

THE EFFECTS OF THE FISHERY CRISIS ON THE
DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOUR IN TREPASSEY,
NEWFOUNDLAND

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THE EFFECTS OF THE FISHERY CRISIS
ON THE DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOUR
IN TREPASSEY, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to examine the effects of the fishery crisis on the domestic division of labour in a fishing community in Newfoundland, Canada. More specifically, this research will examine how the crisis affected the amount of time people spent on household tasks and the kind of tasks that they performed. Following a materialist perspective, the study focuses on how the loss of paid employment in the public sphere impacted upon unpaid domestic labour in the private sphere.

Information for this thesis is based on personal interviews and observations carried out in Trepassey, Newfoundland. Interviews were conducted with 36 fishery people (12 female plant workers, 12 male plant workers and 12 offshore fishermen) to determine how the fishery crisis affected their involvement in domestic labour.

The findings suggest that the fishery crisis resulted in changes in the domestic division of labour in fishery family households. On average, fishery people spent more time on domestic labour and performed more domestic tasks since the fishery closures. The changes, however, affected female plant workers differently than the male plant workers and offshore fishermen. Among female plant workers, womens' increased responsibility for domestic labour resulted in a more segregated domestic division of labour. Since womens' loss of paid employment in the public sphere, most of their male partners relinquished some of their responsibilities in the private sphere, especially with respect to routine housework and child care. On the

other hand, among the male plant workers and offshore fishermen affected by the crisis, mens' increased responsibility for domestic labour resulted in a less segregated domestic division of labour. While fishery men contributed more to domestic labour since the closures, there was only a few exceptional cases where these men contributed equally with their female partners. That is, despite the changes discussed throughout this thesis, the fundamental gender-based division of domestic labour continues to exist.

These findings suggest that further research needs to be carried out on the social impacts of the fishery crisis on fishery family households. That is, if the crisis has affected the domestic division of labour, then there are probably other social issues, such as the incidence of domestic violence and alcoholism, that need to be addressed to minimize the negative effects of the fishery crisis on the social lives of fishery people.

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INTRODUCTION

Inshore and offshore, the Newfoundland waters were one of the great fishing grounds of the world. Over the centuries changing technology, mismanagement and overfishing severely depleted the northern cod stocks. By the late 20th century fish plants were being closed and in the summer of 1992 a moratorium on fishing for cod was announced. The moratorium will affect the lives of thousands of Newfoundlanders economically and socially for many years, even generations, to come.

Economically, people have been affected in a number of ways. As a result of the moratorium, most fishery people are dependent on the government for compensation packages and unemployment insurance. Others, who were eligible for early retirement, faced reduced incomes earlier than anticipated. The cod moratorium, with a few exceptions, has meant reduced incomes for some 20,000 Newfoundlanders who depended on the fishery for their economic survival.

But what about the social implications? How has the fishery crisis affected people whose lives were built around the fishery? When examining the social implications, there are a number of impacts that such a crisis could have on communities, families and individuals. I am interested in studying the effects of massive unemployment on the structure of household relations. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to examine the effects of the fishery crisis on the domestic division of labour of fishery households. That is, how had the crisis

affected the amount of time people spent on household tasks and the kind of tasks that they performed?

Interest in this topic was sparked by the abundant literature available on the domestic division of labour, such as Hochschild (1989), Pahl (1984), McKee and Bell (1986), Eichler (1988) and Meissner et al. (1988). These studies done in the United States, Britain and Canada reveal that women continue to be responsible for most household tasks, particularly routine housework and child care. This division continues despite changes in labour force participation of women and men, changing technologies and changes in family size. Similarly, studies carried out in Newfoundland, such as Faris (1972), Porter (1983) and Sinclair and Felt (1992), show that Newfoundland is still characterized by a domestic division of labour in which sex typing is ingrained in basic household tasks despite changes similar to those described above. That is, the household is structured in such a way that there is a distinct division between what is considered women's work and men's work. Thus, the basis for this study is to examine how an employment crisis, such as that in the Newfoundland fishery, had affected the structure of household relations in terms of the domestic division of labour.

Information for this thesis was gathered from in-depth personal interviews and observations, over an eight month period, carried out in Trepassey, Newfoundland. The co-operation of informants provided me with an understanding of how their lives had been affected since the closure of the fish plant and the cod

fishery. The information in this thesis provides insight into how the fishery crisis had changed the domestic division of labour in some households. This thesis, therefore, provides the basis for further studies into other possible social impacts of the fishery crisis on Newfoundland households. If the crisis had changed the structure of household relations with respect to the division of domestic labour, then other issues, such as possible increases in alcoholism and domestic violence, should also be researched.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter one is a literature review on the domestic division of labour. It explains the theoretical perspective that guided the research for this study and provides background information on studies that have already been carried out on the domestic division of labour. Chapter two details the research methodology used in this study, a definition of terms, the data collection process and the research problems experienced in the collection of data for this study. Chapter three maps out the emergence of the fishery crisis in Newfoundland. It focuses on the role of the state and fishery policy in the collapse of the fishery. Chapter four is a history of the fishery in Trepassey, the community in which the research was conducted. It outlines the dominant role the cod fishery and the fish plant played in the lives of the people and the community. Chapter five contains the analysis of data

concerning female plant workers. It shows the effects the fishery crisis had on the amount of time women spent on domestic labour and the kinds of domestic tasks they performed. Chapter six contains the analysis of data concerning male plant workers and offshore fishermen. It shows the effects the fishery crisis had on the amount of time men spent on domestic labour and the kinds of domestic tasks they performed. Chapter seven summarizes the findings of the research. It reveals that the Newfoundland fishery crisis had impacts on the division of labour which, in the past, was characterized by a distinct division between what were considered male and female tasks.

CHAPTER ONE - LITERATURE REVIEW

Today serious questions are asked about the possible directions of future changes in families and households. The social theorist Anthony Giddens has stated that "(t)he study of the family used to seem to many one of the dullest endeavours. Now it appears as one of the most provocative and involving" (Giddens 1987:23). This is certainly true of the study of family life in Newfoundland, especially in the wake of the mass unemployment created by the plant and fishery closures of the 1990s. Of particular interest to me are the effects of the loss of wage labour on unpaid domestic labour and the resulting changes in household work patterns. That is, how had the fishery crisis affected the amount of time people spent on household tasks and the kinds of tasks they performed? The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework that guided this research and to discuss the previous findings in the existing literature relevant to the research under consideration.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"Sociological theories about families have benefitted greatly from the input of social critics, such as Marxists and feminists" (Cheal 1991:81). Rather than locating the causes of problems in individuals and the interactions they initiate,

Marxists and feminists consider the larger contexts of action within which the causes of problems that are external to individuals can be specified.

Karl Marx presented a systematic theory of society and its evolution in which conflict played a significant and integrated role. As stated at the beginning of the **Communist Manifesto** "(t)he history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Marx and Engels 1985:79). The concept of class is central to Marx's theory in that:

...it reflects his materialist view of man, according to which human actors can be seen to produce themselves through work. Marx believed this to be a creative (transforming) process in which the individual and the world are simultaneously and continually in the process of becoming (Farrington and Chertok 1993:360).

This process will be transformed from one in which man participates, but does not control or direct, to a stage of self directed and conscious development, when human history reaches the stage of communism (Farrington and Chertok 1993:360).

According to Marx's historical materialism, societies develop through a series of progressive stages. These are a primitive period, followed by ancient, feudal and capitalist stages, and ending with the communist period. Important to note is that each of these stages of history, except for the first and the last, is an exploitative economic system. That is, in each there are two groups of people, those who own the means of production and those that don't. This means that people in society are divided into two groups, the owning propertied class and the non-owning propertyless class. Exploitation is achieved by the owners through mechanisms

which serve to extract surplus value from the labour of those who work. As each of the economic systems mature technologically, workers come to recognize their common cause through the development of class consciousness. When such people join forces the society is transformed into the next stage of history through the fundamental mechanism of class struggle. Until this time of transformation, however, the worker is not only dominated and exploited but alienated as well. Through alienation man ultimately becomes separated from product, fellow worker, and finally himself (Farrington and Chertok 1993:360-361).

Another important aspect of social conflict for Marx is the increasing contradiction between technological advancement and productive relations. Owners manipulate productive relations to resist further technological advancement. This allows owners to maintain their control over the present social order. To Marx, then, owners are exploitative "as a ruling class operating through the institutional systems of society to pursue and further their own economic self-interest" (Farrington and Chertok 1993:361).

To sum up the significance of the productive forces of society for a conflict perspective, it can be said that:

The technological state of development of a society serves to produce a certain type of owner and a certain type of worker, and this in turn results in a certain type of economic organization (Farrington and Chertok 1993:360).

This economic organization results in "a particular type of political order, as well as congenial forms of legal, educational, and familial order" (Farrington and Chertok

1993:360). This creates a cultural system which works to the benefit of those who control the means of production.

Of particular interest to the subject of this thesis is a set of ideas that were not proposed directly by Marx, but his friend and associate Frederick Engels in **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State** (1972). In this text Engels:

...took the basic materialist notion of social conflict, which is the core of Marxian theory, and applied it to the topic of the family and the nature of the male-female relationships that exist therein (Farrington and Chertok 1993:360).

Engels proposed that the superordinate and subordinate positions of men and women in modern society could be seen as directly analogous to the positions occupied by the capitalists and workers in relation to the capitalist means of production. Engels saw the two systems of class and gender inequality as:

... sharing a similar relationship to the institution of private property, which is one of the basic foundations of a capitalist economic system (Farrington and Chertok 1993:361).

With individual control over property came the domestic slavery of the female within the family, so that the males controlled both production and reproduction, property and women. "The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules" (Engels 1972:137).

Engels felt the conflict between men and women, which resulted from the separation of public and private spheres, would be resolved by women being integrated into the industrial proletariat. This can be seen in the following quote:

...to emancipate woman and make her the equal of the man is and remains an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labour and restricted to private domestic labour. The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time (Engels 1972:221).

For Engels, the entry of women into the public sphere of social production as wage labourers is a necessary precondition for their emancipation. As long as women are confined to the private sphere of the family and domestic labour, their consciousness will be stifled. Engels believes that women's consciousness will be aroused only when they experience the exploitation and oppression of wage labour by the capitalist class. This is the way women will achieve complete emancipation. As far as Engels is concerned, within capitalist society, working class women have already acquired a degree of emancipation. It is only in a socialist society, however, by virtue of the absence of private property in the means of production as a source of exploitation and oppression, that all women will be fully emancipated, that is, will achieve full social equality with men. Engels, however, has been criticized on both theoretical and empirical grounds. As stated by Delphy and Leonard (1992:131) "(n)ot only has going out to work not freed women from family work, it has hardly interfered with it at all".

Although Marxist materialist analysis of the family was challenged by Parsonian structural functionalism and systems theory in the 1950s and 1960s, it experienced a revival in the 1970s and early 1980s. The Big Bang of the mid 1970s in the sociology of the family refers to the blowing apart of a convergent style of

theorizing that favoured the grand thesis of Parsonian structural functionalism. This was due to a combination of several pluralizing forces among which a resurgent feminism was the most conspicuous. In countries such as Italy, Britain and Canada the feminist movement raised the question of women's unpaid labour in the home into a major political issue. This linked feminism to a simultaneous revival of Marxism, with its long standing interests in labour processes (Cheal 1991:90).

The Marxist revival has been beneficial to family studies in that it resulted in numerous discussions about domestic labour and the capitalist mode of production. Such discussions resulted in the domestic labour debate which is based on the assumption that there is an underlying, or fundamental, structural separation between the two spheres of the public and the private that is a result of the capitalist organization of production. That structural separation is based on a division between paid employment, on the one hand, and unpaid domestic labour on the other. As discussed in Close (1989:29):

...there is a public-private separation at the level of economic structure which has superimposed upon it a sex-gender distinction around the performance of (responsibilities for) unpaid domestic labour and paid (employed) labour, with its attendant inequality in particular of power and control. There is, in other words, straddling the public and private spheres a sex- gender system. This system...has at its core an unequal (or patriarchal) distribution of power and control between the hierarchically ordered strata of men and women, so that within the system men collectively dominate women both within the public (socialised) sphere and the private, family sphere.

