much easier to assess than their actual value in monetary equivalents. For example, cutting firewood is much more of a necessity than gathering bakeapples, but assigning monetary values to them is quite arbitrary. St. John's equivalent prices for subsistence production would be misleading because the value of subsistence goods is determined by their local supply and demand. Further, the amount a person is willing to pay for an item depends on his preference for that item balanced against the alternatives open to him. A meal of salmon in Port Hope Simpson, for instance, may not be valued as highly as in St. John's; it may replace a meal of store-bought fare rather than being selected as a gourmet treat. Even if it were assumed that all families in each locality have similar preferences, a comparative retail price of a subsistence item assumes similar conditions of culture, environment and economy.

A more accurate measurement of the value of subsistence products is the going price of the item within the local context. However, the price may fluctuate considerable because buyers and sellers who

know each other well, as they do in Port Hope Simpson, tend to negotiate on the basis of past or expected favours of an entirely different order than the immediate exchange. Fair market value may not even exist. In fact, very few subsistence items are traded strictly for cash in Port Hope Simpson. Therefore, because there is a clear cut distinction between the items listed in this section and store bought commodities, any method of assigning a cash value to the subsistence products is an arbitrary one. For purposes of comparison of production between households, however, an arbitrary, and hopefully impartial, measurement of the value of products is useful. The most scientifically precise method would be to measure the caloric value that each item produces. Input-output bioenergetics has been the subject of research on certain small scale cultures such as the Kung! Bushmen of the Kalarahi Desert[1], but the difficulty of establishing parameters in Western society, even in isolated communities, makes this technique problematical. If, for no other reason than a lack of better alternatives, a dollar amount is used to value the subsistence items listed in Table 9.

Firewood is used by everyone. Many people supplement wood heat with oil and some heat primarily with oil and supplement with wood. Wood may be used for cooking, heating water, heating the house and heating a work shed. It has the highest value of subsistence items, both in terms of the labour expended to get it and the utility it

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[1] Richard B. Lee. "What Hunters Do For a Living, or, How to Make Out on Scarce Resources" in Richard B. Lee and Irven Devore eds. Man the Hunter, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968.

Table 9: Value of Annual Subsistence Production by Household

Household Head	Sol	Charlie	Sam	Shawn	George	Joe	Cam	Elmer
Household Size	9	6	3	9	4	7	6	7
Firewood								
$ value	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	850	640	450
Cod								
meals per week	3-4	2	3-4	4-5	2-3	1-2	4-5	1-2
$ value	800	310	270	1,015	260	270	700	270
Salmon & Trout								
meals per year	25	30	5	10	7	25	16	10
$ value	200	160	20	100	30	190	85	80
Minor Marine Resources Caplin, Mussels, Crab & Herring								
$ value	70	40	40	0	10	0	55	0
Seals								
number	45	2	5	0	0	0	0	0
$ value	1,575	70	175	0	0	0	0	0
Seabirds, Partridge & Rabbits								
$ value	25	552	625	0	20	88	0	0
Domestic Goods Sewing, knitting & seal skin boots	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vegetables								
$ value	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
Berries								
gallons	36	20	20	15	4	17	5	2
$ value	250	140	140	110	30	120	35	15
TOTALS:								
1. Subsistence food items	2,970	1,272	1,270	1,225	350	730	937	417
2. All subsistence items	4,430	2,522	2,520	2,475	1,600	1,580	1,547	867
3. Annual cash expenditure on Food, Electricity & Heating Oil	9,000	4,380	7,360	9,000	3,708	7,780	9,980	10,600
4. Household Cash Income	23,400	11,300	7,900	23,600	5,200	25,500	8,800	27,500
5. Subsistence as per cent of household cash income	18.9	22.3	31.9	10.5	30.8	6.2	17.6	3.2

privides. Fifteen to twenty-five foot "sticks" of spruce timber from areas burned over by forest fires are hauled by skidoo and komatik or sometimes by truck to the house, where they are stood on end in a conical pile. People measure the amount of firewood by the number of komatik loads, the number of "sticks", or the time it took them to cut and haul it. Differences in the size of the snowmobile, hauling distance from the house, length of "sticks" and the number of people helping, make determination of the number of cords impossible. The costs of heating an average sized house with oil alone is an estimated $1,250 per year, based on the local price of oil. If oil were replaced with subsistence firewood, the value of firewood would be the same. However, because some houses are insulated and some are not, and because certain types of stoves are more efficient than others, this can only be a very rough estimate. Also, people who have wood stoves in their work sheds need more firewood.

An informant pointed out to me that hauling firewood by snowmobile and komatik is inefficient. He estimated that it only took him two weeks to gather enough wood for the year because he uses his truck to haul it out in the fall rather than a snowmobile which can take six weeks in the winter. Therefore, hauling firewood with a truck takes fewer trips and less gasoline. However, this is practical only if the wood supply is close to Port Hope Simpson and close to the road.

Although areas where timber is cut are Crown Land, there is an usufructory right observed of a family's cutting area. A family will usually not cut in an area they know is being cut by another. To do

so would be regarded as stealing someone else's wood. There is surprisingly little controversy over cutting rights, although the areas closest to home are the most desireable.

The next most important item in terms of both utility to the household and the labour expended to get it, is cod. People eat more meals of fresh cod in the summer than frozen or salt cod in the winter. The number of meals per week shown in Table 9 is the estimate given by informants for the whole year. Although most of the cod sold is in the form of salt bulk, now that freezers have become available the preference for personal consumption and storage is fresh and frozen fish.

Salmon is a desired item on the menu, but some salmon fishermen do not consume it themselves because they say the selling price, which reached $2.40 a pound for a brief time, is so high that they cannot afford it. In any case, the number of meals of salmon were figured on the basis of an entire year rather than weekly as codfish were. Trout are taken in summer by nets set in rivers and bays and in the winter by jigging through the ice in fresh water ponds.

The estimate of the dollar value of cod, salmon and trout cannot be calculated on local store prices because they are not sold, and, as previously pointed out, prices in other places are somewhat irrelevant. Therefore, the price a person would get if he sold the fish to a local fish plant is used in Table 9. In terms of the effort expended on these three species, cod and salmon are taken for consumption at the same time as they are landed to be sold but a separate effort must be made to catch trout either through the ice or

by nets. Only a couple of fishermen sell trout to the fish plant.

Minor marine species such as herring, crab, caplin and mussels are consumed only occasionally in season. Caplin are dried and smoked, or frozen for consumption throughout the year by some. There is no local market for caplin and it is not sold locally. Caplin is usually a side dish. In evaluating the importance of items which may not be the main fare of a meal, it should be borne in mind that there are numerous informal tea breaks throughout the day and a more formal "lunch" before bedtime.

Seals are not pursued with the same intensity as they are on the north Labrador coast because of their relative scarcity. In the fall and early winter they are shot or netted and in the spring of years when ice conditions are right, harp seals can be clubbed near shore. However, each year there are fewer seal hunters. A good pelt brings thirty-five dollars and the meat from some is saved. Hunters who get only a few seals incidental to other activities are usually interested only in the meat. Seabirds, partridges and rabbits are seldom sold locally, but occasionally a boy will ask for five dollars for two birds or rabbits. They generally are used for the main fare of a meal.

There are very few gardens in Port Hope Simpson. Soil is poor and the insects appear healthier than the vegetables. Perhaps with encouragement agriculture could play a larger role in the household budget but the men's time is taken up with fishing during the growing season and in the fishing stations there is enough soil for only a very tiny garden. Dollar values for garden produce are figured on

the basis of local store prices.

Berries are not sold in Port Hope Simpson as they are in the Straits area or in Newfoundland. Bakeapples are valued higher than partridge berries or blueberries, but assigning a dollar value to the berries themselves would be pointless. Instead, their value lies in their use as preserves. Home preserves are preferred over store-bought jam, but commercial jam is substituted when necessary. The cost of sugar cuts down the saving from home preserves.

The households listed in Table 9 are ranked roughly, in descending order, on the value of all subsistence goods that they produce. I have attempted to use dollar values that indicate the utility of the various items, although there are the obvious theoretical problems inherent in the quantification of such diverse but essential considerations as one's preference for a particular commodity, one's level of desire in regard to the acquisition of an item, and the equipment which might be used in procurement, as well as the relative abundance of the commodity itself.

Perhaps subsistence production in Sol's household is valued inordinately high because of the number of seals caught. Not all of the 180 seals caught and divided among three other households were sold, and the law of diminishing marginal utility applies to seal meat as well as to anything else. However, his sons are old enough to help with all forms of subsistence production. Household composition greatly affects production possibilities both in subsistence and in production for the market. For instance, Charlie has two sons to help him with firewood, marine resources and hunting,

but George has no sons and his wife is occupied with two small children. Although Sam has only two others in his winter household, the combined efforts of his father and four sharemen in the summer and fall add greatly to his production possibilities. Further, even if the number of eligible participants in subsistence production in a household is low, there is an advantage in having a close relative who contributes his time or resources. Charlie, who lives in Port Hope Simpson in the summer, uses his eldest son's fishing equipment and boat to jig a winter's supply of fish, whereas George and Elmer do not have that advantage.

The value of firewood is calculated only on the basis of home heating and cooking costs, which may be misleading. Sol, Joe, and Shawn use firewood to heat work sheds in the winter, and Sol, Sam and Cam raft their summer's supply of wood out to their fishing locations.

Table 9 also indicates a couple of generalizations which are based on my observations of other households in the community. One, households with high net cash incomes do not rely on subsistence items as much. Joe and Elmer have high net incomes because of their connection with wage labour. They both can afford oil heat, electric stoves and electric hot water heat. They can afford to choose between having many meals of codfish or a few. Subsistence is also related to household composition and access to marine resources. George and Cam have no eligible males in the household to help with subsistence production and neither feels free to ask a close relative for help very often. Also, George and Elmer have no outside fishing stations, nor would they ask their fathers or brothers for the

extended use of gear. Although George, Cam and Elmer are low income welfare recipients, a generalization about low income and the amount of subsistence production would be invalid. Two, there are as many high producers as low producers in low income families. Welfare neither provides more time or motivation to encourage families to produce more, nor acts as an incentive to produce less.

Subsistence production in Port Hope Simpson is both regarded differently and functions differently from some other areas of the province. Whereas the time and resources required would make subsistence activities somewhat of a luxury elsewhere, not to engage in subsistence production in Port Hope Simpson would be economically irrational. A person may choose to pursue certain activities more or less intensely depending on his need and performance, but subsistence production is an essential component of the community socio-economic structure.

D. Money Management, Utilization, and Exchange

The economic position of a household is determined by how it manages its money, utilizes cash and goods, and exchanges labour and services as much as how cash and goods are produced. This section will examine methods of money management, consumption patterns, and exchange as variables which influence socio-economic status.

The division of fishing income among crew members follows a tradition which is probably as old as the hitory of Anglo-European

settlement in Labrador. However, whereas years ago dividing the fishing income among crew members was the job of the skipper, now the fish plants figure the shares, although responsibility may ultimately lie with the skipper. Although there is minor variation in the way a season's income is actually divided, the idea is inflexible. In a crew without sharemen (Hal's and Cam's in Table 3 for example), the partners, or co-skippers, divide the gross earnings and expenses equally. If the skipper has sharemen in his crew he calculates the shareman's pay, or a 'share,' by taking half the gross earnings divided by the number of crewmen, including himself. The skipper's pay is half the gross earnings, plus one share, minus expenses. Expenses include fishing gear, boat maintenance, fuel (those items listed in Table 8), and room and board for the sharemen. The following etic formula is valid for crews with a combination of partners and sharemen (as in Sam's crew), as well as for the usual

$$\text{A share} = \frac{C}{2N}$$

$$\text{Skipper's part} = \frac{\frac{C}{2} + n\left(\frac{C}{2N}\right) - E}{n}$$

Where, C = season's gross income in dollars
N = number of crewmen including the skipper (s)
n = number of partners (skippers)
E = expenses

crew of one skipper and one or more sharemen.[1]

For example, as Table 3 shows, Joe and two sharemen grossed $28,000. In this case each shareman got $4,667 ($28,000 divided by 2 times 3 crewmembers). Joe had $9,095 in expenses, so he makes $9,572 ($28,000 divided by 2, plus one share of $4,667, minus $9,095 expenses). If Joe had partners instead of sharemen, each would have $6,302 ($28,000 minus $9,095 expenses divided by 3 partners).

In good years, a skipper with sharemen is better off than if he had partners, but in lean years the reverse is true. For instance, assume in a bad season Joe's gross income had been only $15,000 and the expenses were the same. If Joe had two sharemen he would make $905 ($15,000 divided by 2, plus a share of $2,500, minus $9,095 expenses), but if he had two partners he would get $1,968 ($15,000 minus $9,095 expenses divided by 3 partners). Partners share the expenses and the risk. Obviously, sharemen risk only their time. Of course, a safety feature for the skipper is to have his crewmen living with him in his household so that income can be shared.

Unlike the distribution of cash, UI 'stamps' are divided equally among crew members.[2] Although it is illegal to give 'stamps' to

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[1]To avoid confusion between Faris' (1972:108) and my illustration of the calculation of the division of the catch, what he calls a "full share" is known in Port Hope Simpson as the 'skipper's part'. Unlike Faris' observation (1972:107), sharemen are paid the same regardless of whether they have family members working in the stage. This is most likely because of the comparative ease of married men to begin fishing on their own. There are married men who are sharemen. Also, the sharemen's pay is figured in dollars rather than quintals of fish as Faris reported (1972:108 and Table 1).

[2]Whether or not one qualifies and how much he gets in UI benefits depends on the number of weeks of insurable employment and how much he has earned during those weeks, not the actual number of 'stamps.' Nevertheless, this term persists in local usage.

another man, if, at the end of the season, there are not enough qualifying weeks for the whole crew to collect UI benefits, fish could be sold in the names of only part of the crew so that at least some of them would be able to qualify. However, this is not usually practiced, evidently because many skippers have the fish plants write cheques to their sharemen for periodical pre-payment during the summer at which time UI payments are deducted. The skippers feel these deductions incur an obligation to sell fish in the names of their whole crew even if it means insufficient 'stamps' for everyone. Although the skipper and his crew know the standard formula for figuring shares, they give the actual responsibility for figuring shares to the fish plants in virtually all cases.

A conscious strategy toward the manipulation of Unemployment Insurance claims is rather uncommon. Whether it is due to concern with an honest reporting of the truth in such matters or a lack of knowledge of regulations governing UIC, most skippers leave the allocation of weeks of employment among crew members entirely up to the fish plants and/or other employers and do not question their calculations. Sometimes, when 'stamps', or more accurately, weeks of employment, are apportioned equally among all crewmembers, the overall catch at the end of the season is insufficient to qualify any crewmembers. By adopting a plan to qualify crewmembers one at a time based on the overall catch of the whole crew, UIC benefits could be maximized within the crew even if some members did not qualify in a particular year. However, when such a strategy was discussed, informants cited, correctly, the illegality of giving a person

another's 'stamps.' There are a number of complications involved with giving fish to other crewmembers in order to qualify at least part of the crew. The fish plants record each member of the crew in order to calculate shares. Thus, earnings are not figured independently of UIC weeks of employment. Commonly, fish plants issue advance cheques to sharemen, thereby recording employment time on their files which must be paid for by the joint effort of the entire crew. In addition, most fishermen sell most of their labour as salt fish at the end of the season so that they have only a rough idea of their earnings; they may not know if they have insufficient qualifying weeks until the paperwork has been completed. The explanation for giving the responsibility of figuring shares to the fish plants is that it is 'unfair' to do otherwise. As one skipper explained: "If my sharemen don't get a fair shake from me, do you think they'd be back next year?" It would appear that this is a strategy adopted by skippers in order to avoid placing themselves in positions which could be criticized by sharemen.

Although there is no commonly used strategy to maximize UI benefits, this is not to say that no strategy exists. It was reported that a few skippers had included their wives as sharemen, even if they did not usually fish, so that their wives could also get UIC benefits. This was possible since a 1980 amendment to UIC regulations permitted women to receive benefits if they fished with their husbands. Clearly, in these cases, the skipper would have to be reasonably certain his crew would catch enough fish to qualify everyone. It could well be argued, of course, that including some

women in the crew, who do not actually fish, is only a fair recognition of the labour performed by women in cooking, cleaning, baking bread, washing and performing other chores for the whole crew in the spartan conditions of a Labrador fishing station.

Another strategy concerning UIC has been for men who have accumulated enough weeks of employment early in the year to qualify or nearly qualify for benefits, to hand over the skippership to another family crewmember. The actual skipper of the crew may not change; it is simply a change on paper. In these cases, the men accumulating weeks of employment before the fishing season have worked on 'winter works projects' and need fewer weeks of employment in the fishery to establish their entitlement to the UI benefit.

In order to maximize UI benefits, the best strategy is to catch as many fish as possible in as few weeks as possible, but not less than the required ten weeks (or twenty weeks for new entrants to the fishery). The more fish sold during the qualifying weeks, the higher the weekly benefits. If the catch begins to dwindle after ten weeks of fishing, benefits are reduced accordingly. However, other factors, such as the shortness of the season, the practice of selling fish all at once at the end of the season, uncontrollable weather and fish stock variables, render such a clear cut stfategy oversimple for actual application under Labrador conditions. Instead, fishermen apply their strategy to catching as many fish as possible under the conditions they must face. If they fail to qualify for UI or find their benefits insufficient to make ends meet, they rely on Social Assistance until a socially and economically more acceptable

opportunity occurs.

If a strategy for the maximization of UI benefits is equated with abuse of the system in some localities, then there is little abuse in Port Hope Simpson. I do not believe a Canada Employment and Immigration official was being naive when he said, "I don't think you could say on the coast there is a great amount of abuse [of UIC regulations]. They are in a situation where they don't have to abuse it. UIC and Social Assistance becomes a way of life for these people because of the structure of the community. It's not an abuse, it's just a fact of life."

Unfortunatly, there are many highly skilled and competent fishermen who are not efficient book keepers. Many men leave the figuring of expenses and income entirely to the fish plants, merchants, or someone who has the reputation for doing 'book work.' Women have no more involvement in accounting procedures than men, unlike some other societies. The household purse strings are controlled by the one who has the most education, and specific problems, such as income tax returns, are taken to certain individuals in the community, especially teachers and the preacher. The drawbacks to this practice are that merchants and fish plants are not likely to be impartial when it comes to making calculations on behalf of the fisherman, and the teacher who completes another's income tax return may not have all the information he needs to do the best job. There have been courses offered on income tax preparation in the community, but they have been largely atttended by the people who fill out tax returns for others. The situation would be more

satisfactory if all fishermen kept records and receipts, but many have not taken care to do this.

Table 10 shows how one fisherman's net fishing income was calculated on his 1980 tax return. The problem that may result from having a non-professional figure a tax return for another taxpayer is that since he does not keep a year-after-year record of the fisherman's accumulation of gear, he does not allow for capital accumulation. For several years the fisherman may be able to reduce his

Table 10: Example of a Fisherman's Income Tax Preparation

1.	Gross Fishing Income	
	Ground fish and Salmon	$10,737.53
2.	Expenses	
	Crew share	1,650
	Food for crew	300
	Gasoline and oil	850
	Gear	550
	Salt	1,200
	License	20
	Loss of nets and traps	850
	Tools	200
	Truck	2,360
	Repairs	300
		- 8,280
3.	Net Fishing Income	2,457.53
4.	Income From Transfer Payments	+ 3,791.40
5.	Total Income	6,248.93
6.	All Personal Exemptions, Deductions	- 5,810.55
7.	Taxable Income	438.38
8.	Tax	0.00

gross income by deducting expenses so that his net income is low enough not to incur any taxes, but there may come a year when he can no longer depreciate his gross income as much, with the result that he is stuck with a big tax bill. In the example in Table 10, the operating costs that occur every year are mixed in with capital costs. Such capital items as "gear", "loss of nets and traps" and "truck" may not occur again next year which would add a total of $3,760 to his gross income. Also, there have been other cases where capital goods, such as a boat, were never depreciated at all.

Not only is book keeping handled somewhat haphazardly, but people are not accustomed to using the services that are available in financial institutions in less isolated areas. Many people have never used a bank or chequing account. Although currency is the medium of exchange in Port Hope Simpson, the community's isolation from money supplies sometimes causes money to be scarce. Cheques issued to one person may be used by others for exchange. For instance, a woman who buys $50 of groceries in a local store gives the merchant an $80 cheque issued by Williams Harbour Seafood to her husband. The merchant gives the woman someone else's welfare cheque for $25 and gives her $5 credit.

Although home mortgages were virtually unheard of until recent years, credit has always been a way of life. Credit is extended by the fish plants, merchants, certain government agencies, and a private loan company called Avco Financial Services, a branch office of which is in St. Anthony. Avco grants loans from $100 to $10,000 in repayment terms of three months to four years. Loans are

negotiated with this company mainly for building materials and snowmobiles.

One man has a $2,700 loan from Avco, and a $1,500 loan from the Fisheries Loan Board; he owes one local store $1,000 and another store $4,5000 for debts incurred over the last two and a half years. Although the amount of his debts may not be typical, others have debts from at least as many sources.

Consumption patterns are affected by tradition and the isolation of the community. In the fall, a few people buy commodities on the Island at lower prices than are available in Port Hope Simpson and ship them back by CN boat. Most people, however, have short-term consumption habits. For example, people visit at least one store almost every day, even if it is more for a social than a business purpose.

The few people who employ the banking system, take advantage of low interest loans, and purchase merchandise at wholesale prices (namely the merchants and a few higher income individuals with above average education), have a distinct advantage in the market economy. Because others lack education and experience in these matters, this is a world that is effectively closed to many of them.

Spending on entertainment is very limited in Port Hope Simpson. Religious affiliation determines, to some extent, how money is spent. Non-Pentecosts may spend a considerable amount on the importation of beer and liquor. The two small 'pool halls', frequented by young people, are effectively off-limits to Pentecosts, as is the movie theatre which shows fourth run films a couple of

times a month. The financial aspects of Pentecostalism will be discussed in Chapter 5.

There is a wide range of types of houses and furnishings in Port Hope Simpson. Most houses built within the last six years are finished with commercial products, such as kitchen cabinets and siding. Furniture in some houses is the standard variety seen in medium priced city furniture stores; in others it is the homemade wooden bench, kitchen table, and straight-backed wooden chairs. Finishing and furnishing a new home is more expensive than it would be for an equivalent home nearer commercial sources. Many people have taken loans from a private loan company or arranged credit with the retailer. The danger of this method of financing, which is so familiar to people in other areas, is that the credit carries an exorbitant interest charge, unlike the credit extended by merchants in the community.

Houses are not sold in Port Hope Simpson. It is a buyer's market, or more precisely, a builder's market. When a new house is built the old one is abandoned or turned into a storage shed. Houses are not insured, and, in any case, insurance would be expensive because of the lack of fire equipment. Land has little value. Unlike some fishing communities in Newfoundland, land is not fenced to provide access to the sea. The land that is now occupied is leased from Crown Lands for an extremely small cost. There are no property taxes. Houses in the fishing stations are more modest than the ones in Port Hope Simpson because of the short period they are occupied and lack of community facilities.

The exchange of labor and goods is a very important part of the household budget. Although the ideal is that a household is an independent economic unit with each person doing his own work, in practice, there is a complex of exchanges between households. The core of exchanges takes place between close relatives rather than neighbours. The more closely related people are, the more exchanges that occur. Exchanges tend to be more generalized between close kin and more balanced between non-kin.

However, the ideal of the independent household is strong. There is a great reluctance to ask another person who is not in the same 'crowd' for help. When Isaac's motorboat engine became inoperative, he refused to ask for either advice on how to fix it or help in hauling his cod traps. Four days passed before he finally accepted the use of a neighbour's boat to check his nets. In another case, a man sufffered a heart attack while trying to lever his truck out of a ditch alone, rather than enlist the help of others. Perhaps in these and other similar cases the individual feels he cannot adequately reciprocate.

An owner of a piece of equipment that is in demand in the community has a formal plan for balanced reciprocity. A sawmill owner will let others use his mill for one day if they work for him for two days. The owner of the backhoe charges a set fee per hour.

However, the majority of exchanges which take place between kinfolk are not consummated on a formal plan of balanced reciprocity. A grandparent may take a fisherman's children for the remainder of the school year while he and his wife move out to the

fishing station. In such cases, there are no expectations of an immediate specific return, although it would be expected that the son return his parent's favours, which might be expressed by the gift of a few salmon or a winter's supply of codfish. It is impossible to measure the value of such exchanges, but it is obvious that they contribute substantially to the well-being of households.

E. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, in order to fully illustrate the economic structure of Port Hope Simpson and the affect it has upon families and individuals, I have provided descriptions of cash production, transfer payments, subsistence production, and utilization of resources. The way people articulate with the economic structure not only determines their economic level, but influences their social status as well.

It has been evidenced that work is a standard of evaluation of status. Moreover, there are material conditions which affect one's ability to engage in the maximum amount of work. It is clear that the residents of the community do not conceive of a direct link between work output and cash income, but from an etic viewpoint, the extent of one's ability to build up cash reserves largely determines his ability to invest and re-invest in more equipment in order to continue working. Those families who are primarily dependent on welfare are less able to do this compared to those who have been able to build up their material holdings.

Although the technology used to produce and market fish is much

the same among Port Hope Simpson fishermen, their ability to make an income from fishing is influenced by variables such as the location of berths, amount and type of gear, and number of crew members. High production from the fishery does not necessarily mean a skipper will have a high net income. In a few cases, the expenses of skippers who landed relatively large quantities resulted in their net fishing incomes being the same as or lower than less productive fishermen. Sharemen, however, always benefit from high production. Additionally, the conversion of the fishing effort to cash is hampered by the restriction of salmon licenses. For those who are licensed, income from the salmon fishery is a substantial boon to their fishing income, although salmon fishing is less predictable from year to year than cod fishing.

The withdrawal of the large timber companies has made full-time woods work unattractive. The financial and entrepreneurial size of the investment needed to begin a viable operation utilizing local timber resources is beyond the means of most. An enterprise of this kind is more difficult to begin than entering the fishery for the first time. However, one man has devoted full-time attention to a lumber milling and boat building business.

Other full-time jobs unrelated to the fishery differ enormously in their economic yield. Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro jobs, the higher paying government related jobs, and the teaching and nursing professions most likely yield the highest net incomes of the community. The economic level of merchants varies according to the extent of their diversification and their ability to cope with credit

liabilities. On the other hand, garbage collection workers, who are paid with community funds, and continuous welfare recipients rank the lowest in economic productivity.

Short-term jobs, provided occasionally by government programmes, serve the purpose of adding qualifying weeks of employment so that UIC may be claimed by those who were not able to work the required number of weeks in the fishery.

Most people depend on transfer payments, especially during the time when fishing is not possible. While all of these types of payments are used for living expenses, UIC has the most likelihood of increasing income above the margin needed for living expenses so that it can provide funds for reinvestment in fishing gear. Some households have an optimum number and composition of members who have high earnings plus high transfer payments. If the fishermen in these households take advantage of the Federal and provincial fishing gear and boat subsidies, transfer payments boost their income substantially.

Most people purchase consumption goods on a short-term basis. Although subsistence foods are an important part of the menu, locally bought packaged food items compose most of the diet, especially during the winter. Although the cost of food and consumer durables is higher than in less isolated communities, credit is readily available. Some people have long oustanding debts.

Fishermen tend not to keep accurate business and tax records, usually turning these matters over to the fish plants or someone in the community who is willing to do the job. Precise business calculations and shrewd strategies toward transfer payments

apparently are not seen to significantly increase income.

The exchange of labour and goods is most frequent among closely related kinfolk. Thus, exchange does not act to distribute material goods equally in the community. However, exchange is a significant part of the household budget.

Chapter 4

Social Conditions

A. Sex, Age, and Family Roles

Statuses such as son, eldest brother, and heir are ascribed by society; there is no choice over their acceptance. Statuses such as husband, father, and skipper are seen to be the result of some choice, although, in reality, there are heavy social and economic pressures causing one to accept these statuses. As indicated in the last chapter, the material conditions affecting socio-economic status, such as location of fishing berths, amount of accumulated gear, and structure of the fishery, are not completely subject to individual control and are difficult to substantially change. Similarly there are social conditions that are difficult, if not impossible to manipulate.

An adaptive feature of the traditional as well as modern economy is a strict division of labour along sexual lines. There is still minimal participation in the employment market by women, and women continue to fill the traditional role of house wife, mother, and cook. In the light of the present economy, the role of women cannot be undervalued and few women feel that their role is superfluous.

Once when I was travelling among the outside fishing villages,

people remarked to me that a certain fisherman had "lost his cook." Ralph Cunningham's wife had returned to Port Hope Simpson to care for her husband's grandfather who was on his deathbed. As I came nearer to Ralph's house, I heard more comments sympathizing with Ralph because his "cook had left him." I couldn't help but think they were exaggerating her role and were being facetiously impersonal. However, when I entered Ralph's house, I noticed it was in a state of untidiness, unlike the houses where women were present. Meals were served in more of a hand-to-mouth fashion, beds were unmade, laundry undone, bread contributed by neighbours, and the fire in the stove had to be started anew for each meal. I soon realized that in the summer fishing villages where there is no electricity, plumbing facilities, or convenience stores, domestic chores require as much full-time effort as fishing.

In the summer, women spend most of their time in and around their houses, occasionally helping to split fish in the stages. In the winter, their duties are similar, although they are lightened by the conveniences that Port Hope Simpson offers. Although a few women fish (there is not the taboo against women working on the fishing grounds as there once was in Newfoundland), and a few women work in the fish plant or for merchants, the remainder of adult women fulfill a nearly identical function in the household.

Despite a greater degree of flexibility among younger married couples, women's territory is quite distinct from that of men. During 'working hours' men seldom hang about the kitchen and almost never enter bedrooms except in times of illness. Neither do women

remain around the men's territory of the fishing stage or work shed even if their work is 'caught up'. However, men are increasingly joining women to watch afternoon television soap operas during the winter months.

The distinction of sexual roles is reflected by certain social activities. During 'times' such as group suppers, weddings, wakes, or parties, women fulfill the expectation of waiting on the men. Older women generally do not drink at such occasions, even if their religion permits it, and tend to congregate in a separate area of the room where they can keep an eye on the men to serve them. Most women do not smoke for social and religious rather than medical reasons. Women volunteer for cleaning the church, but the paid janitorial service to the schools belongs to men. When communion is offered at the Pentecostal Church, women assemble to the left of the pulpit and men to the right. Women care for the aged. When people were being solicited for a three day wake after a man's lingering death, a woman said, "We watched over him when he was sick, now it's time the men took a turn at it."

Of the thirteen fish plant workers from Port Hope Simpson, twelve are women hired as temporary labour during the peak seaon. When some machinery broke down, the women were laid off while the man from Port Hope Simpson and other men continued to be employed. Few women earned enough 'stamps' to qualify for UI benefits in 1980 by fish plant work.

Men appear to be publicly dominant, although, as in other male-dominated societies, the politics of decision making may be

controlled at least as much by women as men. Meetings may be attended by women but seldom do they speak, except at church functions. The status of families is reckoned by the adult men.

Today's children do not have as many specific duties around the house as their grandparents say they once did. Perhaps this is because there are fewer duties to be performed as a result of modernization. At any rate, parents tend to pamper their children, especially the youngest of several. There are few hard and fast rules. Girls spend much time around the house, emulating the work of their mothers. Boys spend more time in the fishing stages and outdoors. Children may make several trips to the store in a day. Schoolchildren receive little community recognition for their scholastic achievements and although some parents praise academic excellence, schoolteachers say there is little parental pressure put on children to excel in school activities. Sports receive a low priority, as evidenced by the absence of athletic competitions between schools. Children gain their status more by emulating the type of work output of their parents than by performing in school. By the time a boy is twelve or thirteen he begins to work more closely with his father or older brothers, and starts to become involved in seasonal subsistence activities such as getting 'splits' for the stove. Girls at this age begin to take on more responsibility toward domestic chores and caring for younger children. Children in Port Hope Simpson seem to have a well-defined distinction between work and play; certainly more so than in areas where the parents cannot involve their children in their daily

activities.

Adolescent boys have generally begun fishing at least occasionally with their fathers or brothers. They may be asked to tend a trout net and help with the duties in the stage. I had the impression that most teenagers developed pride in these duties and did not regard them as drudgery. It must be a source of pride when a sixteen-year-old first draws his pay as a sharemen and qualifies for UI. At that time many begin to question the financial benefits of remaining in school. By the middle teens many have a steady girlfriend, a snowmobile, use of a boat, and have the freedom to take trips to Charlottetown or Mary's Harbour. Because teenagers can fulfill an economic function in the household that requires them to work closely with their family, juvenile delinquency is not a problem. All evidence of juvenile delinquency, vandalism, petty theft, membership in "gangs", inability to communicate with parents, seems to be absent. Teenagers often include their parents in their social activities.

By the time a man is twenty or so, the chances are that he has been courting for a few years and has begun to think about marriage. Leading a single life is not very appealing in Port Hope Simpson. There is a limited choice of potential eligible women, resulting in few premarital relationships. Bachelors beyond the age of thirty or so have not achieved independent material security. Short of leaving coastal Labrador, marriage increases the chances of attaining economic independence.

Indeed, young people are constantly teased about finding a

partner for marriage. A young man and woman can hardly walk down the road together without hearing others speculate on their marriage soon afterward. There is little opportunity for privacy; consequently, gossip spreads quickly. A middle-aged woman spotted a young man in a local store and chided him as follows: "I seen she with you last night. I know you had her. That's gonna be your girl from now on. Yes, it is. You can't fool me. You'll be building a house for you and she pretty soon." In this particular case her prophecy became true. Early marriage is a consequence of social and economic pressure.