It is important to note that the two spheres of private and public are distinct and separate, despite the degree of diffusion, even integration, at the superficial

level of social relationships by virtue of joint husband and wife participation in the paid labour force as well as in, to some extent, unpaid domestic labour (Close 1989:28).

In Marxist family studies, the emphasis is placed upon the underlying economic relations that structure social interactions between men, women and children which are defined ideologically as family (Smith 1985:4-7). Smith claims that "(t)he general emphasis here is on the significance of the economic relations to which the family is articulated as they organize the inner structure of the family" (Smith 1981:161).

This theoretical framework has guided this research in that it provided a basis for the analysis of the effects of unemployment on the domestic division of labour. That is, how had the loss of wage labour in the public sphere affected the division of labour in the private sphere?

DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOUR

Having outlined the theoretical framework, the purpose of this section is to discuss the findings of studies already carried out on the domestic division of labour. Such findings will provide background information for the research under consideration.

Robert Blood and Donald Wolfe's **Husbands and Wives** (1960) and Ronald

Fletcher's **The Family and Marriage** (1962) are early studies that stress the equality of husband and wife in marriage, compared with the inequality in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. Similarly, Young and Willmott in **The Symmetrical Family** (1973) conclude that marriages in Britain are becoming symmetrical. They use the term symmetrical family to describe the new kind of family that was emerging whose most vital characteristic is that inside the family the roles of the sexes have become less segregated. Within the symmetrical family, a division of labour is still the rule but the label implies that the direction of change is towards less role segregation along with a greater degree of equality than in previous families. Young and Willmott claim that there is less segregation in the sense of men and women sharing both paid employment and domestic labour, even though within both the public sphere of paid labour and the private sphere of domestic labour divisions persist along traditional lines. Young and Willmott claim that this development has also been accompanied by a more equal distribution of power (Young and Willmott 1973:30-32).

The study by Young and Willmott, however, has been criticized and challenged for a number of reasons. First of all, they gathered limited information. Their estimate of the number of husbands helping their wives with domestic chores is arrived at by asking respondents a single question "(d)o you/ does your husband help at least once a week with any household jobs like washing up, making beds, helping with children, ironing, cooking or cleaning?" (Young and Willmott 1973:331).

Since this is the only question that is asked on the topic, and given that child care and housework tasks are lumped together and the criterion of helpfulness is doing one activity only once a week, it is not surprising that a high proportion of husbands are found to help their wives.

Another criticism of Young and Willmott's findings is that the self-recorded time budget diaries the respondents kept may not be an accurate description of how people spend their time. Respondents edited entries so that few provide information that covers the full time period requested. For example, female activities are more likely than male ones to be underestimated in the diaries because tasks and activities may be considered too mundane and insignificant, and therefore, not entered into the diary. Also, in relation to time people spend on tasks, Young and Willmott's data exclude the age range when women are most likely to be involved in full-time child care. Therefore, the picture that emerges from the data is not totally representative of women's domestic experiences. For these reasons their notion of the symmetrical family is questionable.

In fact, Young and Willmott's thesis of equality and those that came before it have been dismissed because most of the available research data on the domestic division of labour does raise considerable doubts about the validity of their findings. One such piece of research is Ann Oakley's **The Sociology of Housework** (1974). This is a study of women's attitudes towards housework and the housework situation, based on material obtained from a series of interviews with

40 London housewives. In terms of the domestic division of labour, Oakley reaches three broad conclusions. First, she found that there are class differences in the extent of husbands' participation in domestic and child care tasks, with fewer middle class husbands receiving low involvement scores. Secondly, husbands tend to be rather more involved in child care activities than in housework. Finally and most importantly, only a minority of husbands give the kind of help that assertions of equality in modern marriage imply (Oakley 1974:138). Oakley states (1974:164), "(i)n only a small number of marriages is the husband notably domesticated, and even where this happens, a fundamental separation remains: home and children are the women's primary responsibility".

Oakley's last two conclusions are fully supported by Stephen Edgell (1980) in his study of 38 professional, middle class couples in Britain. Using a revised form of Bott's (1960) concept of conjugal role relationships, Edgell placed his respondents into one of three categories - joint, intermediate and segregated - based on the amount of sharing between couples in child care and domestic work. Edgell found that while nearly half the husbands are actively involved in child care, none at all are characterized as being equally involved in housework. In line with Oakley (1974), Edgell in **Middle - Class Couples** concludes:

Marital relationships remain highly segregated, unequal and husband dominated....among professional workers and their wives...the husband's orientation to paid work, plus the wife's orientation to domestic work...seemed to be the main factor that affected the degree of conjugal role segregation ...Fundamental (to the later) was the sexual division of labour whereby the husband takes primary responsibility for paid work and the wife

takes primary responsibility for domestic work...The husband, by virtue of his greater participation in the external economic division of labour compared to his wife, was able legitimately to dominate the family...The wife, by virtue of her relative exclusion from paid work and her major responsibility for the home and children, was consigned to economic and social dependence upon her husband. This pattern of responsibility was entirely congruent with the traditional sex role ideology expressed by the majority of research couples (1980:105).

Edgell also found that even when wives are in paid employment, they retain ultimate domestic responsibility. Paid "work for married women on a part or full-time basis, does not by itself necessarily reduce their domestic burden or experience of socio-economic dependence" (Edgell 1980:105). This is because it is still "the bread winning husband who tends to have the most direct and enduring relationship to the external economic division of labour and its rewards (Edgell 1980:105). For Edgell, men's advantages in relation to the public sphere of paid employment are carried over into the private sphere of the family, marriage and the household where women experience a greater share of the burden of domestic labour and a smaller share of power, authority and control.

While Edgell's study focuses on professional middle class couples, his findings are largely consistent with data from those studies which include manual, working class couples. One such study is the investigation carried out by R.E. Pahl (1984) on the Isle of Sheppy in Kent. Pahl is convinced that the nature and experience of work is changing:

No longer is the right to work an unproblematic political goal; no longer can women's work be referred to without some awareness of the wider implications of what is being assumed. In the late twentieth century, industrial

societies have been thrown into confusion as patterns of work have changed in unexpected ways, owing to such elements as the fluctuations of economic expansion and recession, a new consciousness associated with the development of the women's movement and new developments in technology (Pahl 1984:1).

Pahl's research is an attempt to come to terms with these problems and confusions.

Of particular interest to this literature review is Pahl's documentation of the division of labour between partners, in 730 households, for all stages of the domestic cycle, at different socio-economic levels and with different combinations of economic activity for household members.

Overall, it is overwhelmingly obvious that women do most of the work in the household. The interview scores indicate that the domestic division of labour is unequally shared by women. There are just a very few exceptional male housewives caring for a physically handicapped or seriously ill spouse (Pahl 1984:270).

In terms of social class, Pahl found that there is little variation between classes, and the social status of the female partner appears to be as important as that of the male in determining the pattern of the domestic division of labour. Sharing of domestic labour, however, increases the lower down the social scale (Pahl 1984:272).

This research also points out the importance of the age and economic activity of the female partner in affecting the household's domestic division of labour. Pahl shows that partners aged between 26 and 35 years of age are performing more household tasks than female partners aged 65 and over. The main reason for this

is the increased number of tasks associated with child care and the fact that the number of these tasks that households carry out reduces markedly over the domestic cycle (Pahl 1984:273).

With respect to economic activity, the research shows that when both partners are in full-time employment the likelihood of a segregated pattern of the domestic division of labour is lowest. Evidently, when the children are young and the female partner is not in employment there is a much greater likelihood of a segregated domestic division of labour. Pahl also found that the more hours the female partner spends in paid employment, the less segregated is the domestic division of labour. Conversely, the fewer the hours that male partners are in paid employment the less segregated is the domestic division of labour. Finally, unemployed male partners with female partners as full-time housewives have households characterized as most segregated (Pahl 1984:275-276).

Although Pahl's research is extensive his general conclusions are summarized as follows:

The Sheppey data show that women do most of the work in and around the household, even if they are also in employment. While there may be some signs of a shift towards a greater sharing of tasks in households where both members are in employment, when the male is unemployed there is no sign of such a shift. Patterns of work in the households are undeniably heavily structured by age and sex. Furthermore, it could be argued that the household may also serve as an effective instrument for the perpetuation of what some describe as patriarchal patterns of domination and oppression (Pahl 1984:327).

While the studies examined so far were all carried out in Britain, research on

the domestic division of labour in the United States (such as Vanek 1974; Newland 1980; Hochschild (1989), Canada (Luxton 1983; Eichler 1988; Meissner et al. 1988) and Newfoundland in particular (Williams 1996; Sinclair and Felt 1992; Porter 1983) resulted in similar findings.

In **The Second Shift** (1989) Arlie Hochschild documents the findings of her research carried out with 145 people in California from 1980 through to 1988. Hochschild is interested in studying the effects of increasing numbers of mothers with young children entering into full-time jobs outside the home on fathers' contribution to domestic work.

Adding together the time it takes to do a paid job, housework and child care, Hochschild averaged estimates from the major studies on time use in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s and discovered that women work roughly fifteen hours longer each week than men. That is, over a year women work an extra month of twenty-four hour days. Most women without children spend much more time than men on housework, while those with children devote more time to both housework and child care. Just as there is a wage gap between men and women in the work place, there is a leisure gap between them at home. With the increasing number of two job couples, Hochschild wanted to know whether the leisure gap described above persists, or whether it has disappeared (Hochschild 1989 3-4).

As large numbers of women have moved into the paid labour force, families have been hit by a speed up in work and family life. That is, there is no more time

in the day than there was when wives stayed home, but there is twice as much work to get done. Hochschild (1989:8) found that it is mainly women who absorb this speed up. She found that only twenty per cent of the men in her study share housework equally. Seventy per cent of men do a substantial amount (less than half but more than a third) and ten per cent do less than a third. Even when couples report sharing domestic labour more equitably, women do two thirds of the daily jobs such as cooking and cleaning while men change the oil in the family car about once every six months. Hochschild also found that women do more child care than men, and men repair more household appliances. A child needs to be tended daily while the repair of household appliances is occasional and can be done at any time. Therefore, even when there is sharing, men have much more control than women over when they make their contributions.

Hochschild (1989:9) also found that beyond doing more at home, women also devote proportionately more of their time at home to housework and proportionately less to child care. Of the time men spend working at home, more goes to child care rather than to housework. Since most parents prefer to care for their children rather than clean house, men do more of what they'd rather do. Also, women spend more time on the maintenance of children, such as feeding and bathing, while men participate in more leisurely activities with the children, such as going to the zoo or the movies. Similarly, men do fewer of the undesirable household chores such as cleaning toilets.

All in all, the results of the study show that the leisure gap still persists. If the two job family is suffering from a speed up of work and family life, working mothers are its primary victims. Entering into paid employment has meant a double burden for women. The time they spend in paid employment and unpaid domestic labour adds up to an extra month of twenty-four hour days of work a year. This in turn adds to increased emotional stress with many women reporting themselves the target of family aggression and experiencing feelings of being torn between the two spheres. As also shown in Edgell (1980) and Pahl (1984), women's entrance into paid employment has not resulted in men sharing equally in domestic labour.

An example of Canadian literature that provides insight into the domestic division of labour is the article by M. Meissner, E.W. Humphreys, S.M. Meis and W.J. Scheu (1988). Data for this analysis describe married couples interviewed separately by two interviewers in 1971. They contain the time budgets of wives and husbands for a full workday and one full day off. Sampling involved the selection of eight areas of Greater Vancouver which are characterized by different combinations of socio-economic status and stage in the family life cycle. In total there are 411 couples interviewed. Most of the analysis, however, is limited to the 340 couples in which the husband (237), or both wife and husband (103) are working outside the home on the workday for which the time budget is taken (Meissner et al. 1988:481).

A measure of the burdens shared by the couple is the sum of the husband's

and wife's total weekly workload. This is estimated from the number of hours reported in the workday and weekend time budgets that they both devote to work for pay, necessary travel, regular housework (cooking and cleaning) and irregular domestic work (repairs and maintenance). Meissner et al. found that the wife's and husband's combined workload rises consistently with each step of accumulating demands. Interesting to note, however, is that the husband's component in that combined total shows little variation relative to increasing demands. In fact, the husband's percentage share of involvement in domestic labour declines step by step with additional demands. As reported in previous studies, the added demands of paid employment on women in the public sphere and the presence of young children in the household have not resulted in men sharing equally in domestic labour in the private sphere.

Turning to the Newfoundland literature, the traditional inshore fishery was characterized by differentiated spheres of action for men and women. That is, there was a division of labour in which men fished, built boats, repaired nets and hunted, while women processed fish, performed household tasks, reared children and participated in subsistence production (Davis 1988; Porter 1983; Faris 1972 and Firestone 1967). This certainly was the case for the traditional fishery in Trepassey as described in Chapter Four.

In the last 30 or 40 years, however, Newfoundland has gone through a number of economic and social changes, especially with respect to the fishery. The

fishery was modernized so that it was competitive in the growing market for fresh frozen cod that was fished from offshore trawlers and processed in fish plants that employed large numbers of women. This led to the decline of the inshore fishery and the production of salt cod. The modernization process of the fishery is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

In examining the impacts of modernization on the domestic division of labour, Dona Davis (1983) focuses on a southwest coastal outpost village and describes the variety of women's attitudes towards family concerns. With respect to the domestic division of labour, Davis (1983: 26) concludes:

Many women work at the fish plant and the separation of household tasks is not as rigid as before. Men are expected to help out in the home, especially with child care, although this varies with the personalities of the couple involved. With both men and women working at the fishplant and with the increased involvement of men in household activities, the rigid division of labour which once characterized the traditional life is rapidly ceasing to exist.

While Davis concludes that the division of labour is weaker than in the past, even rapidly disappearing in the community she studied from 1977 through to 1980, it is important to note that the community where she conducted her fieldwork is not characteristic of Newfoundland outposts generally. Specifically, in southwest coast communities the patrilineal form of crew recruitment is weak or just one pattern among many. Also, a major trend affecting change in family life is the ever increasing presence of the father in the home due to the changeover from a trip to a day fishery. Finally, the flexible nuclear family has adapted to modernization and

economic development with little sense of crisis and with minimal structural alteration (Davis 1983: 21-24).

Several studies, however, found that despite some changes in the domestic division of labour since the modernization of the fishery, women and men continue to function in different spheres (Williams 1996; Binkley 1995; Sinclair and Felt 1992; Rowe 1991 and Porter 1983). Williams (1996: 18-19) claims that:

In fishing communities, responsibility for housework, meals and caring for children continues to lie chiefly with women, whether they are working outside the home or not. There is a clear division of labour between men's work and women's work in the home. Many rural women still spend considerable time producing food and other goods for the household or for sale. Women often do men's jobs at home if the husband is working away. Fishermen's wives also do unpaid work for their husbands, such as bookkeeping, dealing with suppliers and cooking for fishing crews.

Similarly, Sinclair and Felt in their study of the Great Northern Peninsula reveal that women are usually responsible for most household tasks, while men undertake a modest number of outdoor provisioning activities and provide some assistance with child care. Furthermore, women who are employed appear to retain responsibility for most household tasks (Sinclair and Felt 1992: 68). They conclude that:

In contrast with southwest Newfoundland (Davis, 1983), our research draws us to the view that macro economic and cultural changes underway in Newfoundland in recent decades have not ended the sharp sexual division of labour (Sinclair and Felt 1992:68).

Despite the modernization of the fishery, there remains a distinct division between women's work and men's work in both the public and private spheres. The divisions

that resulted from the offshore fishing industry are discussed further in Chapter Four.

Of particular interest to this research are studies that have been carried out specifically on the effects of unemployment on the domestic division of labour. While Pahl (1984) collected data relating to all forms of work in all households, he does not consider the specific work patterns of the unemployed. There are, however, a number of studies that address this issue such as McKee and Bell (1985; 1986) and Morris (1983).

Lorna McKee and Colin Bell carried out research in Kidderminster, a small industrial town in the West Midlands of England. The objective of their study was to draw conclusions about the impact of unemployment on family and marital relations. Of particular interest to this review are their findings on the effects of male unemployment on the domestic division of labour in the household. McKee and Bell (1985) suggest that the husbands' unemployment may affect the wives' domestic and maternal routines. They found that male unemployment and the resulting financial stringency are associated not just with an extra pair of hands to share domestic responsibilities, but also with an enlargement or magnification of the domestic role. The evidence gathered suggests that living on a small income requires much sophisticated time and effort. For example, the significance of shopping increases in the domestic timetable by its very fragmentation. That is, women have to spend more time shopping at a number of different stores in order

to find the cheapest prices. Also, the nature of the planning and cooking of meals is altered by a small budget. Finally, cleaning and housework routines take longer and are increased through the husband's presence at home. Many women report that their husbands are quite often more of a hindrance than a help around the house because they get in the way and create more of a mess around the house than if they were working (McKee and Bell 1985:396-397).

In addition, McKee and Bell found that the presence of the unemployed father in the home is not simply a support for mothers in the care of young children but also creates a threat to women's child rearing practices with open conflict breaking out over standards of child discipline and control. In the study, several wives appreciate having husbands to share in child care, which frees themselves from the constraints of motherhood from time to time. There are others, however, for whom the husband serves as critic and a judge of maternal practice (McKee and Bell 1985:397).

McKee and Bell (1986) provide further insight into the effects of male unemployment on the domestic division of labour. The focus of this partial report of their study in Kidderminster is the gender specific consequences of male unemployment. This report states that in dividing up domestic tasks, there is evidence of change amongst unemployed couples. The degree of male involvement in domestic routines, however, is varied. "Unemployment had no uniform effect and the extent of male participation in the domestic sphere was

something privately negotiated and executed" (McKee and Bell 1986:144). That is, two men with full-time working wives provide a full range of domestic and child care services, although one has a housekeeper/nanny to assist, while other men make no contribution to domestic work or caring for the children.

McKee and Bell (1986) identify two different forms of rationale which they use to explain this phenomenon. "Within female based rationales low levels of male involvement in housework and child care were related to themes of female nature, skill and expertise, and to the private competence of mothers, wives" (McKee and Bell 1986:144). Women are described or themselves claim to do household tasks quicker, better and more thoroughly than men. "Indeed where reduced income led to an enlargement of the domestic role, the expansion of tasks usually fell to women" (McKee and Bell 1986:144).

Male based rationales for an unchanging division of domestic labour draw attention to the public sphere. Many couples feel that despite a severance from paid employment, unemployed men still have a public profile and purpose such as being engaged in the search for work, job interviews or informal labour market activities. Some women accept these public credentials for low male involvement while willingly taking on more and more domestic work and responsibilities themselves:

In a time of uncertainty, change and volatility it is not surprising to see such retrenchment and protection of feelings, traditions and boundaries...Decisions by wives to support and protect their men in their outward public activities can be seen as a rational response to a crisis (McKee and Bell 1986:144).

Similar findings are reported by Lydia Morris (1985) in her study of redundancy in Port Talbot. Morris demonstrates that redundancy in the context of a wider economic recession is unlikely to produce a reversal of pre-existing patterns of sex role behaviour. Furthermore, with specific reference to male unemployment, Morris argues that there are powerful social forces which militate against, though without necessarily prohibiting, a renegotiation of the domestic division of labour. Although Morris (1985:399) found some evidence of the blurring of boundaries between men and women in the division of domestic tasks, she does not consider it a strong challenge to the established division of labour within the household.

Specifically, Morris identifies three distinct patterns of domestic contribution amongst couples in which the husband has been unemployed for a minimum of one month. Some men, especially those whose wives are employed, increased the contribution they made to domestic work somewhat, but this "in no way represents a major assumption of domestic responsibility on the part of the man, and is in almost all cases viewed as a temporary arrangement" (Morris 1985:410). Morris also found that there may be an increase in tidying up the house and help with dishes and food preparation. The men give more help, in other words, but only to a limited degree. There is no suggestion of a major redistribution or reallocation of domestic tasks.

In addition, some men, especially those whose wives are not employed,

initially gave increased help with domestic work but changed back to their former patterns and left domestic tasks to their wives. Wives find the husbands interfere too much in their own routines and find the extra help counter productive or the men get frustrated with making an effort while receiving criticisms from their wives (Morris 1985:410).

The third pattern consists "of an extreme reaction against any surrender of the traditional division of labour" (Morris 1985:411). This is the case for 16 of the 26 men who experienced significant periods of unemployment. The way in which the men manage this is by finding some form of surrogate work or activity such as involvement in the informal economy. For example, many men complete structural alterations to their homes or help friends with theirs, while others find odd jobs to perform for neighbours, relatives and other contacts. Such involvement in informal economic activity does not lead to any change in the domestic division of labour. Rather, spending time looking for work and doing odd jobs provides a justification for not contributing any more time to domestic labour than they did when they were working full-time in paid employment (Morris 1985:411).

Lydia Morris (1985:414) concludes that:

We are witnessing a renegotiation of certain details of everyday life within the household which is so far distinct from any serious renegotiation of the underlying principles ...respondents appear to be dealing with a period of personal confusion in a context of dramatic social change by endeavouring to maintain some continuity with their past life...One can only remark here that there are powerful social forces at work which will tend to preserve the status quo.

CONCLUSION

This review of the theoretical framework and existing literature guides this research in that it provides the basis for an analysis of the effects of the fishery crisis on the domestic division of labour. That is, how had the loss of wage labour in the public sphere affected the division of domestic labour in the private sphere?

Following a materialist perspective, it can be concluded that there is a fundamental structural separation between the two spheres of the public and the private that is a result of the capitalist organization of production. That is, there is a separation between paid employment in the public sphere and unpaid domestic labour in the private sphere. This separation of the economic structure results in a gender separation with respect to the performance of and responsibilities for work in the paid public sphere and unpaid private sphere.

The literature shows that women are dominated by men in both spheres. That is, there is an inequality of both power and control. In the public sphere women face inequality of opportunity and pay, while in the private sphere they face inequality of responsibility for domestic labour. Regardless of the socio-economic status of the family, stage in the domestic life cycle, employment status of the male partner and the employment status of the female partner, the female partner is overwhelmingly responsible for domestic labour. Even despite economic structural

changes in the private sphere such as increasing numbers of women entering the paid labour force and periods of high male unemployment, gender separation and inequality in the private sphere continue to exist.

CHAPTER TWO - METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the research methodology used in this study: a definition of terms, the data collection process and analysis and problems associated with the research.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this study is to examine how the fishery crisis had affected the domestic division of labour in fishery family households.

As defined by Mackintosh (1988:393) "(d)omestic labour is private labour, not socialized labour". Housework in capitalist societies is production within the home of use values, such as meals and laundry, for immediate consumption. Housework is not exchange value production because the products do not pass through the market (Mackintosh 1988:393). The division of household labour is largely a division on the basis of sex. That is, the production relations in households are divided based on what is considered male and female work (Oakley 1974; Pahl 1984; Sinclair and Felt 1992).

The domestic division of labour was examined in fishery family households. By household I am referring to a social structure centered on a common place of

residence. A single family may reside alone in a household, but households may also be composed of single persons, families plus unrelated individuals or more than one family. Furthermore, households are not necessarily kin groups and need not contain persons of both genders (Sinclair and Felt 1992:59). For the purpose of this study, I limited the analysis to households in which there was a couple, male and female, who maintained their own household. In the households studied 34 (94.4%) of the couples were married, while only 2 (5.6%) were living common law.

The households were fishery families in that they consisted of couples in three different categories of connection to the fishing industry. An equal number of households were chosen in which the male was an offshore fisherman, the male was a fish plant worker, or the female was a fish plant worker. These three different types of fishery families were chosen to allow for comparisons to be made among households involved in both fish production and fish processing.

THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS AND ANALYSIS

The data collection process was certainly a challenge and at the same time a valuable learning experience. I chose Trepassey as my research site because of the important role that the fishery played in the lives of its people for so many generations, as outlined in Chapter Four. Like so many other coastal communities around Newfoundland, the fishery was its mainstay in terms of both production and

processing. The results of a study carried out in Trepassey might be reflective of other Newfoundland communities that were trawler ports and isolated. Trepassey is isolated enough from both St. John's and any other large center to minimize commuting and labour market boundary problems. This isolation, however, was not a problem for me because I did not consider a two hour drive from St. John's, eight times over an eight month period, inconvenient. I chose not to stay in the community for the duration of the data collection because participant observation was not part of my research design. Considering the nature of the study I simply would not have had access to people's homes to observe their daily household tasks and relations on an on-going basis.