There are few common-law marriages, but there are twelve unmarried mothers. In a couple of cases, single mothers have emigrated and left their children with grandparents. Most single mothers, however, remain in their parents' home to raise their children. There are 38 children under fifteen years of age who were born illegitimate in Port Hope Simpson. Some of these mothers have married after the birth of their child or children. Perhaps the large illegitimate birth rate is a result of community pressure toward the early formation of couples.

There is a strong tendency toward community endogamy, no doubt due to limited choice in an isolated community. Although there is a norm proscribing marriage between second cousins or closer, marriage of second cousins has occurred, but this is rare, as are incestuous relationships of any kind. There are several cases of sister exchange between unrelated families. Most importantly, the majority of marriages are between community residents. Table 11 shows that the majority of marriages registered in the Pentecostal Church from 1940-1973 were of people living near each other. All of the people listed in Table 11 are still residing in Port Hope Simpson or have

Table 11: Origins of Spouses Married from 1940-1973 in the Pentecostal Church[1]

Number of Marriages	Husband	Wife
18	Labrador	Labrador
2	Newfoundland	Newfoundland
6	Newfoundland	Labrador
3	Labrador	Newfoundland

Table 12: Origins of Spouses Married Since 1974 Now Residing in Port Hope Simpson[2]

Number of Marriages	Husband	Wife
12	Port Hope Simpson	Port Hope Simpson
4	Port Hope Simpson	Another Community within 50 miles
2	Another Community within 50 miles	Port Hope Simpson
4	Port Hope Simpson	Outside Coastal Labrador
2	Outside Coastal Labrador	Port Hope Simpson

[1]This table does not include all the marriages consummated between 1940-1973, but represents the endogamous trend resulting from limited mobility. Port Hope Simpson is not included as a place of origin because many people married during this time were born before Port Hope Simpson was founded.

[2]Data for this table is from informants rather than from the incomplete church records. It does not include emigrants who have married and reside outside Port Hope Simpson.

died there. Table 12 shows that this endogamous trend has continued. What Table 11 and 12 do not show is that there have been few marriages of Port Hope Simpson natives outside coastal Labrador.

Upon marriage, the trend is for a couple to live patrilocally until a house can be built. Within a few years after marriage the man usually cleaves off from his father's or elder brother's crew and begins fishing on his own at the family fishing station.

Whereas married adults commonly tease young unmarrieds about their actual and supposed sexual encounters, the teasing abruptly stops after a couple become married. Marriage vows are taken seriously. Divorce is rare and never condoned by the community. Of the cases that have occurred, few have been legally settled. There have been five separations and two divorces in the last ten years.

Marriage commonly begins when the couple have a child. As the couple increase the size of their family and become more financially secure, the husband may accept younger brothers into the household, and, eventually, aging parents. The pattern is for living accommodations to be offered patrilineally.

One might imagine old age to be rather tolerable in Port Hope Simpson. There is no fixed retirement age. The old skipper continues working as long as he can and when he can no longer work, he is cared for by his family. Nursing homes are not a part of Port Hope Simpson culture. In fact, it is difficult to grow old alone.

Although the types of status available depend on the age of a male or female, it is not simply a matter of age and sex, but the position in the developmental cycle in relation to other family

members. Rights, duties, and obligations vary for people of the same age set depending on vacancies in status positions. For example, a twelve-year-old boy whose father fishes with his three older brothers may only be asked to run errands and help split firewood, while another boy of the same age who has no older brothers may take on the responsibility of a shareman and its resulting benefits. In the past it was not uncommon for a boy to begin fishing when he was eight years old, yet his younger brother may not have begun fishing until he was several years older. In recent years, however, the minimum age requirement for UI benefits has tended to delay the age at which serious fishing begins. However, recruitment for work units still holds to the principle of eligibility based on availability of suitable family members.

The means by which the individual is reproduced socially and by which society reproduces itself is accomplished through the process of succession of generations. Part of this process is the transmission of the total body of knowledge and skills, values and beliefs, and law and morals, which has been called "social capital" (Fortes in Goody 1958:1-2). The unit which directly rears the offspring to a point where they are capable of physical and social reproduction is the domestic group, which in the case of Port Hope Simpson is the extended family. The family retains its basic form but its members go through cyclical change, although, like an individual organism, no social unit ever reproduces itself exactly. There are three phases in the family developmental cycle: 1) the phase of expansion that lasts from the marriage of two people until

the completion of their family of procreation; 2) the phase of dispersion that begins with the marriage of the oldest child; and 3) the phase of replacement in the social structure of the family they founded by families of their children (1958:4-5). The economic aspect of succession is the developmental cycle of the fishing crew. An individual has more of a socio-economic advantage at certain times during this cycle than at other times.

Fishing crews consist of a skipper and one or more partners and/or sharemen. The skipper is the oldest and most experienced crew member. He makes the decisions concerning where to fish, when to move, and the placement of nets, although seldom does he impose authority on his crewmen. He closely directs the duties of inexperienced sharemen, but after a crew has been together for a few years it becomes difficult to tell the skipper from the other crewmen. In any case, the skipper's directives are not taken as "orders." There is a spirit of mutual decision making in an experienced crew. There are a few cases where the skippership has been transferred between brothers from year to year, presumably to reinforce the egalitarianism of the crew rather than as a specific strategy to maximize UIC benefits or income. Of the 48 crews, there are 96 license holders, which indicates some flexibility over the title of skippper. Only a license holder can sell fish.

The 149 fishermen in Port Hope Simpson make up crews of from two to six members. Table 13 shows that 36 of the 48 crews are composed entirely of related people. In fact, 32 crews are made up of conjugal family members. This has been the tradition for

Table 13

TYPES OF INTRA-CREW RELATIONS - 1979

Basis of Relationship	Crew Size 2	3	4	5	6	Total Crews		
Fa-Sn(s)	7	11	3	1		22		
Siblings	2	3				5	32	
Siblings/Sn(s)		4	1			5		34
Conjugal Family Members Plus Other Cognates (Kindred)	1	1				2		
Kindred Plus Affines			2			2		36
Kin Plus Non-Kin	2	4	4	1	1	12		
Non-Kin Only						0		
Total Crews	12	23	10	2	1	48		

generations. At the time this survey was conducted, there were 22 crews made up of a father and his son(s), 5 crews of brothers, and 5 of brothers and one or more of their sons. This arrangement follows a developmental cycle. The ideal is that a man begins fishing with his father. Depending on the relative ages of his brothers, they may already be in his father's crew or they may join the crew in subsequent years. After his father retires, he continues fishing with his brothers. When his male children become old enough, they join him so that he can form his own crew. He can become the skippper if he is the oldest brother in a crew or if he fishes with his sons.

Diagram 3 and 4 approximate this ideal. In both Hal and Dan's cases there was a period in their mid-thirties when their children were too young to fish which necessitated the hiring of sharemen from outside the family. This obviously, put them at an economic disadvantage. Diagram 5 shows Joe's atypical development cycle. Joe began fishing by himself in Newfoundland and later moved to Port Hope Simpson where his uncle owned a store. Because Joe did not have a family fishing station and was not tied to the usual family developmental cycle, he was freer to invest in a longliner. Had he been less financially secure, however, there is little doubt that he would be strongly disadvantaged without the benefit of kinship ties to the fishery. In Diagram 6, Sam's uncles and brothers left the fishery altogether which forced him to hire unrelated sharemen for a longer time than would have been otherwise necessary.