I certainly did not choose Trepassey for its familiarity to me or the contacts I had there. On the contrary, I had only driven there once and knew no one in the community. Therefore, my first trip in the fall of 1993 was exploratory. I familiarized myself with Trepassey and the surrounding communities, looked for potential accommodations and made a few personal contacts at the Southern Avalon Development Association. One such contact proved very helpful initially and throughout the entire study.

Data for this study were collected through personal interviews. The interviews I carried out consisted of both structured and open-ended questions. This allowed me to maintain control of the interviews, gather the necessary quantitative data, while allowing respondents to answer qualitative questions freely.

I constructed an interview schedule which consisted of four sections. Section one, Personal Information, was used to gather information about the person such as age, education, income and household composition. Section two, Background Information, obtained details about the types of household tasks that the father and mother performed, parents' employment status and the types of household tasks the respondents were responsible for when growing up. Section three, Pre-Crisis Data, gathered information about who usually performed a list of household tasks and how much time the person spent on such tasks before the fishery closures. Data were collected in tabular form. Tables included seven different components of domestic labour. The different components and the tasks included in each are as follows: (1) Routine Housework - cleaning the bathroom, cooking, dusting, doing laundry, ironing, making beds, serving meals, sewing\mending, cleaning floors, vacuuming and washing dishes\loading dishwasher (2) Household Finances - paying bills, banking and tax returns (3) Child Care - diapering children, disciplining children, dressing children, minding children, playing with children, putting children to bed, taking children to school, caring for a sick child, taking children to doctor and taking children to sports (4) Running Errands - going shopping, going to the grocery store, running other errands (5) Home Maintenance and Construction - cutting grass, disposing of garbage, household electrical repairs, household plumbing repairs, shovelling snow, gardening, indoor painting, and plastering (6) Vehicle Maintenance - changing oil, replacing fanbelt and repairing brakes (7) Subsistence Production -

picking berries, growing vegetables, cutting wood, pickling\making jam, knitting\making clothes, hunting and fishing for home consumption. In addition, this section included a few open-ended questions. Section four, Present Day Data, gathered information about who usually performed domestic tasks and how much time the person spent on tasks in their everyday life since the fishery closures. Data were collected in the same tabular form as in section three, including the same components of domestic labour and household tasks. This section also included some open-ended questions. See Appendix for a copy of the interview schedule.

In January 1994, two trial interviews were conducted to test the interview format. These were set up through a personal contact at the Southern Avalon Development Association. These two interviews resulted in some minor refinements and revisions to the interview format. At the same time arrangements were made for my lodging and meals. The people I resided with were extremely cordial, welcoming and made me feel right at home.

Research for this study commenced in February 1994. A sample of 36 people was obtained by random selection from the telephone directory. The sample consisted of an equal number of fishery family households from each of the three categories previously defined. That is, 12 households in which the male was an offshore fisherman, 12 in which the male was a fish plant worker and 12 in which the female was a fish plant worker.

Starting with a random selection, every tenth name was chosen from the

telephone directory and a list of potential respondents was compiled. A personal contact was very helpful with this stage of the research process. Rather than calling every tenth name to find out if they qualified for the study, the contact eliminated those that did not qualify through personal knowledge. Being born and raised in Trepassey the contact knew just about everyone listed in the Trepassey directory including their approximate age, marital status and occupation or previous occupation. After I compiled my random list, the contact would advise me on who and who not to call. This saved me valuable time and in some cases embarrassment. For instance, if I had selected people who were deceased but still listed in the directory, the contact would say to me laughing "my love don't call him, he's dead". This selection process was continued until I completed 36 interviews.

Having obtained a list of prospective respondents, I then telephoned people to try to book interviews. Initially, I was very successful. I started with the selection of female plant workers for two reasons. First of all, I thought the women would be more receptive than men, considering the research topic. Secondly, I personally felt more comfortable in the beginning of the study with speaking to women. Fortunately, I only had to make 13 calls to book the 12 interviews required. The interviews were held at the scheduled times with no cancellations. It was as if the women were glad to have someone drop by for a cup of coffee and desserts. They were not apprehensive at all about my intentions or what I might be asking them. The women were very open with information related to the interview and in many

cases discussed aspects of their personal lives that went far beyond the scope of the interview. They talked about deaths in their families, marital problems, separations, affairs and other community gossip.

Having interviewed the 12 female plant workers, I started my random selection of male plant workers and offshore fishermen. The selection was carried out in the same manner as with the women. Every tenth name was selected from the telephone directory, an extensive list of possible respondents was compiled and the qualified people were sorted out by the contact. Obtaining and scheduling the interviews, however, proved much more difficult than it had been for the women. The men were much more apprehensive about the interview and my intentions. They were less interested and less willing to help me in my research process. This may have been because they did not appreciate what I was doing. They may have thought I was a government agent investigating abuse of the compensation package. There were a few men, however, that were very obliging and agreed to the interview when I first contacted them.

With regard to the male plant workers, it took 22 contacts and some convincing to obtain the 12 interviews required. Except for those few who accepted immediately to do the interview, the process was at times frustrating. A few examples will illustrate the resistance I encountered.

Upon contact, one man agreed that it would be no problem for me to come speak to him, so a time was scheduled for the interview. I arrived at his home to

conduct the interview and he was not there. I called him later to re-book and he said he would get back to me. He never called me back. On a subsequent trip to Trepassey, he simply avoided me. Finally, a contact intervened. He knew the man well and said to him one day "listen when are you going to talk to that young girl?" That afternoon the interview was conducted. Ironically, this was one of the longest interviews I did. Once he met me and we started talking, he continued above and beyond the content of the interview schedule. He offered me coffee and told me to come back at any time.

Another male plant worker I contacted claimed that he was just too busy at that time. I explained to him that the interview would only take about forty-five minutes and I could conduct it at any time that would be convenient for him. He still said he never had the time. When I asked him if it would be alright if I contacted him on my next trip to Trepassey to see if he would be available, his response was "can't you find someone else to talk to". With that I thanked him for his time and never called him back.

With not much success the wives of some of the male plant workers were contacted to see if they could intervene in convincing their partners to talk to me. This strategy worked for only one contact out of three.

Finally, as a last resort, personal contacts at the Southern Avalon Development Association arranged three interviews for me. The men were more inclined to accept to do the interview if someone they knew and trusted asked them.

Arranging the 12 interviews with offshore fishermen was much easier thanks to very helpful personal contacts. Initially, it was evident I was going to have the same problems booking interviews as I had with the male fish plant workers. After making five contacts with offshore fishermen I had only been able to conduct two interviews. Upon presenting my randomly selected list of offshore fishermen to one contact, however, he immediately got on the phone and arranged eight of the twelve interviews. He was a respected man in the community and no one refused his request to speak with me. In addition, a personal contact arranged one interview, while the final interview was arranged by a contact at the Southern Avalon Development Association. The research for this study concluded in September 1994, eight months after its commencement.

In addition to the interviews, I recorded field notes of any observations relevant to the study. Since the majority of interviews (34 out of 36) took place in the respondents' homes, I was able to observe some aspects of the domestic division of labour, family life and spousal relationships.

In terms of the domestic division of labour, a number of observations were made. I observed a husband doing laundry, a wife knitting, a wife preparing a meal, a son doing laundry, a babysitter caring for children and a mother cleaning the kitchen to name a few. Such observations added to the validity of the respondents' answers as to who does what tasks around the home.

Observation also provided insight into the dynamics of family life. For

instance, the behaviour of children was especially interesting. There were some households in which children were well behaved and others in which the parent seemed to have no control. Interestingly, of the interviews done with men where children were present, all were well behaved. In fact, one young girl sat on her father's lap and never interrupted the interview. A few of the interviews with the women did not go so smoothly. In some households the children would be told to "watch T.V or play because mommy is busy". The children would not be seen or heard from. On the other hand, there were households that were chaotic. Even after being told to be good and quiet, the children were running around and continually interrupting. Such interviews did not last very long. This revealed something about the dynamics of family life with respect to child care. It seemed that fathers had disciplinary control over their children, whereas this was not always the case for mothers.

Furthermore, observation allowed for insight into spousal relationships. In some cases where both partners were present during the interview, the power structure within the relationship was evident. For example, an interview with a female respondent was continually interrupted by her partner. When I first arrived he was watching T.V in the living room. When I got to the point in the interview where I was asking about who did what tasks he came to the kitchen to have his say. He went as far to say that his partner was "lying" about which tasks she performed before the closure of the fish plant and which tasks she performs since

the closure of the plant. He claimed he did much more around the house than she was giving him credit for. While this may have been true, it made the interview difficult. I would ask her a question, she would respond and he would respond with "that's not true". Since I was interviewing her, I recorded her responses to lessen the confusion. He obviously wanted to be involved in the interview and in doing so undermined his partner's credibility.

In addition to the above example, which shows the male partner having power over the female, there were a few cases where the reverse was observed. The three cases that come to mind were essentially the same. Even though the interview was with the male partner, the female did most of the talking. I would ask the male a question and he would look to his partner for some type of response, either verbal or non-verbal, before he would respond. In fact, for some questions the partner would answer for him. Whether the male requested the presence of his partner or she insisted on being there is unknown. Whichever the case, it showed the powerful role the female played in the relationship. This, however, is in contrast to most of the cases where either the female partner was not present or if she was she simply went about her business during the interview.

Having collected the data, the next stage in the research process was analysis. Although I had some open-ended questions which resulted in qualitative data, the majority of questions resulted in quantitative data. This was especially the case for questions related to the focus of the study, how much time was spent on

household tasks and who did which tasks both before and since the fishery closures? The answers to these questions resulted in much data. The only way to analyze the data effectively and efficiently was with the computer program SPSS - Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. The program generated frequency distributions, cross tabulations and statistics. This provided the necessary information to draw conclusions about the study.

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH STUDY

Despite the success of the research process, there were some problems associated with this study that are worth noting. First of all, the fact that the fish plant closed one year earlier (1991) than the fishery (1992) must be considered. The households in which male and female plant workers were interviewed had been affected longer by the fishery closures than the offshore fishermen's households. When looking at changes in the domestic division of labour in offshore fishermen's households, it must be considered that more change may have been evident had the fishery closed when the fish plant did. It would be interesting to interview the same offshore fishermen after another year to see if this is true. Does more time since the fishery closures equal more change in the domestic division of labour?

Important to note also is the fact that there was an unequal number of men and women interviewed, 24 men and 12 women. Therefore, there were more data

available on male perceptions of the domestic division of labour than on female perceptions. This was unavoidable for three reasons. First, there were simply more men involved in the fishery as either offshore fishers or fish plant workers. It was important for an accurate analysis of the fishery crisis to include both categories of men. Since there were no female offshore fishers, I was left with female plant workers. Secondly, time and budget did not allow me to make up for the unequal numbers. That is, it would have taken more time and money to interview an additional 12 women to total the 24 interviews done with men. Finally, I wanted to keep my sample size manageable. The 36 interviews I conducted provided sufficient data for the thesis.

Another problem associated with the study was that I only interviewed the partner directly affected by the fishery crisis; that is, the partner who lost their job due to the closure of the fish plant or the moratorium on the cod fishery. Therefore, the interviews are one sided in that I did not get the other partner's perceptions. Once again, this was due to limited time, budget and maintaining a manageable sample size. It would have been necessary to interview the partner separately to avoid the chaos and contradictions that were alluded to earlier when both partners were present during the interview. To do this would have meant doubling my sample size from 36 to 72. This was just not feasible. This study was, therefore, conducted with the assumption that the respondents gave accurate and reliable responses.

Furthermore, there was a problem with the interview schedule that was not

evident until several interviews were conducted. An important part of the study was to determine if there were any changes in the amount of time being spent on household tasks. Therefore, each respondent was asked the approximate number of hours spent per week on the seven components of domestic labour both prior to and since the fishery closures. For the components of home maintenance\construction and subsistence production it was often impossible for respondents to calculate the amount of time spent per week for these two components because most of the tasks depended on such things as seasons and necessity. For example, for shovelling snow a typical response was "well I do that when it needs to be done. Some weeks not at all, while other weeks a lot. It all depends". Also, for picking berries a typical response was "well I do that a lot when they're in season, which is only a couple of weeks a year". It was often impossible to calculate an average number of hours per week consistently over a period of time. Therefore, the data analysis only includes average number of hours per week that were spent on the components of routine housework, household finances, child care, running errands and vehicle maintenance. The amount of time spent per week on these components of domestic labour was measurable.

Finally, as alluded to earlier, it was much more difficult to obtain interviews with men than women. This resistance was anticipated, yet it slowed down my interviewing and resulted in more time in the field than I had anticipated. In defence of the men, however, I would like to note that although it was difficult to get them to

agree to the interview, they were very obliging and informative when the interviews were conducted. Once the barrier between stranger and informant was broken, the men were comfortable talking to me. When they realized I was a fellow Newfoundlander and student trying to shed some light on the fishery crisis which has devastated many of their lives, and not a government agent or someone with ulterior motives, the interviews were very successful.

CHAPTER THREE - THE EMERGENCE OF THE FISHERY CRISIS

In order to understand why there is a cod moratorium in Newfoundland waters, one needs to examine who controlled the fishery and how it was managed. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical analysis of the Newfoundland fishery from the 15th century through to the 20th century but with special emphasis on the most recent years. It focuses on the role of the state and fishery policy in the collapse of the fishery. This analysis provides the context for what has happened to the Newfoundland cod fishery, thus an understanding of the devastation that fishery people of Newfoundland face today.

Newfoundland from the beginning has lived by the products of the sea and its early history is essentially that of the cod fishery. After the discovery of Newfoundland by John Cabot in 1497, fishermen of Western Europe came year after year to Newfoundland to fill their boats with cod for the markets of the Old World (Prowse 1896:3-4).

More than a century later there was a significant English and French presence on the Island. The period 1660-1713, however, was a time of Anglo-French rivalry. The English had settled the Island first and the presence of the French was seriously affecting the fortunes of the English fishery. In 1713 the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht established British sovereignty while allowing the French limited access during the fishing season (Matthews 1988:103). This rivalry

that started centuries ago continues in the present day.

While the resident population grew slowly throughout the 18th century, by the early 1800s there was a substantial group of people of English and Irish origin who had settled on the island. This was a result of the biggest watershed in the history of the early Newfoundland cod fishery which occurred during the war period between 1793 and 1815. An almost unlimited demand for salt fish resulted in high prices and a 100 per cent increase in both exports and population (Ryan 1990:4).

This prosperity, however, did not last for long. The depression which spanned the early 1870s through the early 1890s was devastating to Newfoundland's economy. This period was associated with sluggish growth of the economy, falling or stagnant prices and a squeeze on business profits (Alexander 1977:19). Export prices for salt cod fish sank from \$3.82 a quintal in 1880-1884 to \$2.89 in 1895-1899, a collapse of around 32 per cent (Alexander 1980:23).

The 1880s was an important benchmark in Newfoundland's economic history:

During the decades when the traditional economy was approaching its maximum extensive growth, government had begun to search for a development strategy which would reduce the rate of inshore fishery expansion and initiate its relative decline (Alexander 1980:25).

The most famous statement of this goal was the report of the committee headed by William Whiteway which declared that:

...no material increase of means was to be looked for from our fisheries, and we must direct our attention to the growing requirements of the country (Alexander 1980:25).

The strategy that the committee proposed contained the essential features of the National Development Policy pursued by all 19th century territories of European settlement.

Newfoundland did not, from the late 19th century onwards, properly develop its fishery. Development policy took emphasis away from the fishery and focused on the expansion of agriculture and domestic manufacturing. This, however, proved unsuccessful. "Newfoundland's agricultural resources were meagre, while local demand was too limited to permit manufacturing to expand significantly" (Sinclair 1987:16).

As a result of the withdrawal of capital from the fishery, due to government regulation and policy, Newfoundland from this point on was left in a relatively backward position. Newfoundland did not keep pace with other countries such as Iceland that began a process of technological change, product development and economic diversification (Sinclair 1987:12). Instead, the Newfoundland fishery was characterized by poor quality products, disorganized marketing and restricted utilization of resources. Such factors set the stage for underdevelopment and subsequent problems in the Newfoundland fishery.

In an attempt to regulate marketing and standards in the fishery, William Coaker in 1908 organized the Fishermen's Protective Union. The goal of the union was to seek protection against wild swings in the market value of output in the face of more stable and inexorably rising prices of inputs and consumption goods. The

union tried to break the domination of the merchant's link to the outside world and thereby stabilize and improve the returns to fishermen (Alexander 1977:20).

Despite its good intentions, the union was unsuccessful. While the union spread quickly along the north east coast in the mainly Protestant section of the island, the union was met with opposition in the Catholic areas of the east and south coasts. The Catholic church was a major obstacle because:

Coaker with his call for elected school and road boards, his contemptuous dismissal of excessive denominational nonsense and his proposal of non-denominational schools in small outports was seen as a challenge to the paternalism of clerical influence that went hand in glove with the authoritarian economic order (MacDonald 1980:165).

The failure of the Fishermen's Protective Union helped to ensure that Newfoundland's underdevelopment continued. Coaker's policy could have proved an effective strategy if implemented. The organized opposition of fishermen could have brought about investment, effective marketing and conservation measures which would have promoted the development of the Newfoundland fishery (Sinclair 1988:14).

In 1925 Coaker advised a union convention that no solution to Newfoundland's problems could be obtained within the existing constitutional framework:

The only answer he suggested was to elect a nine man commission of government for a ten year period to carry out basic reforms, free from the meddling of political adventurers who were too susceptible to the fear of electoral reprisals from voters who were, in turn, demoralized by extravagant public spending (MacDonald 1980:171).

During the Great Depression of the 1930s Newfoundland's export earnings dropped, with the fishing industry most severely hit (Alexander 1980:35). The fishery of the 1930s was extremely depressed. While the fishery had changed in technology and organization, the industry:

...had not become industrialized through the introduction of steam powered, deep sea vessels and the economic base remained the production of salt cod supplemented by other species and by sealing (Sinclair 1987:23).

The Newfoundland government struggled with the prospect of bankruptcy and finally surrendered independence and dominion status when the commission that Coaker recommended was appointed by the British Colonial office in 1934 (Alexander 1980:34). The Commission of Government took several steps to intervene in the conduct of the fisheries in relation to policy issues.

When Commission Government was instituted, several emergency measures were taken to assist salt fish producers and a significant change was made to the process of marketing:

To assist fishermen whose incomes had collapsed since 1929, tariffs were reduced in 1934, gasoline rebates were permitted in 1936, a salt rebate for 1937-38 and a guaranteed minimum price for dried fish was introduced in 1938 at a cost of \$450,000 (Sinclair 1987:30).

Furthermore, in 1934 the government became directly involved in vessel construction and repair and by 1938, subsidies for private construction were provided (Sinclair 1987:30-31).

The Commission Government also acted quickly to improve the organization of the fisheries. It became involved in the organization of the inshore fishery through

the promotion of local co-operatives (Sinclair 1987:31). Such co-operatives were fought by the merchants who were protecting their domination of the fishery. Merchants were also opposed to regulation with regards to exports. The Commission Government, however, took decisive action in 1936 when it established the Newfoundland Fisheries Board. This was created with powers to regulate practically all aspects of production and marketing. This weakened the control and dominance that the merchants had over the fishery (Sinclair 1987:31).

While the Commission Government addressed organizational problems of the salt fish industry, it failed to develop a prosperous, well organized deep sea fishery. "By 1938 the dragger fishery had not expanded and only 51,000 pounds of fresh and frozen fillets were exported" (Sinclair 1987:32). With financial assistance from the state and the requirement of food in Britain, the Newfoundland frozen fish industry expanded through the 1940s. Despite this expansion it was still a relatively small component of the Newfoundland fisheries. Furthermore:

...it was organized as a vertically integrated capitalist enterprise system in which fishermen participated as unorganized, semi-skilled workers earning such low incomes and experiencing such unattractive working conditions that labour turnover was high (Sinclair 1987:34).

Although the policies of the Commission Government were progressive in a number of ways, the Newfoundland fisheries of the 1940s were underdeveloped and a threat to the many who depended on it to maintain an adequate standard of living (Sinclair 1987:34). Newfoundland had not modernized the fisheries over the years, as other countries had. Therefore, it was unable to compete with Iceland and

Norway, the two chief rivals in the cod fisheries, in world markets (Rowe 1980:409).

After the second World War, a devastated Britain had to decide what to do with the troublesome colony in North America, which had been under direct British rule since it had gone bankrupt in the early 1930s. The logical choice, for Britain, was that Newfoundland should become part of the Dominion of Canada. Under the leadership of Joseph Smallwood, Newfoundlanders voted for Confederation in 1949. One of the main aims of Smallwood's policies was to get the people of Newfoundland away from the traditional subsistence economy into the modern world of big industry (House et al. 1986:87).

This goal for an industrialized Newfoundland had a number of implications for fishery policy. The small boat inshore fishery would become a part of the past as small scale manufacturing and large scale resource projects would become the motor power for the economy of the new Newfoundland. Small fishing villages were to be resettled into regional growth centers and fisheries development would be concentrated on the more industrialized offshore sector (House et al. 1986:87).

Therefore, after Confederation, Newfoundland's fish trade was changed to fit a familiar Canadian pattern. One of the largest changes in the fishery was the switch from dried salted fish to frozen fish from the 1950s through to the 1970s.

The Newfoundland salt fish industry began its slow death with the marketing crisis of 1949 and 1950:

Production declined from some 53,000 metric tons in 1947/48 to some 33,000 metric tons by the early 1960s, with increasing shares of that

dwindling output consisting of low quality heavy salted fish (Alexander 1977:128).

After war time devastation, southern European markets were hard pressed for money, especially for importing salt fish. Newfoundland had to depend on Europe to convert payments in sterling into dollars. Since Iceland and Norway were already sterling areas, their fisheries expanded at Newfoundland's expense (Sinclair 1987:50). As stated in Alexander (1977:124), "(t)he fish trade of Canada as a dollar country, was in a rather artificial and ineligible position, vis-a-vis competitors in soft currency areas". Newfoundland was unable to compete with foreign competitors as a result of trade and marketing difficulties. The industry was further hindered by unhelpful domestic policies and the abandoning of the business by many of the major Newfoundland firms. Finally, by the 1960s the salt fish industry lacked the internal resources for regeneration and continued to be regarded by the federal authorities as something from the past that should not be encouraged (Alexander 1977:128).

To add to its demise, the salt fish industry was not effectively managed. The terms of reference of the 1953 Federal-Provincial Commission on the Newfoundland fishery, which was established to chart the future of the industry, did not include market prospects. The Canadian government was unwilling to acknowledge that the fishery problem reflected market and marketing weaknesses. The efforts that Newfoundland had made to change production and marketing in the salt fish industry fell apart (Alexander 1977:155-156).

The production of frozen groundfish for the American market became the dominant feature of fishing in Newfoundland. The expansion of the 1960s:

...was based more on cod blocks than on the higher valued, frozen fillets. Total production more than quadrupled between 1950 and 1969. During this time freezing plants spread to all regions of the island as indicated by a total of 36 which were in operation during 1970 (Sinclair 1987:45).

The industrialization of fish catching and the redirection of processing to frozen products were encouraged by the state through financial assistance, the relocation of the labour force through the resettlement program and biological and technological development (Sinclair 1987:51). A total of almost \$41 million dollars was advanced by the provincial government between 1950 and 1969 in loans and loan guarantees for plant construction, the purchase of trawlers and other fishing related activities (Sinclair 1987:53). Also, "both federal and provincial governments made important contributions through direct grants and loans to fishermen for the construction and modernization of fishing vessels" (Sinclair 1987:53). In fifteen years, from 1951 to 1966, nearly 1700 loans were made to individual fishermen. The loans were used to build longliners, to build other fishing craft of varying sizes and to purchase new equipment, such as marine engines (Rowe 1980:496). Finally, with respect to the resettlement program which lasted from 1953 through to 1975:

...the existence of this policy reflected a combination of disenchantment with the future of the inshore salt cod fish industry and a desire to reduce the costs of providing a level of public services adequate for an advanced industrial society (Sinclair 1987:54).