The transmission of social capital in the form of material goods,

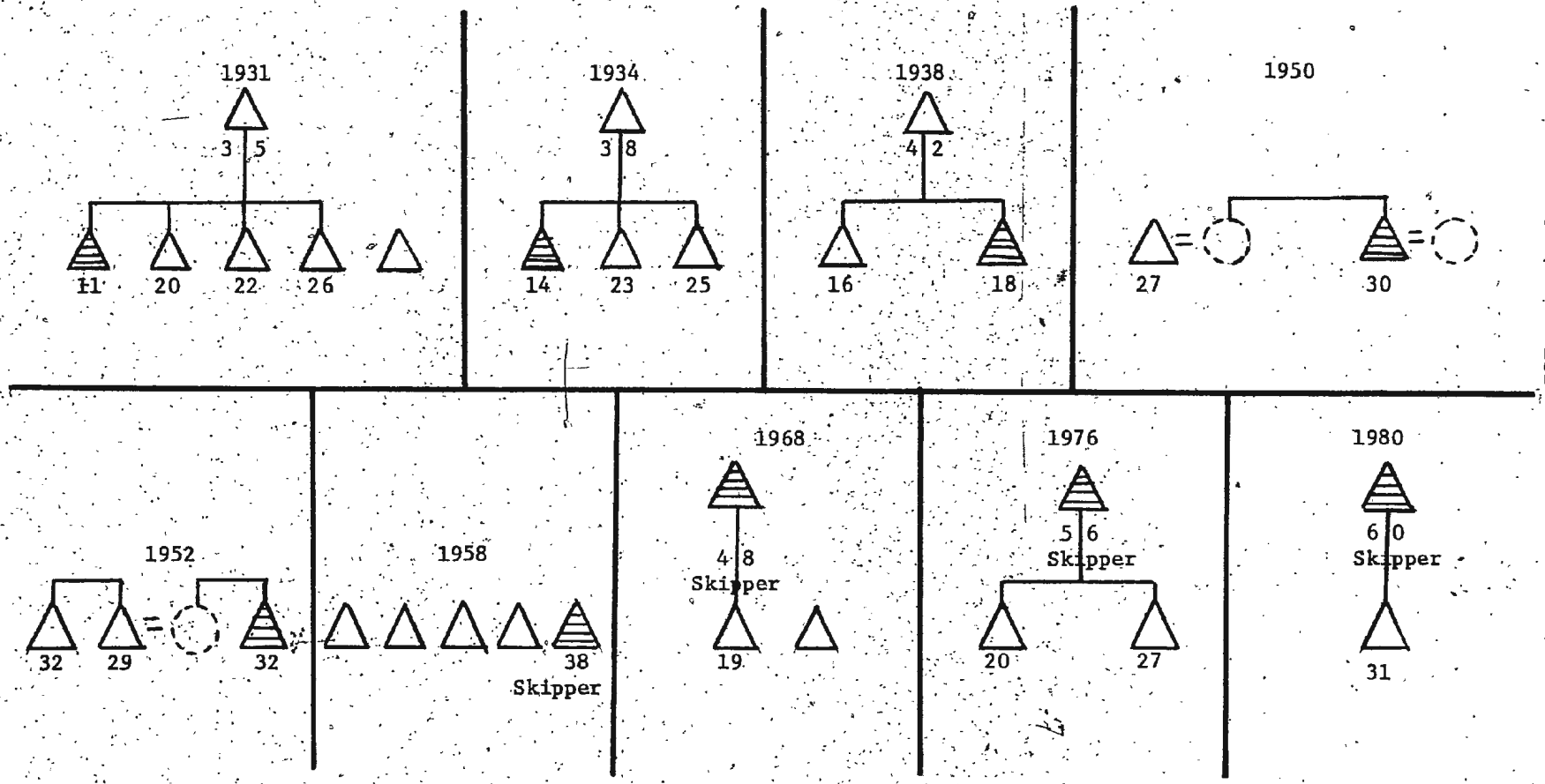

Diagram 3: The Developmental Cycle of a Fishing Crew - Hal

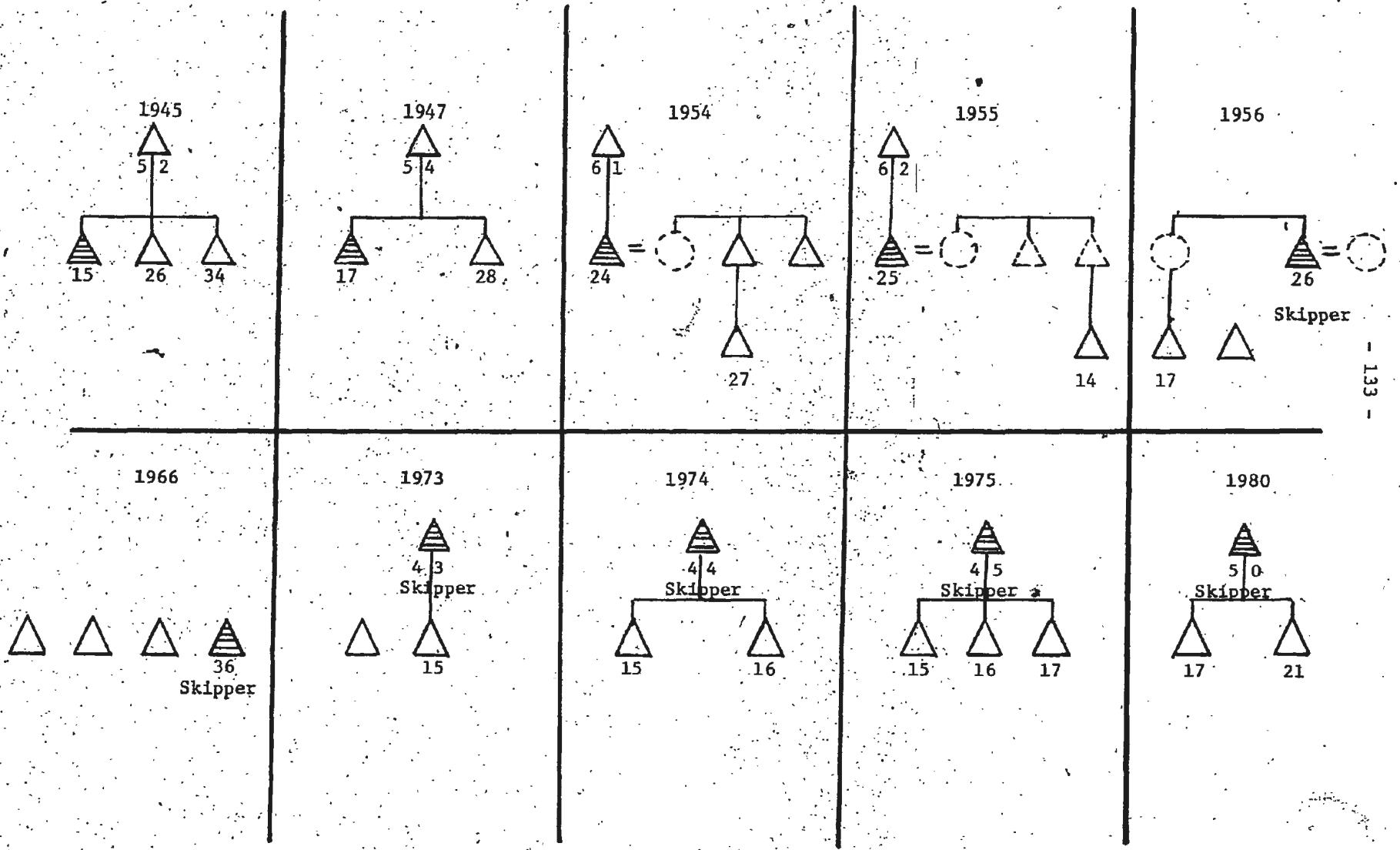

Diagram 4: The Developmental Cycle of a Fishing Crew - Dan

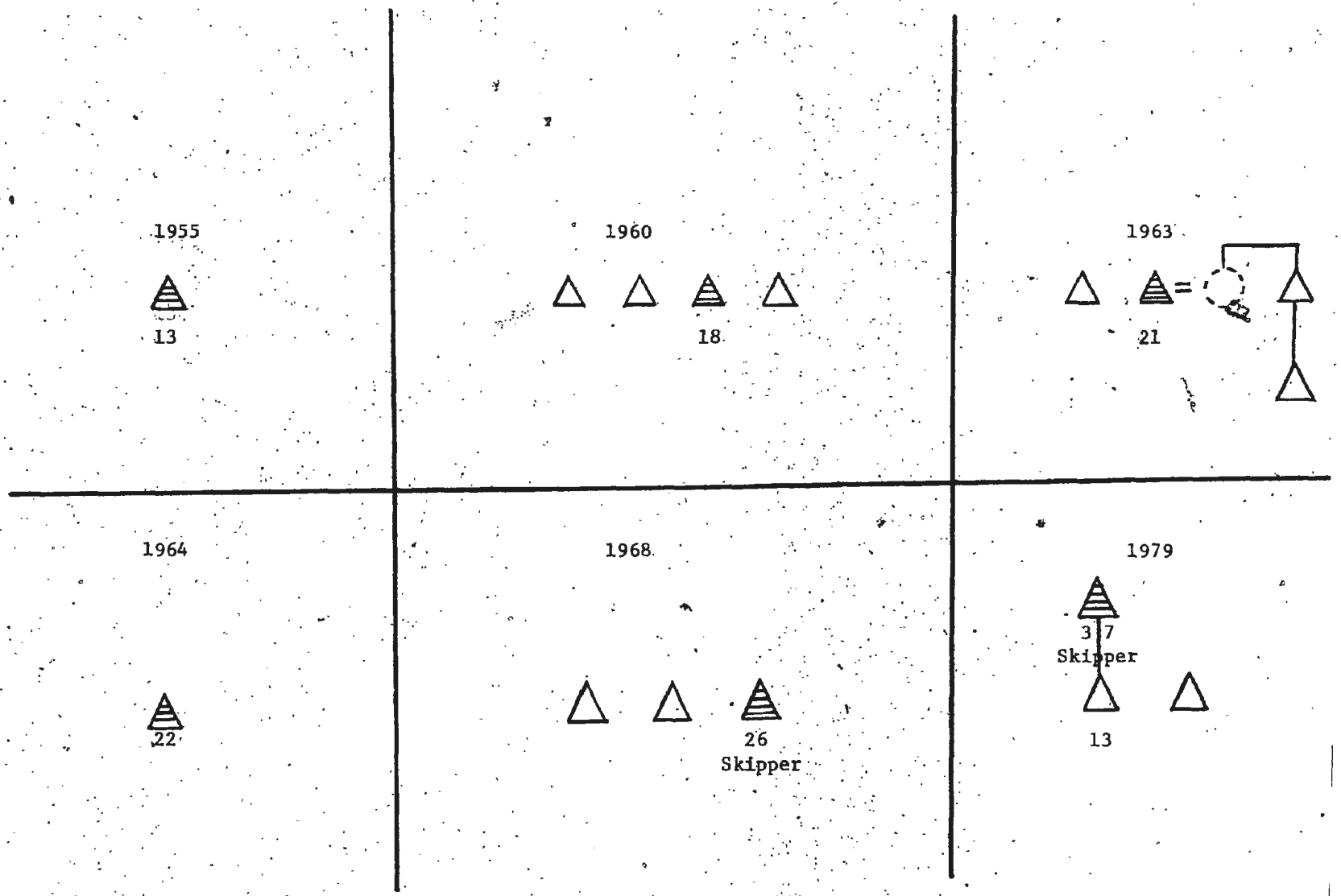

Diagram 5: The Developmental Cycle of a Fishing Crew - Joe

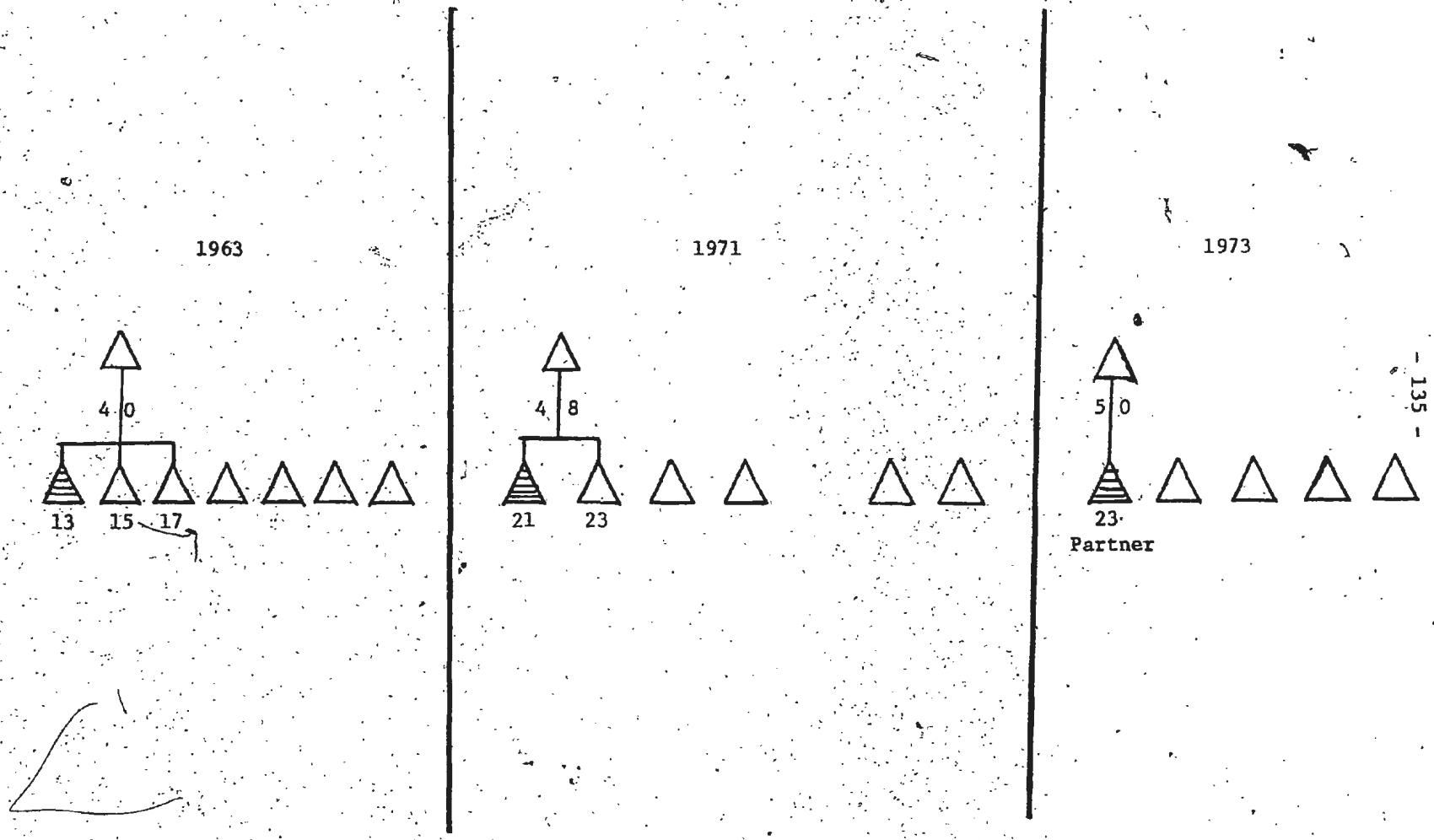

Diagram 6: The Developmental Cycle of a Fishing Crew - Sam

or inheritance, takes place in the last phase, but is structurally linked to the other phases. Although inheritance was de-emphasized as an explanation for economic advantage by my informants, it is a force which is used to hold the family-based fishing crew together. Fathers sometimes hold title to property to discourage the break-up of the crew. Thus, if a son leaves before a father relinquishes title, he loses a share in the property. Another method for holding sons together is when a father gives up a share upon retirement and lives "on the mercy of his sons," or claims one half of the income from his share. Although no legal agreements are ever made, when a property such as fishing gear or a house devolves by an informal inter vivos trust or testamentary trust enacted during the lifetime of the grantor, it is a means of insuring that the economic unit will be working at least until his death.

Few people die testate. The traditional means of distributing the residue of an estate is for the youngest son to inherit impartible property with partible property apportioned to other sons on the basis of need or deserts. Women do not inherit except, perhaps, heirlooms or household goods.[1] This rule of youngest son

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[1]The traditional means of distributing the residue of an estate may be the solution for holding together family based fishing units, but it is not supported by the law. For example, an intestator may not, according to Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Statutes, disinherit his spouse, and, in fact, must provide for her in the amount of at least one third of the estate's residue over $30,000. An estate valued at less than that would go entirely to a decedent's wife (Revised Statutes 1970:Vol. 8, ch. 183). It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the law reflects the needs of people who live in a traditional fishing economy.

inheritance - ultimogeniture - is economically rational when one considers that it is usually the last son who can establish a fishing crew of his own and it is usually the last son who lives with his parents. If the outside house and boat were willed to the eldest son, the developmental cycle of the family fishing crew would be interrupted until the youngest son could establish himself on his own. Although houses in Port Hope Simpson were not inherited through the rule of ultimogeniture because of the boom town style of development, fishing gear and, in the case of families already located on the coast near Port Hope Simpson, berths and outside houses were transmitted in this manner. Fishermen were quick to point out that while the youngest son inherits, this does not mean that he is better off than his older brothers. It is regarded as significantly more important that fishing skills and attitudes toward work are transmitted from a father to all his sons.

In light of the fishing technology, division of labour, and inheritance pattern, there must be an ideal family composition having the right number and ratio of males to females and the optimum age spacing of offspring. However, people do not think in these terms.

B. Socialization and Education.

The process of socialization creates role models that are effective for individual adjustment to a particular society. The limited range of employment possiblities and small size of Labrador communities delimits the variation in role models. Everyone knows everyone else in the community and their daily existence revolves

around familiar personal contacts. It is a face-to-face society where people have a few multi-stranded relationships rather than many single-stranded relationships. That is, a person could know one individual who is his boss in the fishing crew, architect for his future house, mechanic for his outboard motor, and brother, rather than know a different individual for each of these capacities. Fewer relationships with specialists necessitates fewer role-models. On the continuum of mechanical to organic solidarity, to use Durkheimian terms, the solidarity of the community is still maintained by emphasis on minimizing individual differences. People adopt similar beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills.

These beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills are transmitted from generation to generation through the process of succession as are inherited material goods. The younger generation inherits social capital from the older generation. From her mother and older sisters a woman learns how to make blueberry duff, dry clothes when it is raining, cable knit a pair of mittens, and keep down a sick child's temperature. From male family members a man learns the skills of mending twine, splitting fish, fixing the outboard motor, and setting rabbit snares. People learn to dislike braggarts, mistrust politicians, depend on their relatives, value hard work, shun idleness, and believe in God. If people have not learned to tolerate a different set of values in the community, they may reject individuals who do not display the same values as they. These are the folkways, mores, and ethos that are transmitted intergenerationally, but the process of socialization is not

restricted to the family. The school and church also play an important part as will be discussed shortly.

Children are brought up in the nexus of the extended family which continually imparts and reinforces the value system. Children are constantly wheedled, cajoled, bribed, and threatened with punishment if they do not conform.[1] Corporal punishment is almost never employed. Parents seem to enjoy having children around and spend much of their time with them. Parents and older siblings provide a role model that children closely imitate. A boy might build a miniature boat while his father builds a motorboat. I have seen small boys "salmon catching" on the land near their house using fragments of discarded nets. In the spring it is a practice for small boys to set herring nets in an attempt to catch snowbirds. When a boy brings home a rabbit that he has snared or a fish that he has caught, his efforts are highly praised by his parents. When a woman observed a twelve-year-old returning with some trout he had caught in his nets, she commented, "He's going to be a worker just like his father. He always be's at something."

Although children are socialized to deal adequately with family members, many have a difficult time bringing themselves to deal with strangers, or even other residents of the community who do not frequent their household. Schoolteachers say that shyness is a problem with many children in school. On more than one occasion

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[1] cf. John Widdowson. If You Don't Be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1977.

children have gone out of their way to avoid meeting me or other strangers. Unfortunately, shyness is not limited to children. It took many visits over several weeks with some people before they felt at ease with me. I have two explanations to account for this: one is that people are anxious to know the exact status of a stranger. Most newcomers are representatives of a government or private agency who perform recognizable services for individuals in the community. Since I did not fit into this category, people could not be sure what I was there for. There was even a rumour in circulation for a short time that I was a 'spy,' which might be correct in one sense, but was not correct in the sense that they meant it. The other explanation is that people are generally shy toward the 'stanger' anyway. Whether the underlying cause is due to an unconscious sense of inadequacy in dealing with unfamiliar people or some other psychological reason, attitudes toward the stranger are part of the process of socialization. The woman in the house where I stayed would go to great lengths preparing for the arrival of overnight guests arriving by plane or helicopter while announcing "Stangers are coming. Strangers will be here tonight." When a stranger arrives, it is typical that extra touches are added in the preparation of meals. Children are admonished to be quiet: "Now, Mickey, you hush up and don't be brazen to the stranger." Initially, women seldom enter into a conversation with a stranger.

Once, when I was travelling to Port Hope Simpson on Labrador Airways, a woman and her child whom I had met several times before in their fishing station were sitting in the seat opposite me. The

toddler, as toddlers will do, opened his mouth, stuck out his tongue, grimmaced, and contorted his face in other ways, whereupon I responded in kind. The woman recognized me while this exchange between her child and me continued. She bounced her son on her knee while saying, "That's a stranger. Look. He's a stranger. That's nothing. Don't pay any attention to that. He's only a stranger." This incident revealed two things to me: that children are taught the attitudes toward strangers early in life, and that newcomers are labelled as 'strangers' for a long time.

Although it takes a long time for strangers to be completely accepted by the community, people freely offer their hospitability. Even though there are houses where visitors customarily pay for their lodging, people frequently offer their accommodations with no expectations of reimbursement.

Not only are people reserved in the presence of strangers, but in the presence of other less familiar residents as well. In the stores, children and adults speak in hushed tones. Conversation among visitors is low key unless drinking is involved.

The reluctance of many people to deal with the unfamiliar suggests a reason why there is a strong reluctance to leave the community in search of jobs. Travel to other cities and towns on the Island or the 'mainland' is usually in the company of friends or relatives to connections with other friends or relatives at their destination. Many people express some fear, awe, or at least hesitation to travel to areas where they will be in close contact with unfamiliar people. Some adults have asked schoolteachers to

place long distance telephone calls for them. Attitudes such as these must certainly have an effect on economic status.

Attitudes toward formal education vary. On one hand, "You don't need education to go fishing," is a common statement when the subject of education and employment is raised, and on the other hand, "The days when a feller didn't need an education to fish are gone," is an equally prevalent statment, and might be uttered by the same person. Fishermen who recognize that there is no substitute for experience and skill in the fishing boat, also realize that education is essential for fishermen to compete with external forces in the fishery in order to assert their own interests. However, most people have no sympathy toward education which is not utilitarian or which they feel will not improve their local economic interests. Formal education beyond the first few years in school was not the rule in Labrador until a couple of decades ago. There are a few illiterate and many semi-literate adults. Even today, comparatively few finish Grade 11. Table 14 indicates that most of the drop-outs occur after Grade 6. Although boys and girls tend to stay in school longer than their parents did, they do not, generally, feel a compulsion to graduate from Grade 11. Boys discover that they can earn a respectable income by the time they are sixteen when they can qualify for UIC benefits, but girls are needed at home just as much. Although parents and schoolchildren can see the utility in being able to read, write, and 'make up' a column of figures, graduation from school is not as important to get a job as it is in places where the employment market is impersonal. The enrollment in September averages about 80

Table 14: Number of Individuals Who Have Terminated Their Education in Port Hope Simpson

Bay View (Anglican) School

Grade	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Yearly Total	Total School Enrolment	Number of Graduates
1975-76			3	2	1	1	3	4		14	78	0
1976-77						1				1	72	1
1977-78		1	1	1	5	2		1		11	73	0
1978-79			2	3		2		1		8	75	0
1979-80					1	1	1			3	78	0

D.C. Young (Pentecostal) School

Grade	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Yearly Total	Total School Enrolment	Number of Graduates
1975-76										0	123	5
1976-77				3		3	1	1		8	124	7
1977-78				1			1		1	3	128	10
1978-79				1			1			2	127	4
1979-80				1		3	2		2	8	125	1

per cent of the peak winter enrollment, and in June it falls to 40 per cent when children accompany their families to the fishing stations. It is easy to see how a child can become discouraged if he misses so much school that he cannot keep up.

Whether it is because of poor preparation for higher education in Port Hope Simpson schools, lack of encouragement by parents and peers, or reluctance of students to leave the communtiy for long, there is a high attrition rate for people who do attend the university or trade schools (see Table 15). I have heard of no cases of students dropping out for lack of money. Tuition at Memorial University of Newfoundland is relatively inexpensive compared to other universities and the College of Trades and Technology is free. However, the cost of living in St. John's or other university cities may be a factor which inhibits enrollment in the first place. A fact not to be lightly dismissed is the expense and uncertainty of travel from the trade schools and university in St. John's back to Port Hope Simpson. Unlike college students in other areas who can hitchhike home on long weekends, for Port Hope Simpson students, education in St. John's usually means remaining there for the whole semester. Twice during my fieldwork, students who had travelled the 700 miles by car to St. Anthony during the semester break were forced to return to St. John's when bad weather kept planes grounded and prevented them from reaching home. More importantly, there are few jobs which require a higher education for the student who wishes to return to Port Hope Simpson.

Table 15: Port Hope Simpson Residents Who Have Attended Or Graduated From Higher Education Programmes

Persons having attained a degree from Memorial University of Newfoundland	6
Persons now attending Memorial University of Newfoundland	3
Persons leaving Memorial University before attaining a degree	7
Persons leaving the College of Trades and Technology before completion of programme	3
Persons leaving Nursing School before completion of programme	3

Educational programmes for adults have had varying degrees of success. An official of Canada Manpower stated that a few years ago the College of Fisheries offered training courses to fishermen in coastal communites of which Port Hope Simpson was one. Fishermen were paid a training allowance by Manpower to take courses in such subjects as small engine repair and navigation, designed to increase productivity in the fishery. The programme failed because attendance was so small. More recently, the local co-ordinator of the Adult and Continuing Education Programme surveyed thirty adult low level and non-readers to determine their interest in a literacy programme. None were interested. The Adult and Continuing Education Programme also offers a night course in Basic Education, or 'upgrading,' by which one can take the Provincial Grade 11 equivalency exams. Of the sixteen enrolled, five completed the exams and four passed.

More successful are the Continuing Education enrichment courses offered at low cost. Courses such as typing, cake decorating, knitting, crocheting, duffle embroidery, parka construction, macrame, quilting, and music are offered during the evening. Most people who begin these courses complete them. Of the seven people who took a Memorial University correspondence course in Sociology, all completed it. Adult courses are attended mostly by women.