The impacts of this policy seemed to be minor but towards the end of the program

it was evident that it contributed to a reduction in the number of active inshore fishermen (Sinclair 1987:55).

From the 1950s through to the 1970s the bulk of provincial and federal expenditure went to promote processing companies and the longliner, nearshore fisheries. The reasoning behind this policy was that technological improvements would lead to more profitable fisheries, while displaced labour would be absorbed through general economic development (Sinclair 1987:55).

The fishery of the 1970s was characterized by modern labour production. It was highly complex in its linkage with local, regional, national and international markets. These trends continued through to the post World War Two tragedy of the commons and the relentless competition for increasingly decimated stocks (Anderson 1979:19). Up until the late 1970s the Newfoundland fishery was unmanaged. The main cause of the weaknesses in Newfoundland's fishing industry was severe over-fishing by foreign deep sea draggers, which enjoyed unrestricted access to the rich fishing grounds of Newfoundland and Labrador (House et al. 1986:102). Foreign trawlers were taking more fish than Canadian ships, the standard of living for fishermen was low due to low prices and fish companies were having difficulty reaching adequate profit levels (Sinclair 1987:55-56). With such conditions pressure to change existing policies increased. There was a call for public management of fisheries resources.

Finally, in 1977 the 200 mile fisheries management zone was declared. This

enabled the Canadian government to manage the fishery over a far greater area of the Grand Banks and to strengthen the economic basis of the fishery (Rowe 1980:497). The overall aim of fisheries policy, both federal and provincial, was to promote orderly growth and reduce social conflict in the fishery without changing the institutional structure any more than necessary. In addition to the declared management zone, the response to the 1970s crisis resulted in a major expansion of the involvement of the state through quota controls and licensing. Quotas were set for various fleets, all commercial fishermen were licensed and entry to particular fisheries was limited (Sinclair 1987:79).

These policy measures, however, did not necessarily bring about effective management of the fishery. Fishery officials recognized that fisheries' surveillance was difficult and that foreign over-fishing on the nose and tail of the Grand Banks, which were outside the 200 mile limit, both constituted a major threat to Canadian stocks (House et al. 1986:104). Furthermore, quota controls and licensing offered no permanent solutions; in fact, they generated new problems and contradictions.

Quotas, for example, displaced competition and conflict over fish from the open waters to the state forum. The federal government, provincial government and interest groups formed a complex organizational network to set quotas. A fishing plan was produced to regulate catches by quota and season, according to vessel size and type of gear (Sinclair 1988:166).

The federal government produced a management plan for the various fleet sectors in which less efficient side trawlers gained access to the Gulf of St.

Lawrence and southern waters, while the stern draggers operated in the north and north east. No real limit was placed on the Newfoundland inshore fleet, although a nominal allowance was specified on the understanding that it might be exceeded. The foreign cod quota was gradually reduced, stocks began to recover and, in 1979, the Newfoundland fleet obtained approximately 80 per cent of the total catch. For 1984, the total allowable catch for northern cod was set at 266,000 metric tons, with a Canadian quota of 246,000 metric tons from which 115,000 were allocated to the inshore sector (Sinclair 1987:87).

Total allowable catches, however, levelled off and the relatively poor recovery was blamed on foreign over-fishing. The provincial government took a stand to have jurisdiction extended to the edge of the continental shelf and in 1985 it was passed in the House of Assembly (Sinclair 1988:167).

Government regulation was being disputed by fishermen because the harvesting capacity exceeded the quotas that were allocated. As a result, there was conflict between the inshore and offshore sectors. In 1986 the inshore sector received an allowance of about 38 per cent of the total allowable catch, the same as the deep sea trawlers. Owners of the deep sea trawlers protested that they did not receive enough fish in the quotas to maintain the year-round landings that were necessary to keep fish plants operating and to make the trawler fishery viable. If it was up to the provincial government, however, the inshore sector would have received 85 per cent of the total allowable catch (Sinclair 1988:167).

The allocation of quotas to different sectors of the fishing fleet did not, however, resolve the problem of competition for the fish stocks. "For 1982, the total quota for all deep sea companies was divided into individual enterprise allocations

assigned on the basis of past performance" (Sinclair 1988:168). This strategy reduced competition and fish companies could plan the most suitable time to harvest fish without any pressure to increase investments in order to beat the competition. This was incorporated into the groundfish management plan from 1984 through to 1989 (Sinclair 1988:168).

Furthermore, the government's allocations policy made it nearly impossible for others to take part in the fishery and it assumed that companies would report catches honestly. The reporting of catches was especially problematic. Catches were extremely low in both 1985 and 1986. After a decade of resource management, over-fishing once again became a major problem. Foreign vessels were thought to be crossing the 200 mile limit and Canadian trawlers were accused of dumping small fish and only reporting the large fish that were landed. Many believed that these two factors were responsible for the overall desperate state of the fishery (Sinclair 1988:168).

The second part of the comprehensive policy of resource management was licensing. In 1980 a registration system was initiated. It was announced by the minister, Romeo Le Blanc, that fishers would be issued with licenses that categorized them as full-time or part-time fishers:

A fisherman will be classified full-time if he fishes consistently during the fishing season in his area and has little other income except on a limited basis from such things as farming or logging (Sinclair 1988:169).

It was thought that such a registration system would eliminate moonlighters from the

fishery. A 1982 report showed that most part-time fishers had lower total incomes than full-time fishers, took only 17 per cent of the catch and obviously were not responsible for the depletion of the cod stocks (Sinclair 1988:169-170).

More important was the limited entry licensing program. This program began in 1967 with Maritime lobster fishers and spread to include those fishing for other species of shellfish, salmon and herring. It was not until 1978, however, that a six month freeze was placed on all groundfish vessel licenses. Limited entry into the fishery was supported by officials in the belief that it would protect incomes of those fishing and reduce the fiscal burden on the state when the fishery was in crisis. This theory was disproven by the fact that the number of fishers and their incomes declined in Newfoundland. The situation, however, might have been worse if limited entry licensing had not been applied (Sinclair 1988:171).

There were several negative consequences of limited entry licensing. First of all, the social cost was high. There was much resentment directed against men whose incomes, ten-times higher than the average, were protected by federal policy. Also, limited entry licensing restricted the flexibility of the individual entrepreneur to choose the most profitable fishery for his/her resources and skill. Furthermore, there was the problem of inconsistencies in the application of the policy. On several occasions there were breaches of policy such as granting new licensing and permits. The most significant, however, was the decision in 1985 to allow National Sea to operate a factory freezer trawler. This broke a policy that was

written into the Canada-Newfoundland fisheries agreement of 1983 which refused such vessels in Canada. This breach revealed the loss of influence that the Newfoundland Government and its people had over the fishery in the face of corporate demand. Finally, the possession of a license introduced a new dimension of social inequality and conflict. The political ideal of orderly economic expansion was not realized. Quotas and licensing made the state an even greater participant in Newfoundland fisheries (Sinclair 1988:171-176).

In addition to management, quota and licensing policies, another policy that greatly affected Newfoundland's fishery was the policy developed by a federal task force that was chaired by Michael Kirby. After experiencing a brief burst of prosperity from 1977 to 1979, the fishery was in another crisis by 1980. Atlantic Canada's major fish companies over-expanded in the late 1970's. Weak prices combined with rising interest rates and other costs threatened them with ruin by late 1981. Fishermen were also suffering but this was a secondary concern to the immediate bankruptcies of the big companies (House 1988:183). The fishermen, trawlermen and plant workers were all organized by the Newfoundland Food and Allied Workers Union, which was the center of opposition to the fish companies in 1980, as each struggled to maintain its position in a weakened industry (Sinclair 1987:115).

The results of this crisis were disputes, strikes and plant closures. The task force was appointed to investigate the situation and recommend policy (Sinclair

1990:2). The task force recommended several changes in the fishery but most important was its bold assertion of a basic philosophy for fisheries development. Kirby argued that government had to make a choice about which goal was more important, economic viability or employment. Kirby believed:

...it is essential to develop an Atlantic fishing industry that does not require regular or periodic government subsidies in order to survive...Economic viability must, therefore, be the primary concern of government policy makers (House et al. 1986:118).

The main recommendation that came out of the Kirby Report was that five big companies should be restructured into two even bigger companies. From 1981 the majority of federal government financial support for the fishing industry went towards this restructuring. Out of National Sea Products, Fishery Products, H.B. Nickerson and Sons and The Lake Group emerged a Nova Scotia based company, National Sea Products and a Newfoundland based company, Fishery Products International (House 1988:185).

The formation of Fishery Products International, however, did not give Newfoundland a significant say in the fishery. The federal government held 60 per cent of the common shares and took 5 of the 11 seats on the board. Newfoundland held 25 per cent and appointed 3 directors. The Bank of Nova Scotia obtained 12 per cent of the voting shares and elected 1 director. Finally, the Newfoundland Food and Allied Workers Union acquired 3 per cent of the voting stock and placed 1 representative on the board (Sinclair 1987:127).

The reorganization, however, did little to change marketing practices and left unresolved the needs of small entrepreneurs, processors and fishermen. More importantly, the fishery was not restructured to ensure expanded employment and productivity. That is, no attempt was made to establish a capital goods sector which would have channelled unwanted labour from fish plants and harvesting. As such, the industry remained under stress and was dependent on public support. The fishery carried the burden of employing so many people in difficult marketing conditions. While ownership changed, the majority of ownership was given to the federal government and the basic problems of the fishery remained (Sinclair 1987:128-129).

As a policy document the Kirby Report had a number of implications for Newfoundland. The task force report was conservative in that it resulted in the continuation of the existing order. It failed to see any problem in principle with the concentration of capital ownership in the fishing industry. Moreover, although the task force did not reject public involvement in certain circumstances, a preference was expressed in favor of the capitalist form of production. As a result, the task force was unwilling to recognize the conflict of interest between fishermen and processors concerning the price of fish. Had this imbalance of power been acknowledged, it would have been more difficult to promote a further concentration of capital and a reorganization of first-hand marketing would not have been dismissed so easily. In considering changes in marketing structure, the task force

rejected an auction system, which would have required a higher degree of centralization of landings and competition among buyers than existed. The source of tension and conflict in the port market, the point of first sale, was not dealt with. Also, there is no evidence that some form of collective ownership, such as producers' co-operatives, was considered. The acceptance of collective bargaining with short term price subsidies, in addition to a long term co-operative development plan, may have been a strategy that better suited the social problems of the Newfoundland fisheries. Finally, the most serious flaw was that fisheries policy was presented as if in a vacuum. The fishery was not viewed in the wider context of regional development. The neglect of policy makers to see the fisheries as a source of general development left Newfoundland in a state of underdevelopment (Sinclair 1987:140-142).

Initially, however, the restructuring implemented by the task force provided much optimism with respect to the offshore fishery. Much progress was made in the early years for both Fishery Products International and National Sea. This good fortune, however, did not last. A resource shortage was behind the economic woes that forced several middle sized producers to go bankrupt and led Fishery Products International and National Sea to cut back their operations (Sinclair 1990:4).

By 1990 northern cod declined in both numbers and weight and fishing mortality was far too high at 45 per cent (Sinclair 1990:22). This over-fishing was not attributed to the inshore sector. In fact, the inshore fishery was experiencing low

catches throughout the 1980s. With the exception of 1992, the fish did not come into the inshore and nearshore fishing grounds on the east coast of Newfoundland (Fairley 1990:178). The stock depletion was caused by the highly efficient deep sea trawlers in the Atlantic and probably by nearshore draggers in the Gulf (Sinclair 1990:22). The northern cod beyond the 200 mile limit were subjected to heavy pressure from European fleets on the nose and tail of the Grand Banks. In fact, Spain and Portugal took five times what Canada considered an acceptable amount in 1989 (Sinclair 1990:22). In July 1992 the cod moratorium was announced. Cod stocks were depleted to the point that the fishery could not survive. Insufficient stocks resulted in fish plant closures and a fishery that was in dire straights.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has mapped out the emergence of the fishery crisis in Newfoundland focusing on the role of the state and fishery policy in the collapse of the fishery. After reviewing the literature, it can be concluded that in terms of the fishery, Newfoundland's experience is one of underdevelopment rather than development. The condition of the Newfoundland fisheries was a result of internal class and political factors.