D. Migration

There has been no wholesale emigration from Port Hope Simpson since the closing of the Labrador Development Company in 1947. Presumably those families who left at that time returned to their native communities in Newfoundland because their community and kin ties were still strong, notwithstanding the lack of wage labour in Port Hope Simpson. Since then, however, the remaining residents of Port Hope Simpson have developed a Labrador identity, and the ties of both native Labradorians and Newfoundlanders to their original native communities have weakened. As one man put it, "People don't feel any connection to Newfoundland anymore. They only go there to visit."

Unlike some of the other older coastal communities, family and religious factions have limited the formation of a strong community solidarity. However, Port Hope Simpson still exerts a powerful retentive force over its members. There is a reluctance to leave the security of family and home for the unfamiliar, which can be attributed in part to the physical isolation of the community from other ways of life. Yet some young people have left to attend

Memorial University, the College of Trades and Technology, or to seek temporary employment, and a few have found permanent employment elsewhere. However, with the exception of the latter, most return eventually to Port Hope Simpson. "A scattered one stays here, a scattered one leaves, but more comes back than leaves," is a statement which, although imprecise, reflects the pattern.

Higher education has not served to pull people away in search of higher paying jobs. In fact, all natives of Port Hope Simpson who hold a degree have returned there and are now teaching in the community. Students attending the university tend to take such programmes as Social Work or Education which will enable them to return to the area. Local schoolteachers say that their pupils think of the university only as teacher training. This attitude toward education would certainly be a factor limiting students from taking programmes of study oriented toward jobs not available in the Port Hope Simpson area.

A few individuals and families have left Port Hope Simpson, usually for periods of less than a year to take short term employment at wage labour. This was a more widespread pattern during the Second World War and shortly afterwards when there was a demand for civilian employees at the U.S. airbase in Goose Bay. The reluctance of families to relocate permanently and the existence of a real housing problem meant that employment could only be regarded as temporary by the men who left their families in Port Hope Simpson. A similar situation occurred when the Labrador Linerboard offered woods work in Goose Bay from 1973 to 1977.

Since several families permanently moved to Kitchener, Ontario in the 1950's, a tie with that city has been established. In the 1960's and 1970's the pattern has been for one or two small families to close up their houses in Port Hope Simpson and travel to Kitchener where men could obtain winter construction jobs. This has not occurred in recent years, however. Generally, the experience has not been financially beneficial to such people. "You can't get ahead in Ontario because you've got to pay union fees and buy a car, etc." Another made a general remark, "A lot of people goes away to Goose Bay or Kitchener, Ontario or Toronto or Montreal and have to send back home to get the money for the passage back."

Over a dozen single men and women, mostly women, have taken permanent jobs in St. Anthony, Lewisporte, and St. John's in the last ten years. Although these individuals may have successfully adjusted to being away from their families, their parents express sadness at the separation and a hope that they will return. As one man remarked, "I thought he [his son] was going to stay here and build his house. I gave him a place to fish with me, but he went anyway. I'd sooner see him here with us. The place is getting plenty crowded with young men, but there's room out at Sandy Hook all the same."

Although marital separation and divorce are rather rare, a few separated or single mothers have moved to Goose Bay where there is a greater opportunity of obtaining both social services and a man.

The trend of more single women moving away more or less permanently than either single or married men suggests there is a compelling reason for men to remain in Port Hope Simpson. Most

likely a man fishes with his father or brothers, or at least uses the same summer fishing stations as they. He has the use of some of his father's fishing gear even if he is not in his father's crew or will not inherit it. Upon marriage, the pattern is to live patrilocally until he can build a house using his father's tools and perhaps his family's labour. The availability of this human and material capital on one hand and the lack of training and experience in the outside job market on the other hand would seem to be a sufficient economic reason for most men not to migrate out of the community.

Because single women are not tied permanently to a family economic unit and because the human and material capital so advantageous to their brothers is not available to them, they are freer to leave. A mother of five said, "The only thing in the world [for girls] to do around here is get married. I think they [her daughters] will have to leave, but I'm not going to feel very good about it."

Further, only men are homeowners. Once a man invests his time and money in a home, usually with little or no mortgage attached, even if he does decide to leave Port Hope Simpson, it would be very difficult for him to sell his house and reclaim his investment.

Few people emigrate to seek temporary jobs in Labrador or elsewhere during the off-season, unless it is 'on the sly.' The reason for this is that UI benefits could be cut off if the recipient is unavailable for employment, although 25 per cent of weekly benefits can be earned before they are reduced. A number of stories circulate which serve to inhibit people from leaving the community

while on UIC.

"I know a feller that went up to Newfoundland to help his brother cut firewood and they cut him off from gettin' his pogey. He had to come back and even then they wouldn't give it to 'en 'cause they thought he was still there."

And ... "there was a couple of people in Lodge [Bay] who went to the Straits for Christmas and they was cut off unemployment because they weren't available for work."

However, economic explanations for limited mobility and reluctance to emigrate are not generally cited by residents. A more common reason is the superiority of the quality of life in Port Hope Simpson or other coastal fishing villages compared to that of a city or town, such as St. John's, Kitchener, or even Goose Bay or St. Anthony. The fact that cities are compared to Port Hope Simpson indicates the feeling that the alternative to living in Port Hope Simpson is living in one of the above named urban settings. Aside from the expressed disinclination to live among strangers in unfamiliar surroundings, religious values are frequently invoked as reasons to stay away from cities. The availability of alcohol, increased opportunity for idleness and greed, and general presence of sin in many other, if vague, forms are concerns expressed by older people regardless of denomination. A common theme of the Pentecostal literature distributed by the Church is the fall from God experienced when Christians living in small communities move to a city and become involved in sinful living before returning home to family, church, and spiritual renewal.

In short, there are strong forces which inhibit people from emigrating in search of better employment. These are both economic factors and social factors. There are tangible economic assets, especially for men, if they remain and contribute to the family economic unit, and there is the hope that there will be positve future developments in fish and timber resources. Social isolation, the process of socialization, low eductional achievement of the community as a whole, and lack of experience in outside job markets are social reasons for choosing to remain in the community.

When I asked a man if he thought there would be enough work for his sons in the future around Port Hope Simpson, he replied, "I'd hope they could find employment here. The future of logging is very dark looking because of all the timber that's burned over. I'd hope they could find something here just the same. I was reared up here and wouldn't be much good anywhere else. Besides, it takes money to move." Another man refering to his son's possible emigration, said "Well, that's up to the fish. They [his sons] don't have any education so I don't guess they'll be leaving anyway."

D. Chapter Summary

Undoubtedly, there are many aspects of social life which contribute to one's image, but in this chapter, sex, age, and family roles, socialization and education, and migration have been selected as the salient features of social life affecting socio-economic status. Some of these features were de-emphasized by informants as important economic variables. However, a comparison of people on the basis of

these features indicates that an etic view is valid for determining factors influencing socio-economic status.

Of course, everyone would agree that there is a basic difference in age and sex roles. Children learn to emulate the type of work associated with their sex at an early age. There is a strict sexual division of labour. But, although women's roles are vital to the economic success of the household, women's status tends to be determined by the status of the male household members. Some women are better housekeepers than others, but a wife is neither blamed for her husband's economic shortcomings nor credited for his economic success.

The community encourages early marriage unions through both social and economic pressure. For a man to compete economically with his age-mates and for him to become socially and economically independent, he must marry and begin a family. There are social and economic reasons why marriage tends to be patrilocal and endogamous.

Relative position in the family developmental cycle also influences socio-economic status. Although the skipper takes a bigger risk in the fishing venture, sometimes netting less money than his sharemen, he is more independent and is accorded a higher social status. To the extent that income is shared within a household, it is to a skipper's advantage if he has sharemen sons or brothers living with him. Once a fishermen becomes a skipper he usually retains that status because of the equipment he has accumulated. Therefore, if he is at a point in his developmental cycle where he has no eligible brothers or sons, or they are not willing to fish in his crew, he must hire

sharemen outside the family in order to keep up production.

To succeed in Port Hope Simpson, one must remain in Port Hope Simpson. The status hierarchies of other ways of life mean little in Port Hope Simpson. A returning emigrant faces problems of reassimilation, and, in all likelihood, is assigned a different status, especially if it is known that he has been involved in a completely different lifestyle or occupation. Fewer men leave the community to seek employment than women. Reluctance to leave a socially-isolated community is reinforced by a low educational level, lack of training for outside employment, and lack of experience in dealing with an impersonal job market. Men, in contrast to women, are faced with a stronger retentive force because of the opportunity afforded by their place in the family fishing crew and other work units.

Chapter 5

Ideological Conditions

A. The Protestant Work Ethic

As previously described, a person's economic control in the fishery is dependent on a number of variables such as the location of the fishing station, the amount of property and skills inherited, the number of children eligible for membership in the fishing crew, and the connection one has to outside information which could provide financial benefit. These variables are not subject to complete control by an individual. However, becoming successful is more than simply being in propitious material circumstances; it involves effort that is socially recognized as being under personal control and that is the work expended toward making a living. Material and social circumstances may influence economic success, but work is seen to be what causes it.

The emphasis on work effort as a standard of evaluation in another Newfoundland community has been described by Wadel thus:

> It is through his work, in the form of a job or self-employment, that a man earns his living and it is by earning his living that a man claims reciprocity in relation to society and independence in relation to his peers. Works gives a man the position for his family, and work is the major

> legitimation for the acquisition of material goods. Work, then, puts a man in a complementary position it gives his status in relation to the family, the community, the economy, and the polity. All these may be regarded as positive values and meanings of work (Wadel 1973:108).

The 1976 census reported that the labour force of Port Hope Simpson consisted of 170 persons of whom just 80 were officially defined as employed. These figures produced an official unemployment rate of 52.9 per cent, compared to the 1976 national average of 6.8 per cent, and an employed to population ratio of just 14.6 per hundred, compared to a national average of 42.0. Needless to say, official definitions of employment, unemployment and the labour force mean little in Port Hope Simpson given the minimal importance of the labour market in the community.

In a community with few full-time paid jobs, status ranking or successfullness is determined by criteria other than income or the particular occupation one holds. Economic success does not necessarily convert to social status. Instead there is a combination of several social and economic traits which mark success. Some may be judged more than others, but no one is necessary and all are sufficient. A man is considered successful in Port Hope Simpson if he has a reputation of being a 'hard worker', if he is independent of assistance from his peers, and if he maintains an economically viable family unit. He is known for his capability, his skills, and his knowledge pertaining to his occupation(s) - yet his work efforts are not restricted to specialized skills but must extend to all seasonal activities commonly undertaken by members of the community. His first commitment is to the security of his immediate family and his loyalties to them extend beyond those to his work mates

outside the family circle or to his peers. He possesses the Christian virtues of temperance, generosity, perseverance and honesty; he is sincere in both his religious and secular life.

Conversely, a man is not regarded as successful if he is not seen to be exerting the unspecified amount of work time or has the reputation of engaging in "idle" behaviour. If he has not become totally involved in the pursuit of the work ethic, he has not succeeded. He may indulge in excesses such as too much drinking, too much leisure, too much dependence on welfare, etc. Moreover, he is not hooked in to the communication network of the successful; he has no information to offer concerning the quantity of fish caught or new Fisheries regulations, nor can he discuss a fishing strategy; he has no advice to give.

Historically, the amount of physical work a man performed was directly proportional to his own and his family's security. Thus, work was, and still is, considered proof of a man's worth. Overt political positions such as Community Council member do not make a man automatically successful, nor are such positions coveted. The only two "desk jobs" in the community, excluding schoolteachers, are not prestigious. Schoolteachers and nurses do hold a high status, but it is a separate status from the rest of the community and was unattainable by local residents until recently.

Since the local recognition of success involves more than merely estimating relative economic position, becoming successful is a political process. There are, in fact, separate networks of interpersonal relations which act to keep the successful apart from the unsuccessful. Gossip tends to be directed toward individuals comprising a sub-group having

common features, such as lack of fishing success, avoidance of work, and dependence on the welfare system.

Separate social networks keep families and crowds apart, and although the reason for the separation is more complicated than a welfare/non-welfare opposition, the high value placed on work by the community is a major factor. Welfare and UIC are merely indicators of the deeper value-judgement of a person's willingness to work. Although the 'welfare crowd' may feel they have a right to their welfare cheque, they still value work, participate in the seasonal cycle, and observe and accept community norms.

The split in the moral community has developed into factions of those who 'work hard' and those who do not. On one hand are the workers - labouring from before daylight to after dark during the fishing season, continuing minor work activities when they move "back to the bay," and taking pride in staying off welfare. On the other are men who do not exert the unspecified amount of work time and rely wholly or partially on welfare. People in this category do not socialize with the workers for the most part, and spend a larger proportion of their time at "idle" conversation during "working hours," remaining around the house during the day, and sleeping later in the morning.

The line between workers and non-workers is not always visible in Port Hope Simpson because of the overlap in income and because of the availability of material products to both groups. In "outside" communities, however, a quick look at the quantity of salt fish bulk stored in the stages proves the contrast between successful and unsuccessful fishermen (although energies may be directed toward the

salmon, herring or fresh fish market). For example, at the end of the season, one skipper and his two other crewmen sold only 20 quintals of salt fish, whereas another crew of the same size sold 260 quintals plus 15,000 pounds of fresh fish, 1,000 pounds of salmon, and one barrel of herring.

Conflict between workers and non-workers not only takes the form of gossip, but accusations of petty theft, theft of fish from cod traps, and destruction of fishing equipment. One claims to have lost $5,000 worth of gill nets, cut or stolen, which he attributes to the jealousy of "lazy men."

The continously unemployed express the sentiment that their lifestyle is less than ideal. One man who was on welfare typified others in his position when he said, "You're not so happy when you're on the dole as when you're working." Others reflected a desire to achieve a sense of personal worth by conforming to the community work standard. Their situation is not always one of free choice due to a number of factors. However, the lack of any possibility of finding immediate employment or intensifying self-employment is not regarded as an excuse for idleness if a man is physically capable. The symptoms of depression and the expressed sentiment that there must be a better alternative suggest that this group does embrace the common work ethic, even though it is not universally practiced.

There is a sharp distinction in attitude toward the different types of transfer payments among residents. Since most people are involved with the fishery and since community work values are oriented around the fishery, UIC payments are a symbol of one's productivity in

the fishery, or, in the context of the work ethic, a symbol of one's self-worth. Individuals who do not qualify for UIC because they have not accumulated enough 'stamps' through the sale of fish, sometimes earn a sufficient number by working in a local store or on a Canada Works project at the end of the fishing season. Wage earnings in these cases are used solely to qualify for UIC. Whereas the work of fishing can be a man's source of pride because his identity as a fisherman is involved, temporary employment as a brush cutter or road worker does not provide him with an alternative identity. Although it is a sign of respect when one says about another, "He earned all his stamps by fishing," there is no real distinction made in the type of labour used to obtain UIC benefits. UIC is regarded as a right for those who qualify and not as a hand-out.

On one hand, UIC is deemed desirable by almost all; on the other hand, the attitude toward welfare is quite different. To those who have attained an acceptable status in the community by virtue of their work output and who are independent of 'hand-outs,' welfare is undesirable and a recipient's motives are highly circumspect. Such individuals associate welfare with idleness, or at least the potential for idleness is felt. They feel that welfare money comes directly from their paycheque and, consequently, are vigilant toward abuses of the system, whereas there is less concern with the revenues for UIC. A part of this 'crowd,' although more silent about the perceived injustices of the welfare system, are successful fishermen and hard workers who because of their family size and expenses receive both UIC and seasonal welfare at separate times. They see welfare as a necessary

evil, not something to be proud of, but something that has to be accepted.

A second 'crowd' are those who are nearly constantly on welfare, of whom many are able-bodied. Most supplement their income from social assistance by marginal production in the fishery, temporary wage labour, and/or living with relatives who are economically better off. Most of these individuals regard welfare as a right in much the same way as everyone else regards UIC. In fact some may also receive UIC. Contrary to Wadel's finding (1973:28), people in this crowd do not look upon welfare or able-bodied relief as "belonging to a different moral category than the unemployment insurance benefits..." Nor does welfare carry "a connotation of disgrace and unwillingness to work," as it did for Wadel's principal informant. Although the core of this 'welfare crowd' is a minority of residents, the welfare officer's time is largely spent on them, and they tend to make recurring visits to the clinic for very minor ailments and counselling. Informants who have had experience with Social Assistance recipients elsewhere in Labrador South point to the aggressiveness of their appeals for welfare as being atypical of other communities.

It is difficult to document the true attitude toward welfare of this group because the sentiments they express to outsiders and to non-members of their group are not the same ones as they express within their own group. However, a few have gone to lengths to justify to me their continuing reliance on Social Assistance, citing the high cost of living in Labrador, the isolation, the poor employment market and the higher incomes of those whom they perceive as not working as hard as they. The attitude of the group is expressed by one member

thus: "That goddam guy never comes when he's supposed to. In the winter I can go to Mary's Harbour to get it, but now [November] I just have to wait. If he don't come pretty damn soon, I'm going to smash his fuckin' face. He takes his own goddam time giving me my cheque."