As outlined in this chapter, there were two time periods in which a more diversified development might have taken place. Between 1880 and 1920, the

Newfoundland fishery was based on the inshore cod fishery and the production of salt fish, while other countries diversified their industries by improving quality and technologies. Internal class and political factors that created this situation included the system of mercantile credit which took capital away from fishermen, the withdrawal of merchants and shipowners when they saw the chances for profit elsewhere, the failure of the state to contribute needed resources to fisheries development and the opposition of the merchants to William Coaker's policies of reform (Sinclair 1987:143).

Newfoundland lost its second opportunity at development and prosperity in the fishery after it became part of Canada in 1949. Deep sea harvesting and frozen fish production were encouraged but no attempt was made to build a capital goods sector. That is, development only focused on catching and processing. A more diversified fishing industry based on the manufacturing of such things as motors, pulleys and fish finding equipment would have proven beneficial in terms of both capital investment and job creation (Sinclair 1987:143). In addition to the failure to develop the fishing industry adequately, the fishery was improperly managed. State involvement in management, quota and licensing policies proved to be problematic. The federal government had majority ownership of the fishery and often made policy decisions that were not in the best interest of Newfoundland and its fishery people.

From this analysis the collapse of the fishery can be attributed to internal

class and political factors. Maybe if alternative strategies of capital investment, diversification and management were implemented throughout the history of the fishery, the cod moratorium would not be a reality.

CHAPTER FOUR - HISTORY OF TREPASSEY

While the previous historical analysis can be applied to the Newfoundland fishery generally, it is important to note that individual communities have their own specific histories. This is certainly the case of the community in which I chose to conduct my fieldwork, Trepassey.

"Trepassey is simultaneously the name of a harbor at the head of the bay, and a community which has grown up along the harbor's shoreline" (Nemec 1972:2). Trepassey is situated on the extreme southern tip of Newfoundland between Cape Race and Cape Pine. Located approximately 137 kilometers south of St. John's, the town of Trepassey has an approximate geographic location of longitude 53 27 degrees west and latitude 46 41 degrees north. The nearest settlements are Portugal Cove South, Biscay Bay, St. Shotts and Peter's River (Nemec 1973a:17-18).

"For nearly five centuries Trepassey has been a fishing port. As one of Newfoundland's ancient fishing capitals it is also one of Canada's oldest European settlements" (Trepassey Museum 1987). Early occupation and settlement, however, was not followed by rapid development.

Until the 18th century, the majority of fishermen who used the harbor at Trepassey were migratory fishermen. The fishing fleets that came to Trepassey represented several Western nations such as France, Portugal and England

(O'Rourke & Kennedy 1975:2). After 1713, however, the English migratory ship fishery had virtually disappeared. It was replaced by a new combination of residents or inshore fishermen, bye boat men and bank ships (Nemec 1973a:20).

By the latter part of the 18th century there was a significant permanent year-round population of both English and Irish origin (Nemec 1973a:22). Beginning in the 1790's and continuing through to 1825, however, a significant component of Trepassey's English population withdrew. The English were replaced by a sizeable influx of Irish. In fact, the influx of Irish immigrants was so great it overrode the carrying capacity of major harbors along the south east coast, including Trepassey. New settlements such as St. Shotts and Biscay Bay alleviated pressures on the land and the fishery that immigration caused (Holland-MacDonald 1988:48).

According to Nemec (1973a:23), the social divisions in Trepassey in the latter part of the 18th century were based on class differences, and not ethnic or religious differences. The upper class consisted of merchants or agents, resident clergy and prominent planters and bye boat keepers. The merchants or agents gained their status by virtue of their economic grip on the local population and economy. This hold was reinforced if one of their class served as magistrate or Justice of the Peace (Nemec 1973a:24). The clergy were respected because of their connection with the church, their responsibility for the spiritual well being of the residents and their removal from the economic sphere (Holland-MacDonald 1988:50). With respect to planters, there were various levels or grades. Those belonging to the

upper class were fairly prosperous and might have had as many as twenty or thirty fishermen-servants in their employ. Also, the prosperous bye boat keepers in the upper class had many men in their employ (Nemec 1972:31).

The middle class, thus consisted of minor planters and bye-boat keepers. This diminished status was probably related to their length of residence in the settlement. Those who did not reside on a year-round basis had diminished status (Nemec 1972:31). Finally, the lower class consisted of those people who were short term residents and manual workers who maintained themselves and their families at or near a subsistence level (Nemec 1972:31).

Since class determined the social divisions in Trepassey, ethnic or religious differences did not matter. Genealogical data, information from informants and census returns showed that most of the English and Irish who settled at Trepassey integrated relatively quickly to form a fairly cohesive Anglo-Irish community (Nemec 1973a:26). The two main reasons for this integration were inter-marriage and religious conversion. People may have inter-married for such reasons as the need for close knit co-operation during the summer fishery, given its labour intensive nature. Furthermore, most of the religious conversion to Catholicism occurred prior to the arrival of the first resident priest, Jeremiah O'Neill, in 1843. This is supported by the fact that only four Protestant adults were baptized Catholic in the parish, which included settlements from Cape Race to St. Shotts, during his entire stay from 1843 to 1861 (Nemec 1973a:26). The arrival of Reverend O'Neill:

...added a new dimension to the socio-political hierarchy of the community and laid the foundation for church dominance which only began to lessen during the last decade or so (Holland-MacDonald 1988:52).

Quantitative data on Trepassey shows that the Harbor's population grew from 247 in 1836 to 541 in 1857, an increase of 194 or 35 per cent. It is argued that this increase was due not to immigration, but quite simply to natural increase (Nemec 1973b:17). Furthermore, the Island's fishery was undergoing sufficient change or simply growing enough to support the rapidly increasing population through the development of the inshore fishery (Nemec 1973b:17). In 1857:

...while 198 people indicate they are engaged in catching and curing fish, not one single person with the exception of the priest indicated he or she was engaged in an alternative activity (e.g., farmer, merchant/trader, or mechanic) (Nemec 1973b:17).

Also, from a religious standpoint, Trepassey had become homogeneous despite being ethnically heterogeneous. Out of a population of 541, 529 were Catholic, while the remainder expressed no religious preference (Nemec 1973b:17). Finally, the 1857 census provides an interesting demographic profile of Trepassey's population. The census shows that:

Trepassey was undergoing the transition from a fishing port whose labour force consisted primarily of unmarried males to a settled community with an underlying familial social structure (Nemec 1972:46).

"The 1874 and 1884 census returns reinforce the impression of Trepassey as a fully mature outpost, whose economy continued to be centered on the fishery" (Nemec 1973b:18). In addition to showing a considerable increase in population, these census returns provided insight into the changing nature of community life in

Trepassey.

First of all, the old West Country merchant firms were replaced by merchants or their agents who had their headquarters in St. John's, the commercial capital.

Each merchant:

... had a territory along the Shore within which he strove to monopolize the fish trade. This meant he employed many fishermen to work for him, and in return he was guaranteed their annual catch. The merchant-fishermen relationship was a highly complex reciprocal exchange relationship (Nemec 1973b:18).

This was a credit and debt relationship in which cash was not usually exchanged. The merchant supplied the fishermen and their families with sufficient food and necessities to survive the winter. If the fishing year was good the fishermen accumulated credit, but if the fishing year was bad they went into debt. As a result, the fishermen rarely accumulated capital and were dependent on the merchants rather than being independent (Nemec 1972:50). Merchants were seen as monopolists who, through their absolute control of the fishery, made fortunes at the expense of fishermen.

A second insight into the changing nature of community life in the 19th century was a change in the basic social structure of Trepassey. The 19th century clergy were no different than the 18th century clergy. "The parish priest was situated at the apex of the social scale" (Nemec 1973b:19). The priest, however, was joined by various authorities, officials, professional men and certain primary producers. This list was further complicated by the inclusion of a considerable variety of official

roles and public offices, thus:

...a graduated scale of local officials and authorities existed which spanned various classes. Only certain official ranks fell within the upper class, the remainder quite likely constituted an incipient middle class (Nemec 1972:56).

Within the middle class, some men continued on as inshore fishermen and subsistence producers because their public role demanded little time. As a result, there was a wide social gap between such men who were still manual laborers:

...and those few who found public service so lucrative that they could afford to give up fishing and subsistence production altogether (Nemec 1973b:19).

Since public official and inshore fisherman were roles sometimes held by the same person, inshore fishermen could not simply be classified as members of the lower social class. Instead:

...since fishermen overlap with local officialdom, it follows that some of their number could as well have belonged to an incipient middle class as well as to the lower class (Nemec 1973b:19-20).

In order to determine the actual status of fishermen, a status gradient emerged based on information received from informants and census data on the fishery (Nemec 1973b:20). Class distinctions were made primarily on the basis of the type and amount of gear the fishermen owned or utilized (Holland-MacDonald 1988:54). There were at least three primary classes of fishing technology and thus, fishermen, in the latter part of the 19th century. They were punt and dory, skiff and the banker or schooner. This hierarchy, however, was complicated by various gear or equipment combinations that were used and qualitative characteristics of

fishermen such as performance, skill and courage (Nemec 1973b:20).

With respect to reputation, entire male sibling sets could be considered the best fishermen over a number of years. In Trepassey, a major feature of the social structure was the patrilocal extended family. This unit was a multi-generational family, who owned major fishing capital and in some areas had privileged access to named fishing berths (Stiles 1979:191). Within these agnatic based crews there were social distinctions. A commonly observed pattern of social organization was for sons to fish under their father as skipper, or for brothers to fish together with the eldest assuming the skipper's role (Sinclair 1985:43). The skipper controlled all income and was responsible for the purchase of consumption goods and fishing supplies. His sons retained only a portion of their sharemen's payments from the fishery for their own use (Britan 1979:70). The crew maintained a company account in the skipper's name, to which the local merchant assigned expenses incurred by the crew. At the end of the fishing trip, these charges were deducted and the remainder of the money was divided equally among the partners (Sinclair 1985:43). If men had no grown sons or brothers to participate in the fishery, a shareman was hired. While some were quite conscientious and skilled, many were felt to be unsatisfactory in that they did not take an interest in looking after equipment and were not on hand year round to attend to tasks. Sharemen got a half of the share of the catch and their room and board during the fishing season (Firestone 1967:48). As such, sharemen constituted a low social class of unfranchised

fishermen (Nemec 1973b:20).

By the end of the 19th century Trepassey's population was increasing and its farming and fishing economy continued to expand and develop. Between 1891 and 1901, for example, the population increased from 684 to 793 and the number of farmer-fishermen (subsistence producers) increased slightly from 206 to 222. At the same time there was an increasing capital investment in fishing gear, thus a considerable increase in fishing productivity (Nemec 1973b:20-21).

This growth, however, was not sustained. Following World War 1:

As a direct result of the depression in the fishery, many unmarried individuals, as well as entire families, left Trepassey and migrated to the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, and in particular, to Boston and its suburbs and New York City and surrounding environs, including New Jersey. Altogether, Trepassey lost approximately one third of its population - by far the worst blow that the settlement ever suffered (Nemec 1972:62-63).

In the first half of the 20th century some sectors of Newfoundland's economy were affected by industrialization such as the pulp and paper industry. The fisheries, however, as discussed in Chapter Three did not become mechanized until after World War 2. "This was particularly true of the Southern Avalon, where a relatively pre-industrial small boat, inshore fishery predominated" (Nemec 1972:63).

In a traditional Newfoundland outpost such as Trepassey, labour was reproduced through a combination of commodity production, wage labour and unpaid domestic work:

Commodity production was a form of production which drew on the household for its labour supply and organizational structure. It depended on articulation with commodity markets to realize the value of what was

produced and to acquire both personal consumption goods and the means of production (Sinclair 1985:18).