The relationship between those who receive the two types of transfer payments and their attitudes toward them is illustrated in Diagram 7. The outer circle represents all Port Hope Simpson residents who regard UIC as a right; some of whom, however, receive neither UIC nor Social Assistance. The three smaller circles represent recipients of transfer payments as indicated. The shaded portion represents the 'welfare crowd': those who regard welfare as their right. The majority of this group rely almost wholly on Social Assistance but some who combine UIC and welfare also belong. Individuals who receive UIC benefits but not welfare generally reject membership or close association with this group.

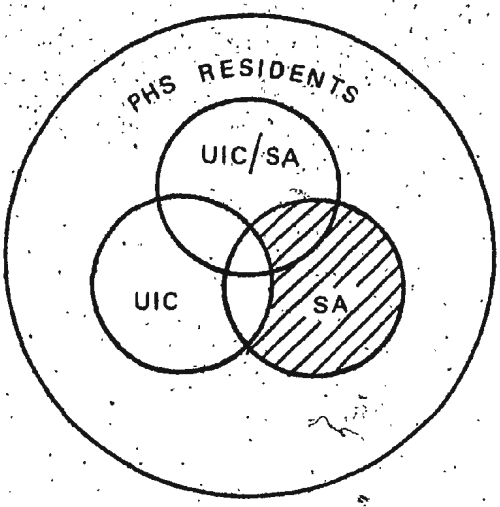

Diagram 7: Attitudes Toward Recipients of UIC and Social Assistance

The common manifestation of frustration caused by unemployment - an increased crime rate, family discord, and alcohol and drug abuse - are seemingly absent from Port Hope Simpson. The fact that there is no resident RCMP detachment undoubtedly means that some of the less serious crimes and misdemeanors go unreported, although the informal sanctions of gossip, ridicule and ostracism put social and economic pressure on culprits and suspects. To be sure, there are occasional petty thefts and personal assaults, but these tend to run in the crowds better characterized as living in poverty and having a history of social maladjustment, rather than as the unemployed. The incidence of abuse toward family members is far below that which is present in northern native communities. Nurses consider injuries caused by assault to be rare.

The difficulty of obtaining beer and liquor both encourages and discourages alcohol abuse. When liquor is available it is generally consumed at one sitting which brings on the inevitable problems associated with groups of men under the influence. There are more injuries resulting from accidents and horseplay in such drinking bouts than of aggravated hostility. On the other hand, the difficulty of obtaining a constant supply of liquor limits occurrences of this sort, and the Pentecostal injunction against the use of any alcoholic drink is observed by many people and has a restraining effect on other less devout family members. The drug trade has not yet reached Port Hope Simpson and drug abuse is virtually unknown, although a few people have tried marijuana during visits to other places.

Simply because the usual indicators of the frustrations caused by unemployment in more densely populated areas are obfuscated by the isolation and lifestyle particular to Port Hope Simpson does not mean that no frustration exists. Aware that the present economic climate in coastal Labrador villages has stemmed from a history of exploitation by outsiders, which has resulted in Labrador fishermen having little control over their own economic destiny, people freely express their discontent among themselves and to visitors. However, they are unable to reach workable solutions to their problems because of the magnitude of the problems and because many feel that they are not equipped with the education and experience to deal with the necessary public or private channels of change. Some people have expressed the attitude that "we've spent so much time at fishing and fixing the outboard motor that we haven't had time to figure out what's going on in other places."

In spite of the strong work ethic, the moral force which keeps people busy at their daily tasks, there are times when the weather is down and men sit idly by the stove for hours, looking out the kitchen window, speaking very little, and seeming to accept the speculation that the mailplane will not arrive for yet another week. Perhaps this attitude is analogous to their acceptance of their economic situation as it is. Perhaps the statement about fishery meetings, "It don't do not good to kick because you always get cut off," reflects a broader attitude.

However, whereas sometimes people express the futility of initiating desired change, they always express pride in their ability

to carry on their legacy of survival in a harsh environment, pride in their knowledge of the land and sea, pride in their capability to improvise from scarce resources, and pride in living a life of hard work.

B. The Religious Ethic

The predominant religious elements in Port Hope Simpson are Pentecostalism and Anglicanism, although about a dozen people designate their denomination as Roman Catholic or United Church. The Pentecostal Church, by far, has the most influence in the community. There is a resident preacher at all times; if a preacher leaves he is immediately replaced. In contrast, there has been no resident Anglican minister for a couple of decades and the minister from Mary's Harbour visits only a few times a year. The Anglican Church, built in the 1940's, is still in usable condition, but is used only on those occasions when the visiting minister holds services, and even then attendance is sparse among the Anglicans in the community. The Pentecostal congregation has increased from the small numbers at the time when Port Hope Simpson was founded to about 300 today, as more and more Anglicans converted. The two schools are both denominational. One is funded and administered by the Pentecostal Assemblies School Board, the other by the Vinland Integrated School Board, albeit called the 'Anglican school.' Enrollment at the Pentecostal school has increased at about the same rate as followers of the faith and now stands at 125, compared to the Anglican school's 78. Despite larger numbers of Pentecosts, there are others who have tenaciously clung to their denomination and have renounced close

association with Pentecostal activities. Their reason has little to do with religious doctrine, but people feel they must ascribe to a denomination even if they are not aware of doctrinal differences. In their words, "You've got to belong to something." Because of the absence of an organized Anglican congregation, people who are not Pentecosts are more appropriately termed "non-Pentecosts."

Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal groups are factions in the community. Pentecosts are a tightly organized group having a specific doctrine and united by common goals and activities. Non-Pentecosts are loosely organized and have few activities except those for school children. The interaction of such disassociated groupings of people united around a religion may be called "factionalism" according to the usage of Silverman and Salisbury who state "that it is part of the political process within a community which is characterized by the interaction and confrontation of multiple non-corporate sub-groupings" (1976:6). I would modify this by pointing out that the Pentecostal faction is very nearly a corporate group: it has existed over a span of time. It is headed by leaders, and it has definite membership requirements. Neither group has mobilized for action against the other, however.

There is evidence of conflict between denominational factions. Conflict most commonly manifests itself as gossip and implied negative sanctions against factions; conflict is covert and seldom, if ever, has resulted in aggression. Non-Pentecosts cite incidents which intensify their sentiment against Pentecosts: a Pentecostal store owner refusing to stock cigarettes, a woman refusing to donate to the Salvation Army because she thought the money would be spent on liquor, Pentecosts

objecting against the use of the community hall for dances, the congregation refusing to alter the schedule of evening church activities for community meetings, and refusing to allow the retail sale of beer in the community. Non-Pentecosts say they do not feel welcome in the homes of Pentecosts who prohibit drinking and smoking and observe other taboos. These sentiments serve to keep non-Pentecosts from socializing with Pentecosts.

On the other side of the coin, part of the ethics of Pentecostalism is disassociation from non-Christian behaviour. To be a Christian, according to Pentecostal doctrine, one must achieve spiritual rebirth or salvation, which is theologically possible in any denomination but which is not a necessary part of Anglicanism, at least not in the sense of Pentecostalism. One who is not Saved is a Sinner. Although sinners are potential objects of evangelization, if a Christian allows himself to freely associate with people who are involved in sinful behaviour he is unnecessarily tempted into sin himself. The very act of a Christian allowing himself to be tempted is a sin. This is the rationale behind segregation of the schools. Therefore, the elements of mutual rejection are present.

Although Synan believes Pentecostalism has become accepted by other denominations on a theological level, his statement about the early days of the church would be considered appropriate by many in Port Hope Simpson: "The Pentecostals rejected society because they believed it to be corrupt, wicked, hostile, and hopelessly lost, while society rejected the Pentecostals because it believed them to be insanely fanatical, self-righteous, doctrinally in error, and emotionally unstable" (Synan

1971:185).

In practice, of course, some Pentecostals do maintain a close friendship with some non-Pentecosts. However, there is a core of religious ethics which produces the two factions. Although the Anglican faction is not unified through a socially recognized code of ethical behaviour, Pentecostal ethics are antithetical to socializing on a purely secular level with non-Christians. "The function of ethics is to keep the believer on the narrow way which leads to heaven.... As long as ethics has the function of preserving the white garment for the kingdom of heaven, the concern of Pentecostal ethics can never be for one's fellow man, but only for oneself: I must endeavour not to get my hands dirty, not to have any stain on the marriage garment, so that I may be ready when Jesus comes" (Hollenweger 1972:408). To this end it is necessary to behave in a friendly manner and respectably toward others, but it is not necessary to maintain close friendships with non-Christians. In the previous chapter we have seen that economic co-operation is heavily based on friendship and kinship. Religious factions have crosscut both.

In a community that was largely founded by Anglicans, it is interesting that Pentecostalism became so widespread. There were a few families from Conception Bay in Newfoundland who continued their attachment with Pentecostalism when they settled in Alexis Bay. Pastor Gillet preached the gospel in Port Hope Simpson and the outside villages in 1936 and was soon followed by a resident preacher. Churches were built in Georges Cove and Port Hope Simpson. But Pentecostalism was slow to catch on at first. The log church in Port Hope Simpson

was removed to the opposite side of the river until the 1940's. It was then that Pentecostalism began to catch on.

The growing popularity of Pentecostalism in Newfoundland and Labrador communities coincided with its general growth. The Pentecostal Movement began in Kansas in the early 1900's by a group of proselytizing evangelists who emphasized baptism of the Holy Ghost as it was bestowed on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem (Block-Hoell 1964:18-29). After meeting severe resistance from other churches and society in general, the Pentecostal Movement began to flourish by the 1930's (Synan 1971:223), and spread to all the continents of the world. It was a novel experience of baptism accompanied by speaking in tongues. The Pentecostals emphasized an experience rather than a system of doctrine or church government. The masses were drawn to services by evangelistic and divine healing revivals that attempted to convert and save from damnation as many people as possible. Initially, the Pentecostal Movement attracted those on the lower end of the socio-economic scale: the poor, the destitute, the underprivileged. Some writers have said that the Movement was a form of protest against adverse social and economic conditions, others feel that it was a protest against the failure of the prevailing religious institutions to come to grips with the needs of marginal groups existing on the fringes of culture and society (1971:201). At any rate, by 1970 it was generally recognized that Pentecostal churches were the fastest growing churches in the world (1971:223). They were appealing to an ever widening spectrum of citizens and were amassing a great deal of wealth.

Whereas the emphasis in the Anglican service is the recital of the litany and communion, rather passive contributions, the emphasis in the Pentecostal service is the individual testimony and personal expression. This suggests a reason why the Pentecostal Church has gained so much acceptance in a community where individual expression is repressed by a lack of status alternatives and the ethic of egalitarianism. A typical service includes many hymns which can be requested and sung as many times as the congregation wishes, and are accompanied by instrumentalists seated on the stage playing the guitar, accordion, piano, and occasionally the trumpet. A period of testimonials is allowed when an individual can give an interpretation of a passage from the Bible, recount his personal problems or revelations with God, or speak in tongues if he becomes raptured with a mystical relationship with God. Speaking in tongues is ordinarily in an "unknown tongue" and is a highly emotional experience. The pattern is to speak in unintelligible phrases interspersed with intelligible utterances. The voice is pitched higher than normal and follows an unbroken rhythmn. Members of the congregation intersperse the testimony with 'praise the Lord,' 'hallelujah,' and 'Amen, brother.' This is followed by a sermon which seemingly is directed at individuals but has general guidelines for Christian living. The Sunday night evangelistic service is generally more emotional than the morning service. Church members frequently break down and weep as they become raptured. A few people may become Saved. Soon after the service people in the community learn the identity of those who became Saved.

The rituals and taboos vary somewhat from church to church, and there are people in Port Hope Simpson who are more rigid than others in their adherence to local dogma. An early foundation of Pentecostalism, the Apostolic Faith, established a list of taboos based on a literal interpretation of the Bible, among which were tobacco in all forms, secret societies, life insurance, doctors, medicine, liquor, dance halls, theatres, movies, Coca-Cola, public swimming, professional sports, beauty parlours, jewelry, church bazaars, and makeup (1971:190). It is easy to see how many of these sins would be difficult to commit in a community like Port Hope Simpson. With accessibility of medical services and television, the most commonly observed prohibitions are drinking, dancing, smoking, earrings worn in church, television programmes reflecting family discord, gambling, and popular music.

Because the emphasis is on the individual experience of God rather than on unilateral ethical beahviour, traditional attitudes present somewhat of a problem to a preacher who has been trained in Pentecostal doctrine. Speaking about the numbers of unwed mothers, many of whom are church members, a pastor said, "It's a problem every pastor faces in coming here. Usually people get married after the fact. Parents are reluctant to say too much to the kids because they were involved with it themselves. Most people feel that until you're pregnant, there's no reason to get married. Responsibility doesn't come until a child is born." There also are a few folkbeliefs that Biblical teaching has not completely eradicated, such as the beliefs that if the feet of a dying person are pointed toward the east he will die more quickly, death at sunrise is more likely, and a white light signifies death. To a

degree, the pastor is bound to the traditional practices of the congregation. The pastor felt that it would be impossible to introduce a new musical format that would be significantly different from country and western. Church members have never expressed interest in having discussions on Biblical exegesis.

The doctrine of healing through prayer has been a part of the Pentecostal Movement, although today there is a great deal of variation in attitudes toward the aspect of divine interaction (Hollenweger 1972:357). The present pastor has not placed much emphasis on healing evangelists. However, older people have recounted their personal experiences with divine healing.[1] The interesting aspect of these is that I have heard as many accounts from non-Pentecosts as Pentecosts. This seems to indicate that the Pentecostal attitude toward divine miracles had an influence among people regardless of denomination. Most of these occurrences were during a time when medical services were difficult to obtain.

There are a number of rites of passage which are recognized by Pentecosts, and to a lesser extent by non-Pentecosts. An infant is "dedicated" shortly after birth to symbolize that God has divine rights over the child. The ceremony symbolically represents the child being

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[1] One such story involved the alleviation of pain. Hours after a man stepped on a nail that pierced the instep of his foot, a woman laid her hands upon him and prayed; whereupon the pain vanished and he was able to walk nine miles the following day. Another was about a child that was saved from succumbing to pneumonia when he was prayed for.

brought by the Lord and given back to the Lord. Rebirth or salvation is achieved through a personal revelation. It is a spiritual and emotional experience which can occur from early childhood to deathbed and can be repeated if one loses faith or "backslides" by committing a sin. Evidence of salvation is a public declaration accompanied by speaking in an unknown tongue or observable emotional upheaval. Baptism is always subsequent to salvation. A special service is arranged whereby several can be baptized at once, usually, though not always, by total immersion in a local pond or, in winter, in a plastic swimming pool. In a recent ceremony, thirty-one people were baptized.

In addition to salvation and baptisms, people are encouraged to express their revelations at church services. A passage in a short book published by a former schoolteacher in Port Hope Simpson describes his experience:

> As I bowed on my knees, Pastor Price came to me and said, "Do you want the baptism?" "Yes." I replied. "Well then," he said, "Raise your hands as a sign of surrender and begin to praise the Lord." He then prayed, laying hands on me, as I raised both my hands above my head and began to praise God. Suddenly I began to fall backwards on the concrete floor. Before I actually reached the floor I began to speak in an unknown tongue. I couldn't understand what I was saying, but I knew God had filled me with His Holy Spirit. The same experience of the disciples, on the day of Pentecost, was being experienced in my own life!... I tried to speak in English but was unable to as the language flowed from my lips like water from a spring. Satan seemed to whisper, "This is just yourself, you are over-excited." But only volumes of other tongues could be spoken.... I was experiencing such peace and joy so deep that words could not describe it.... I remember Pastor A.E. Bursey praying and rejoicing over me....
>
> After what seemed like minutes, but was actually hours, I arose. Oh, the wonder of it all, not only had I been filled with the Holy Spirit, but God had answered my prayer! I knew beyond all doubt that I should go to Port Hope Simpson to teach (Osmond 1973:49-50).

Table 14: Pentecostal Church Activities and Organizations

	Staff Members
Board of Deacons (financial matters)	7
School Committee	7
Church Service Leaders	25
Cemetery Committee	5
Women's Ministeries	5
Crusader Staff	12
Christ Ambassadors Group Leaders	4
Beginner Department Teachers	7
Junior Department Teachers	11
Teen Department Teachers	7
Hi-Teen Department Teachers	1
Sunday School Teachers	40
Adult Class Teachers	1

In addition to the opportunity for individual spiritual expression, the Church provides regularly scheduled social activities for all ages. Aside from the two Sunday services, a prayer meeting is held every Friday evening, boys and girls 7 to 14 years of age who are members of the uniformed Crusaders meet two evenings each week, the choir meets Thursday evenings, and the Women's Ministeries meets twice a week. Table 14 shows that there are numerous positions of leadership and responsibility in these and other activities. The opportunity to achieve a recognized status within these organizations and to socialize with others would seem a sufficient reason to attract members in a community practically devoid of other alternatives.

The cost of being a Pentecost is rather high if an individual complies with the ethic of tithing and donating to additional causes. However, not all church members fully meet the financial demands that their faith puts upon them. About eighty to one hundred people tithe. Although others may offer less than the required ten per cent of their

income, they are encouraged to donate as much as they feel they can possibly afford. Pentecostal Churches differ in their tithing practices: some calculate the tithe on gross income, others on net income (cf. Hollenweger 1972:235), and I suspect that different preachers in Port Hope Simpson had different views on this matter. At the present time, people tithe on their net income as calculated on their income tax returns. The substantial difference between gross and net income of fishermen as indicated in Chapter 3, makes this an important issue to the church members as well as to the church. Tithing is usually done as people receive cheques rather than a lump sum. The pastor preaches several times a year on tithing, invoking Genesis 28:22, Leviticus 21:32, and Malachi.

> Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, there shall not be room to receive it (Malachi 3:10).

Beyond tithing there is a Missionary Fund and Building Fund collected monthly. Church organizations (see Table 14) such as the Christ Ambassadors, Women's Ministeries, Crusaders, Sunday School, and School Committee all have collections for their specific purposes. Also, a few people donate labour, food, and firewood to the pastor. When the occasion arises, the Church sponsors a community collection for burned out families in Port Hope Simpson or nearby communities.

The Christian attitude toward giving money for a Christian cause is that the donor will be spiritually rewarded if not in life, then in the afterlife. As one man explained to me, "The more I give, the more I know I am helping God spread His work, and the more I know I am being

a better Christian. You can't look at it like being paid back right away. It helps me as much as it helps them.... I know a lot of people don't give the ten per cent, but if I didn't I'd be ~~telling~~ a lie." How the money is spent or the percentage of it that actually reaches a particular cause is of little concern; what matters is that one is donating for a Christian cause.

The pastor also tithes on his $250 a week income which he gets from local church donations only. This is a low income compared to that of preachers in more populated and affluent areas.

C. The Egalitarian Ethic

I have alluded to the existence of an egalitarian ethic repeatedly. The attitude that local people should all be equal is pervasive in social institutions of Labrador society from family relations to the fishing crew. Fried, in writing about the politics of egalitarian society, defines such a society as "one in which there are as many positions of prestige in any given age-sex grade as there are persons capable of filling them" (Fried 1967:33). In other words, in egalitarian societies prestige positions are achieved, not ascribed, as are positions such as Town Manager or Chief-of-Police. It could be argued that Port Hope Simpson is no longer an egalitarian society, if it ever was, because of the civic positions imposed by the government and Fisheries Union, as well as ongoing ties to a non-egalitarian outside world. Nevertheless, the ethic of egalitarianism exists because of the homogeneous nature of traditional and contemporary community relations.

Unlike large urban communities where acceptable modes of behaviour may vary considerably, in a community the size of Port Hope Simpson, an individual is required to observe fairly stringent, tradition-oriented rules of conformity. Should a fishermen, for example, hold a public meeting on his own initative in an attempt to drum up support for the Fisheries Union, he would be subject to various leveling mechanisms, such as gossip, ridicule, and possible ostracism. Community authority positions are few and weakly developed. Other ethnographers have noted the egalitarian stress and repugnance of overt expression in Newfoundland communities.

> As we have seen the entire Straits area is characterized by intimacy and familiarity. There is little mobility in the Straits and a person can expect to spend his entire life in much the same social milieu. Thus, techniques for maintaining his integrity while pursuing his course through social proceedings with intimates are particularly important. Egalitarianism is also significant here as it precludes interaction in terms of superordinate and subordinate relationships: one must get on "man to man" with no formalities of position that would make for the isolation of social distance (Firestone 1967:112).

Further, Faris says, "Those who lead expose themselves to severe criticism and attack.... Leadership and the exercise of authority involve taking decisions which may be binding to others, and in Cat Harbour anything which in this overt way may infringe on another, is considered aggression and a serious breach" (1972:103).

Despite the demonstrated inequalities in influence, status, possessions, and income, individuals must conform to the egalitarian ethic if communal harmony is to be maintained. Community brokers, such as the merchants, Community Council members, and the representative of

the Fisheries Union who act as intermediaries between the community and the outside world, are careful not to exercise authority or leadership outside their specific roles, for to do so would bring criticism that they are using their power to gain yet more power in another context. A technique which enables a broker to maintain his role as community member as well as his role as broker is described by Nemec as role reversal.

> Role reversal can take any number of forms. A community broker, for instance, might choose to 'drink with the boys' (adult male co-inhabitants), become 'high' or even drunk, and deliberately 'play the fool.' Or, following role performance on a formal occasion he might take the opportunity when visited at home by a group of co-inhabitants, to carricature, ridicule and "make fun" of the pomposity and foibles displayed by those politicans, merchants, clergy and others withwhom he has been associated for a time as a seeming equal. In such instances role reversal has a basic function: to reduce disparities in social rank in order to facilitate the broker's resumption of his usual position in the community. Thus, to the extent that an individual community broker is willing to pay the necessary "social costs," such as frequent role reversal, he will continue to be validated in his role by the community at large (Nemec 1980:213).

While not all of the community brokers in Port Hope Simpson maintain their status by employing this technique, I have observed that they are careful not to step outside their own roles. For instance, I have observed that community consensus keeps merchants from becoming too active in local politics. In the case of a merchant who attempted to communicate his frustrations about delays in governmental progress in the community to various government representatives and the community itself, he was thoroughly ridiculed for his "high and mighty" attitude.

Although there are numerous positions of leadership in the Pentecostal Church, as pointed out in the section on the religious ethic in this chapter, these are positions which do not bind individuals in any way

except to their committment to the church. In contrast, candidates for positions in the Community Council are never forthcoming. There are never any political campaigns within the community and once a person is elected to the Council, he will likely be re-elected unless he resigns. Simply because a Council member accepts the position reluctantly, however, does not mean he will be immune to criticism. Shortly before the 1981 election of Council members, talk among many households centered on the failures of the past Council. Many people expressed outrage at their perceived inactivity, vested interests, and suspected misuse of funds.

Elections began on a February night at the community hall. About sixty people attended, an uncommonly large gathering, although many were not of voting age and many of the Council's most vociferous opponents did not appear. The clerk then read from the Municipalities Act a regulation that nominations could only be accepted by people who had paid their community taxes. This effectively prevented two-thirds of the adult residents from accepting nominations. After a long and tense pause, with the exception of one past member who had resigned, all of the incumbent Council members were nominated either by other incumbent councillors or by their own wives. Following this action, as if overcome by a sense of relief, the crowd immediately became more jocular. Fourteen others were nominated amidst guffaws and much personal ribbing. All declined or were not considered because they had not paid their community taxes. No vote was actually taken following the nominations because the Council required only the five nominees.

Notwithstanding the elimination of those in tax arrears from running for the Council, there appeared to be little serious effort to upset the status quo despite harsh criticism of the Council's management of community affairs. This suggests that Faris' statement for Cat Harbour may be valid for Port Hope Simpson: "Making decisions which may be unpopular is certainly one factor inhibiting office holders, but simply making any decisions affecting others is difficult in the traditions of the Cat Harbour moral community" (1972:103-4).

Locally stationed Mounties, such as the one in Mary's Harbour, must make such decisions, of course, but they are never natives of the community in which they are stationed. Wildlife Protection Officers, River Guardians, and Fisheries Officers are selected from local people, but seldom do they personally enforce a law even if they suspect a violation may have been committed. Conflicts are usually taken to the Mountie. Fishermen sometimes complain that local Fisheries Officers are hesitant to enforce their territorial fishing rights. A man explained the motives of local enforcement offiers: "They wants to get their money; that's the only thing they're after."

The existence of the egalitarian ethic does not preclude competition; it does, however, inhibit the overt expression of competition. The topic of conversation during the fishing season is how many quintals of fish were caught by others, and in the fall, people speculate on the size of UIC cheques of others. But when pressed to compare his own catch with that of another, a fishermen replied, "If I get two hundred [quintals], I don't care who gets a thousand."

I suspect that his statement demonstrated his aversion to being compared to more successful fishermen rather than approbation of the fact that there were equally experienced fishermen who were catching a much larger number of fish than he. One frequently hears negative statements about others who are seen to have more. The following statements illustrate the attitude toward those who are perceived to have risen above the mean in terms of property, income, or power.

"There's enough [logging] equipment to keep everyone busy in Port Hope Simpson, but the people that owns the equipment don't want to put people to work."

"You seen that house he got? Well, where do you think he got the money for that? It was from the government, that's where it came from."

"Hector never did care about the people in this community. They were going to put a community stage in where the fish was at in George's Cove, but they put it in [a nearby community] where there's no fish. That was Hector that done that 'cause he's from there."

Backbiting directed toward merchants or other community brokers tends to precipitate around observable facts rather than simply their occupational status. In fact, a merchant may be held in esteem by the community if he has been observed to give generous credit, nor profit unduly from his business, and live in an unostentatious manner. Those who are observed to take excessive profits are severely criticized. It could be argued, of course, that no one likes to be taken advantage of in any society, but the pervasiveness of egalitarian relations suggests there is an explanation for the display of negative sanctions toward a profiteer that is more than fear of being exploited.

A model which may help explain this type of behaviour was developed by Foster (1965) to explain the cognitive orientation of peasants toward their world, including human relations and their economy. Foster's interpretation of the peasant world view is that they have an "Image of Limited Good" of which "all of the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quality and are always in short supply.... [and that] there is no way directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities" (1965:296 author's emphasis). Szwed (1966) applied Foster's model in an attempt to explain egalitarian behaviour in Newfoundland society:

> Associated with the conception of equality is what George Foster calls the "static economy." Valued goods and resources are conceived to be in a fixed or "static" state, with no possibility for expansion or development by local individuals. Those who attempt or succeed at increasing their own holdings are seen to be disrupting the balance of local resources. One person's gain must be accomplished only at the loss of others. When some individuals show obvious gains, they do so at the risk of alienation, or at least, of being constantly reminded of small favors done for them in the past and accused of bad faith in interpersonal relations (1966:84).

Although it is increasingly debatable whether outport Newfoundland and Labrador fishing communities actually are entrenched in a peasant economy, the model of "limited good" does aid the understanding of behaviour in societies at various socio-economic levels as Foster, himself, indicates (1965:311, fn. 5).

For example, a conversation with a local man about the high cost of goods at the store revealed his attitude toward merchants making what he considered excessive profits on motor oil.

"It costs $38.95 for a case of lube down at the store. They always tries to make ten bucks on a feller. It only cost them $21 to buy it. That's what I pay for it [wholesale]. That's why the merchants are rich, I know they're rich for a fact. That's the only reason they're in it. Ten bucks on a case of lube. That's shocking, that is.... And it don't cost no ten bucks to store a case of lube. I buy a case every now and again [wholesale] and I sell it in a week. I could buy a whole lot of it and get rid of it just as quick. Everyone's always wanting for oil.... I wouldn't be in it for the money. All I'd want to do is give a feller an even break."

While the egalitarian ethic may once have been adaptive for ensuring community co-operation, it has a counterproductive effect today. On one hand, with the increased opportunities of modernization, people desire to increase their income and material holdings, and, in fact, many have the resources to do so, but on the other hand, the community pressure they face inhibits outstanding socio-economic achievement. As Szwed puts it, "...this egalitarianism is not inspired by a noble humanism or even by a theologically-based concept of finite and humble men. Instead, equality for parishoners is an enforced standard.... Equality... is not so much of an ideology that elevates the lowest to the level of the highest, as it is a mechanism that attempts to reduce the highest to the level of the lowest" (1966:84).

D. Chapter Summary

To what extent do ideological orientations influence perceptions of status? In this chapter I have explored this question by focusing attention upon the Protestant work ethic, religious values and denominational factionalism, and the egalitarian ethic. All of these conditions can affect income level, but a person's social status is more affected by his behaviour, as seen against the background of local ideology, than by the size of his income. The fact that work, religion, and egalitarianism are of paramount importance in the perception of status is evident from the emphasis placed upon these ideological considerations by residents. Unlike material and social conditions, empirical observations of ideological influence cannot be quantified. Nevertheless, a discussion of status behooves an examination of the ideology behind it. The socio-economic environment of the community shapes the ideology of its residents.

Port Hope Simpson is a community with a high unemployment rate and few full-time wage jobs. However, this situation does not promote idleness. The reputation of being a hard worker in all the tasks associated with the seasonal cycle is a source of pride to those who earn one. Physical strength and willingness to work are highly valued. Work activity is seen to lead to independence and family security. The emphasis placed on work for work's sake suggests that it is the very basis for the evaluation of one's status in the community.

Not all people work equally as hard, nor are they able to, given the unequal distribution of material factors and human physical attributes. This has caused a split in the moral community between hard workers and

those who are not. The 'crowds' known for prodigious work effort tend to distinguish themselves from the crowds which do not have that reputation. There is evidence that these crowds maintain separate social networks.

Social assistance and UIC are indicators of a value-judgment of a person's willingness to work. Generally, people regard UIC as a right and an indicator of the amount of work the person has produced. For reasons which are acceptable to the community, some UIC claimants also receive Social Assistance at certain times of the year. However, except for the elderly and disabled, those who live mainly on Social Assistance are negatively sanctioned by those who do not.

The emphasis placed on evaluating the performance of work associated with virtually any seasonal activity suggests that it compensates for the impossibility of evaluating performance in single full-time occupations. Unlike communities suddenly faced with job shortages, the common manifestations of frustration caused by unemployment appear to be absent.

The work ethic is behaviourally manifested consciously or unconsciously through religious values. Overt religious expression is most frequent in the Pentecostal Church which plays an important part in many people's spiritual, social, and economic lives. Members of the Pentecostal Church tend to have a separate social network from that of non-members. Conflict between Pentecosts and non-Pentecosts has caused factions to develop.

The number of conversions to Pentecostalism has increased dramatically since the church was first established in Port Hope Simpson. The number of social activities and the emphasis on personal expression suggest a compelling reason why the Pentecostal Church has become so popular. Church

activities are highly organized into specialized groups based on sex and age, each with their own status hierarchies and prestige positions. There is no counterpart to these statuses in the Anglican Church or in secular community organizations. While non-Pentecosts may recognize some of the Pentecostal statuses, most likely they attach a different meaning to them.

To people firmly committed to the Pentecostal Church, a sizeable portion of their cash income goes to tithes and donations. However, in spite of the doctrinal emphasis on work as a Christian virtue, I have found no evidence that the work ethic is any stronger amongst Pentecosts than non-Pentecosts. Furthermore, there is no evidence that one faction makes more money than the other.

In fact, there is community pressure in the form of censorship and gossip which prevents exceptional individual achievement. The egalitarian ethic is counterproductive to strong community leadership. Egalitarianism is a force which prevents the formation of formal authority and power positions. Even if optimum material and social conditions made it possible to amass wealth and power, this ideology alone would keep such achievement from being acceptable to the community.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

This study explores conditions which can affect socio-economic status in Port Hope Simpson. Neither all the conditions affecting status nor all the community values affecting behaviour have been enumerated, and, perhaps, this is not even possible. Nevertheless, the data presented are helpful to explain the goals people set and why they behave as they do.

Each of the variables included under the headings of material, social, and ideological conditions have the capability of affecting one's economic level. Certainly economic level is important to social status, but it should now be apparent that income is not the only means by which a person is identified. Instead, a combination of factors are used as criteria to evaluate one's total status. The way a man communicates his status, how he is able to influence others, the extent of his reciprocal relationships, the number of his children, the reputation of his crowd, the size of his snowmobile, his participation in Pentecostal activities are some of the factors. This would explain why a highly productive fisherman may not be highly esteemed by the community or why a welfare recipient, through his non-monetary actions,

may be accorded prestige.

The observable behaviour patterns of an individual give others some basis for judging him in relation to their values and experience. In a typical middle class suburban community, a man's neighbours commonly judge him by the style of his home and automobile, the appearance of his lawn and shrubs, and his occupation because they, likely, do not know him personally. On the other hand, in a community like Port Hope Simpson where community relations are carried out on a personal basis, many more personal traits are readily observable. This enables a resident to compile a "mental portfolio" of the positive and negative aspects of the total being of other community members. Moreover, there are indices specific to the tradition, lifestyle, and economy of a community - its culture - which are used to gauge people's socio-economic status. The discovery of these indices is vital so that one can perceive a semblance of order in dealing with the community.

Due to the great number of factors affecting status and the variations in community values, a compilation of material, social, and ideological variables cannot produce a formula for success, nor can these variables serve as a basis for ranking all community members on a status hierarchy. The complexity of the problem can be understood when one considers that not only do different people attach a different importance to a factor, but the list of factors varies among people even of the same community. For example, fishing skills, generosity output of physical labour, and boat building skills may be of equal importance to one fisherman but may be weighted differently by another fishermen. A woman, child, merchant, or schoolteacher might attach importance to four completely

different variables. Furthermore, the criteria considered important in the evaluation of a less familiar person might seem relatively unimportant in the evaluation of a friend or close family member.

Perhaps a much more scientifically rigourous model of community status could be developed if people were asked to identify, say, four qualities that they consider important in the evaluation of a person's status and were asked to tell what percentage of importance each of the qualities has. After collating everyone's weighted responses, a community norm would emerge. Most likely, however, the methodology needed to accomplish this would be unwieldly and it would require a tremendous amount of understanding of the objectives of the research on the part of informants in order to produce a true picture.

However, the data presented point out some unique considerations to the socio-economic status hierarchy of Port Hope Simpson. A strictly empirical account relating material conditions to income level would have revealed obvious conclusions. Nothing is startling about concluding that the more income earners there are in a household, the more money the household has. By extending the research base to include social as well as economic elements some interesting comparisons can be drawn between those who are highly regarded by the community and those who are not.

People in propitious material circumstances are not always on the upper end of the socio-economic scale. Take, for example, Henry. People always speak well of Henry and his family. He lives in a tiny, dilapidated old house with his wife and seven children. The kitchen floor is so heaved up by the frost that the front door has to be propped shut with a shovel. The area around his house is strewn with

oil barrels, engine parts, and various other items recognizable only to Henry and his family. His 'outside' home is less well-kept. Unfortunately the fish have not come to his berths in the quantities they have in the past. Yet, in the summer, he and two of his sons put in long days. They are always 'busy at the fish.' In the fishing off-season, UIC is supplemented with welfare to make ends meet. Still, he continues to put in long days at seasonal tasks - if not for himself and his family, then for others. He is always cheerful, though his work keeps him from talking at length. Although Henry has been saved in the Pentecostal Church, he attends services less often than his wife and is not active in church affairs. The attitude displayed toward his role in the community by others indicates he has a rather high status.

On the other hand, Jack is less well thought of, although both Henry and Jack face some similar socio-economic conditions. Jack's fishing income is approximately the same as Henry's. Both are heavily in debt to local stores. Neither is active in church affairs. Both are known as hard workers and good fishermen. Jack, however, has only two children to support. His Masonite sided house was built three years ago and was newly equipped with store-bought kitchen cabinets, bathroom fixtures, appliances, and furniture. Jack has a reputation of being a 'tightwad,' and has been observed to avoid helping his brothers build a new fishing stage. I interpret community opinion to indicate that his status is much lower than Henry's.

One might conclude that the community does not accept what they perceive as ostentatious display of living styles nor do they favourably regard miserly behaviour. Perhaps these are the factors that separate

Jack from Henry, but there are many other factors which can override the effects of conspicuous consumption and self-centered behaviour. In another example, both Paul and Hugh live in newly built houses and are observed to work equally as hard, but Paul has much more fishing gear, more boats, more productive berths, and more sons who are his sharemen. Paul is more of a patriarch in the community and has more influence over others than Hugh does, even though he is two years younger than Hugh. Ostensibly, this is because Paul has charge of the largest fishing operation that the community can accept within the framework of its ideology. Consequently, his expertise is greatly respected.

This points to the idea that exceptional performance of a role of minor importance (either exceptionally good or exceptionally bad) can outweigh performance in those roles most valued. Generally, people would say that the size of the crew or amount of fishing equipment is of little consequence to status. Yet, Paul is known for these things.

Is Paul's status based on ownership of property, High production in the fishery, or control of a large crew? Is Henry accorded a high status because he is a hard worker or because he lives in a very humble manner? Or, is status related more directly to some aspect of personality? Other examples would raise still more questions about how status is actually determined and prove how frustrating a search for reasons behind a particular person's status can be.

The issue of how status is determined is elusive because it is determined subjectively. There seems to be a gap between what people say is important to status and how they actually determine it. Undoubtedly, this is an area which bears further study. Nevertheless, it is apparent

that the variables described in the previous chapters, encompassed by the principles abbreviated in the title as Salt Cod and God, are extremely important influences on status in Port Hope Simpson.

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APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY COUNCIL BALANCE SHEET 1979

Revenue	$
Newfoundland Telephone	10.00
Canada Works	2,000.00
Municipal Affairs and Housing	2,860.00
Municipal Affairs and Housing (for roads)	4,000.00
Municipal Affairs and Housing (for roads)	4,019.00
Municipal Affairs and Housing (special grants for dump maint.)	17,671.40
Individual Tax Revenue	700.00
Total Revenue	31,260.40

Expenditures	
Garbage Collection (wages for collectors)	4,766.50
Labour (for road maintenance and dump)	6,543.56
Heavy equipment and operator (dump and road)	13,385.25
Community Council Office Expenses	428.72
Community Hall Electricity Bill	17.97
Clerk's Salary	300.00
Furnace for Community Hall	1,100.00
Miscellaneous	1,014.74
Total Expenses	27,546.74

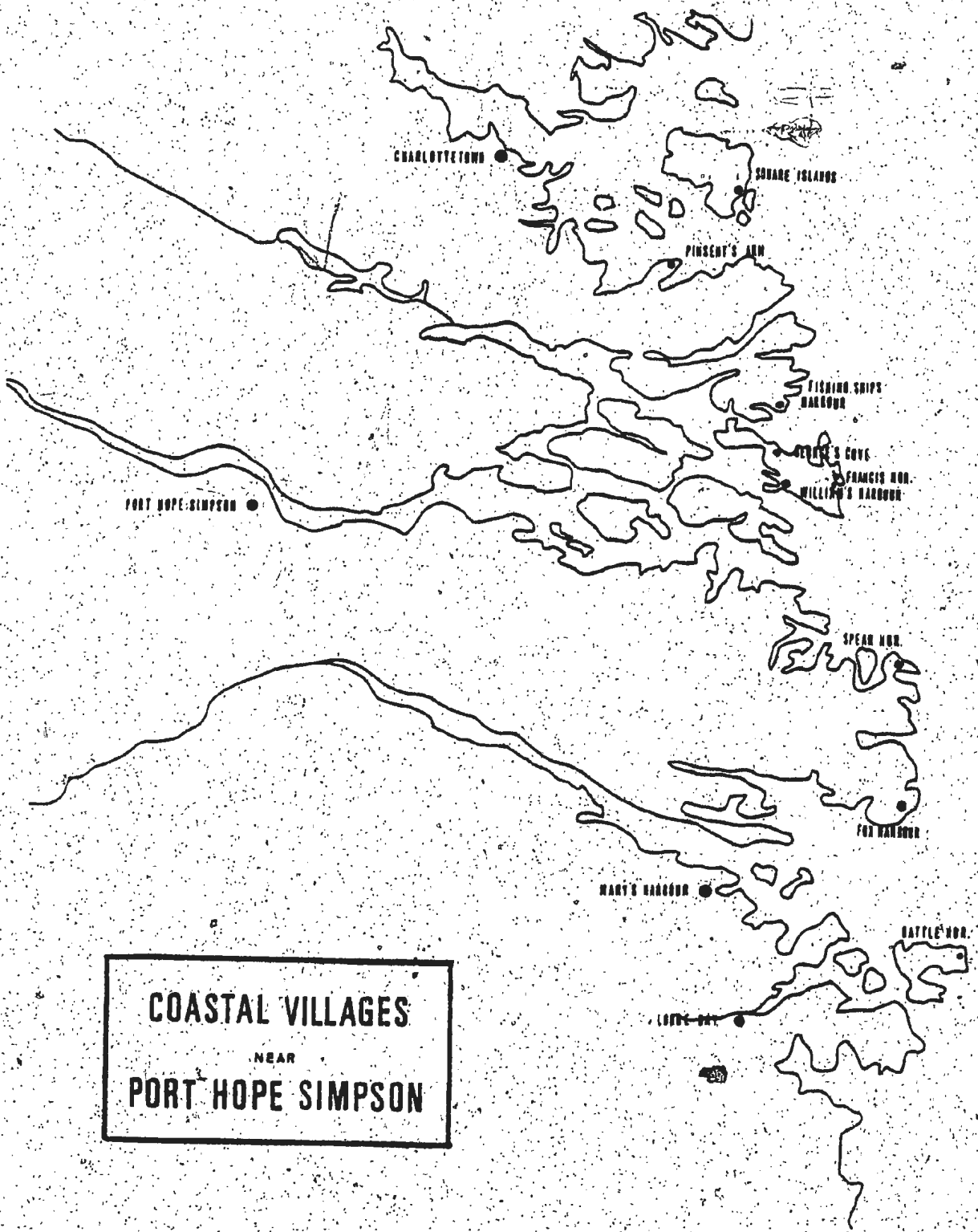
Revenue minus expenses + $3,713.66

APPENDIX B: RELATIONSHIP OF EARNED INCOME TO TRANSFER PAYMENTS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Household Head	Fishing	Other Earned Income	UIC	SA	FA	OAS	Total
Elmer	0	25,897	0	1,296	262		27,455
Joe	14,239	6,382	3,614		1,308		25,543
Shawn	0	22,022	0	0	1,570		23,592
Sol	16,834	0	5,064	430	1,046		23,374
Dan	9,400	160	11,466	928	1,308		23,262
Mac	7,080	0	4,248	4,836	2,093		18,257
Hal	10,517	1,000	3,600	300	0		15,417
Art	684	0	0	5,820	0	8,310	14,814
Charlie	0	7,288	0	3,200	785		11,273
Cam	3,681	200	2,678	1,151	1,046		8,756
Sam	3,000	1,600	3,016		262		7,878
George	0	0	0	4,704	523		5,227


LABRADOR
L A B R A D O R
Q U E B E C
SAGLEK
NAIN
DAVIS INLET
HOPEDALE
POSTVILLE
HAKKOVIK
LABRADOR CITY
HORSE BAY
CARTWRIGHT
CHARLOTTETOWN
PORT HOPE SIMPSON
HARY'S HARBOUR
ST. ANTHONY

APPENDIX D

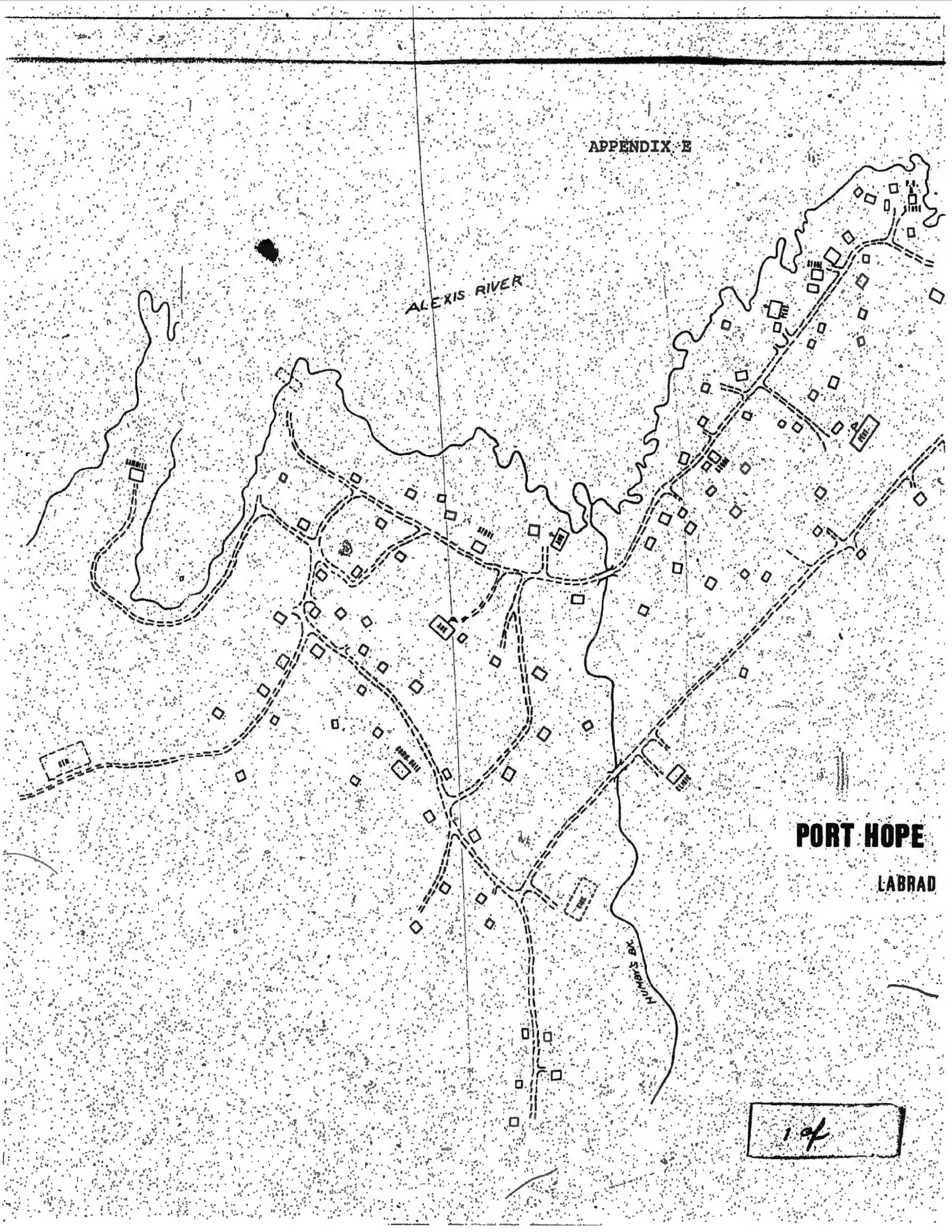


COASTAL VILLAGES

NEAR

PORT HOPE SIMPSON

APPENDIX E



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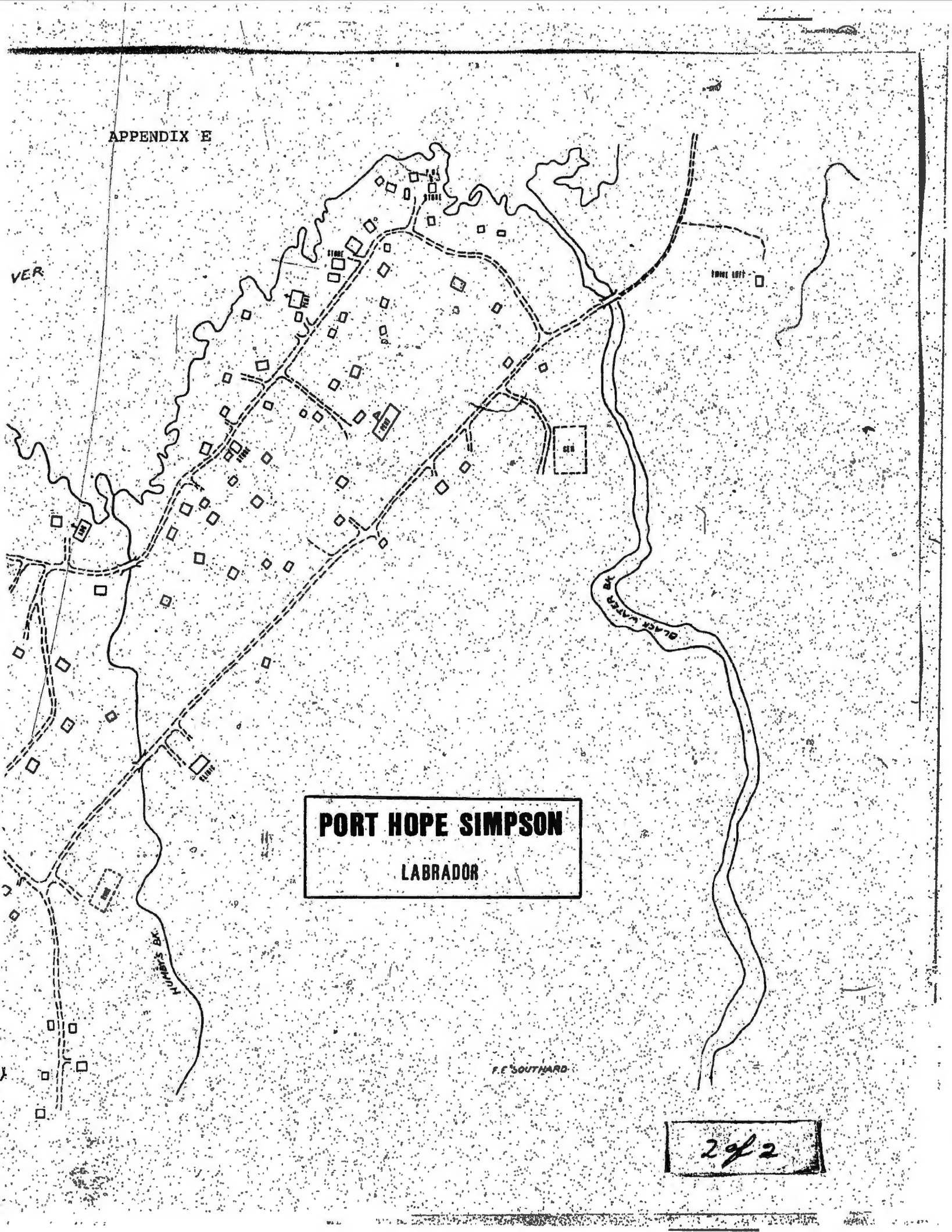

PORT HOPE SIMPSON

LABRADOR

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