This was certainly the form that the traditional inshore fishery took. As previously discussed, the fishery was conducted from boats crewed by family members. Once the fish were caught:

Women's work on the stages was the vital complement to men's catching efforts. Just as fishing required years of experience, so did curing require a committed, attentive and practiced presence (Antler 1981: 137).

The shore work women did was time consuming: the fish were split, placed in salt bulk, washed in sea water and dried on flakes (Faris 1972:193). The amount of time women spent on shore tasks, however, "varied from one region to the other, depending on the length of the season, the harvesting technology and the kinds of fish caught" (Williams 1996: 7). As discussed by Antler (1981: 137):

On the Northeast Coast, women would be required to work in the stages and flakes for four to five weeks. In Conception Bay the trap season may extend twice as long or even for twelve weeks and requires a correspondingly greater input of women's labour.

Williams (1996: 7-8), however, points out that on the South Coast and parts of the Southern Shore (Avalon Peninsula) women were not as involved in onshore work. Williams states that "curing was more often done by fishermen and local merchants, although women dried the fish caught by schooners fishing the Grand Banks" (Williams 1996: 7-8). That is, although the women of Trepassey played a role in fish curing, their involvement was not as vital and integral as contributions made by

women in other parts of the province as discussed in Porter (1983), Antler (1981) and Brox (1969).

It is important to note that regardless of the level of contribution that women made to the family fishery, early lawmaking in Newfoundland largely ignored the role women played. As stated in Cullum et al. (19: 74-75):

Numerous laws are rooted in the belief that women were, and are, the chattels of men, possessions to do with as men wished. With this prejudicial view, male legislators gave to men responsibilities considered too onerous for women: the right to vote, to sit on juries, to have custody of children, control of property and money or to run for public office.

With respect to the fishery such laws meant that women's work in the fishery was largely unrecognized:

At the end of the season, the work that a woman did curing the fish was credited to the fisherman in the merchant's records. Fishing knowledge, and access to fishing berths, were passed from father to son. Laws stipulated male inheritance of property in place of their mothers or wives (Williams 1996:8).

Despite the laws, the contributions women made to both the family based fishery and subsistence production were significant. Women not only cured fish, but tended gardens, kept cows and chickens, sheared sheep, picked berries, preserved food and performed overall household care and maintenance (Davis 1988: 215). In fact, it is said that "(t)he woman was more than 50%" (Porter 1983: 101). The other 50% that men contributed was different than women's contributions. That is, men and women worked in separate spheres. Although women participated in the fishery,

with the exception of some fisherwomen, the majority of women processed the fish that men caught. Women's work was overwhelmingly land-based, while men's work was sea-based. With respect to subsistence production, men performed mostly outdoor provisioning activities such as building boats, cutting wood and hunting. Therefore, in the traditional Newfoundland outport there was a division of labour based on what was considered women's work and men's work (Faris 1972; Firestone 1967). Commodity production, wage labour and unpaid subsistence work "was marked by extreme gender segregation" (Sinclair and Felt 1992:58).

It was not until the second half of the 20th century that the traditional inshore fishery in Trepassey changed:

As an outport whose economy was centered on the fishery, therefore, Trepassey did not undergo major change or growth until its fishery was modernized after Confederation with Canada in 1949...Indeed, it was not until the 1960's that the long term effects of Confederation began to influence the town's economy including the fishery, in a significant way (Nemec 1972:63).

As discussed in Chapter Three, one of the largest changes in the cod fishery was the switch from dried salted fish to fresh frozen fish from the 1950s through to the 1970s. During this time freezing plants were constructed in all regions of the Island, including Trepassey. Following the construction of the fish plant in 1954, Trepassey could boast for the first time in its history of a stable, year round source of gainful employment. The plant had the potential to absorb a large proportion of the available work force and not just that of Trepassey. Workers were attracted to the plant from virtually all of the settlements located between Cape English and

Cape Race (The Fishery In Trepassey 1987:2). Despite this gain, however, in 1954 Trepassey was without many public services. There were no electric lights, local government, fire fighting unit, water or sewage system or hospital. There was a public library, post office, resident nurse and Canadian National Telegraph office with telephone service to St. John's and the surrounding communities (Holland-MacDonald 1988:58).

The greatest number of changes in Trepassey's recent history occurred during the decade of the 1960s. The fish plant that was built in 1954 was replaced by a more modern plant in 1963 following a disastrous fire. The new fish plant was more technologically advanced and employed more residents. Furthermore, in 1966 a small fleet of deep sea draggers or trawlers was introduced. These were the Zeven, Zion, Zweelo, Zinder and Zebulon, commonly referred to as the "Z" fleet. They employed upwards to seventy men with an average of fourteen men per boat. Spending an average of ten days at sea, they landed approximately 145 thousand pounds of fish per trip (O'Rourke & Kennedy 1975:28). As a result, the fish plant operation exceeded the capacity of the Trepassey area to supply sufficient labour to maintain the plant and trawler operation at full production. The plant had to compete for wage labour with other private concerns and traditional subsistence production including the inshore fishery (Nemec 1972:64).

The modernization of the fishery changed the social organization of the fishery, the nature of the work and the traditional productive organization. With

respect to social organization, the introduction of the offshore dragger changed the agnatic based model of crew formation that characterized the traditional inshore fishery. That is, the hiring of kin did not take the same precedence as in the traditional fishery. The internal organization of the crew was hierarchical with the captain having authority. As discussed in Binkley (1994: 219), however:

Most captains said they had become disillusioned with the trawler fishing industry: in particular, they were dissatisfied with their loss of autonomy. They have no voice in the recruiting of the necessary crew, as onshore fleet managers assign crews from seniority lists and other formal criteria.

This erosion of autonomy had also affected crew members. That is:

... the crew have little or no say about whom they work for or with. They may be assigned to a good captain with a first-rate crew or to a miserable skipper with a poor crew. Yet the dangerous nature of the job dictates that they must be able to depend on their fellow crewmen and develop a trusting relationship with them (Binkley 1994: 21).

The industrialization of the deep-sea fishery had also changed the nature of the work. For the captains the intrusion of the fishing companies into their fishing practices had resulted in feelings of resentment. That is:

The daily hails - company instructions radioed to them at sea - tell them where, when and what to fish. This control of the vessel at sea is seen as an infringement on a captain's traditional authority (Binkley 1994: 21).

For the men on deck, there was a decline in the adventure and challenge of their job. As discussed in Binkley (1994: 219):

Technology now sets the pace of the work with which the crew must strive to keep up. Work on deck and in the hold has become routinized. Each individual performs a specific set of tasks without variation unless he changes his job designation.

Also, with respect to the nature of the work, the work schedule of the offshore fishery was quite different from that of the inshore day fishery where the fishermen came home every night:

A key feature of the offshore fishery is the punctuated rhythm of ten days or so of work at sea followed by forty-eight hours leisure on shore. It is this feature which produces extraordinary pressures on offshore fishers' households (Binkley and Thiessen 1988: 39).

Finally, the traditional productive organization of the fishery was changed with the advent of the offshore fishery. Particularly, modernization changed women's role in the fishery. As previously discussed, women played a role in salt cod production and in subsistence production. The switch to fresh frozen fish and the construction of the fish plant in Trepassey changed the processing role women played. That is, women were employed in the fish plant where they were paid for their labour, as compared to their work in the traditional fishery where they received no salary. As stated by Porter, women "had a direct relation with capital as individual workers" (Porter 1983:102). Initially, women "were seen as temporary workers, working for women's wages in the new fish plants" (Williams 1996:9). Fish plant work, however, proved to be more than just temporary work for women. In fact, women's share of the work in the processing sector in the province had risen from 16% in 1955 to about 40% in 1987 (Rowe 1991:1). For the Trepassey plant, in particular, 46% of the 621 people the plant employed were women (Robinson 1995: 166).

Despite women's increased participation in the paid labour force, however,

women continued to be responsible for most of the domestic work as discussed in Chapter One. In fact, whether employed or unemployed, women's role in the domestic sphere was further magnified if their partners were offshore fishermen. As discussed earlier, the work schedule of the deep sea fishery created pressures on offshore fishers' households. That is, the female partner assumed sole responsibility for the household during the ten days or so her partner was at sea, and then resumed the role of loving partner on his return. This lifestyle was difficult and distressing:

The conflicting demands of work and family responsibilities aggravate tensions between spouses in all households, but long absences from home, high stress, and physical risks exaggerate these problems and distinguish fishers' families from other households (Binkley 1995: 88).

The nature of the offshore fishery dictates the organization of family life in trawler households. That is:

...strict division of labour typifies gender relations. Men work on the trawlers, women maintain the household and take care of the children. Women's work is defined and confined by the constraints on their husbands' work (Binkley and Thiessen 1988:41).

As a result of the modernization of the fishery, women played a dominant role in the public sphere of paid employment and in offshore fisher family households women took on even more responsibility in the private sphere.

Due to the prosperity of the fishery and the fish plant, there was continuous growth in the population of Trepassey during the 1960s. On April 1, 1965 the Centralization Program was replaced by the Federal-Provincial Newfoundland

Fisheries Household Resettlement Program. While in 1961 Trepassey was rated within the lowest quarter of the provincial population index of amenities, by 1968 Trepassey was a designated "Major Fishery Growth Center" (Holland-MacDonald 1988:62).

The influx of new residents to Trepassey resulted in a number of changes, which included the installment of a water system in 1961, new road construction and improvement of existing roads in the late 1960s, the services of two doctors and two nurses in 1968 and the services of a Dial System, for telephone communication, in the early 1970's (O'Rourke & Kennedy 1975:29-30).

The early to mid-seventies was a time of awakening and upheaval for Trepassey. The year round fish plant was in full operation giving economic stability to many who had previously only known the uncertainty of the inshore fishery. Also, the large-scale immigration of outsiders to Trepassey introduced new ideas and expectations into the community. Several clubs and associations were being organized to assist community members with their search for a new identity in the face of so much change. In addition, further years of improved school facilities had raised the average education levels of most residents and increased their expectations and abilities to make decisions if the opportunities were available. Finally, residents had several years experience of being responsible for their own municipal government (Holland-MacDonald 1988:77-78).

Trepassey over the decades of the 1960s and 1970s saw a continuous

pattern of growth. This was evidenced by the number of private businesses, organizations and especially the new homes that were built. The people of Trepassey had reached a new level of affluence (O'Rourke & Kennedy 1975:31).

In the 1980s the fish plant was no longer short of workers; in fact, there was a waiting list. The trawlermen's strikes of 1974 and 1984 severely affected Trepassey residents since the community revolved around the fishery and the fish plant. Unemployment had become a problem in Trepassey, affecting young adults the hardest. Furthermore, there was conflict between traditional inshore fishermen, mid-shore longliners and dragger fleets. Trepassey was characterized by two trends in the 1980s; competition for jobs and competition for resource access (Holland-MacDonald 1988:80).

The worst, however, was to come in the 1990s. While the fish plant was the major employer of the Southern Avalon peninsula, Fishery Products International announced the closure of the Trepassey plant in January 1990. As discussed in Chapter Three, the entire Atlantic fishery was in a resource recession, with many key stocks at their lowest historical level. With declining stocks the plant was unable to sustain itself by processing cod and flat fish. Despite recommendations from the Southern Avalon Industrial Committee to obtain alternative fish resources, the plant's potential was not realized, a new operator was not found and the plant closed in September 1991 (Tavel 1990). Then, in July 1992, the fishery crisis came to a head in Trepassey with the announcement of the cod moratorium followed by

a total ban on commercial cod fishing, moratoria on other groundfisheries, and eventually, a ban on the food fishery (Robinson 1995: 166). This brought shock, devastation and anger to Trepassey residents.

In response the federal government announced a number of strategies to aid fishery people in dealing with the crisis. Following the announcement of the 1990 closures, the federal government proposed a new Atlantic Fisheries Adjustment Program (AFAP). This agreement provided \$29 million for retraining and industrial diversification to the area of Trepassey (Robinson 1995:166). From 1992 to 1994 the government implemented the Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program (NCARP). This program provided immediate financial compensation packages to fishers and plantworkers affected by the northern cod moratorium. In total there were 26,569 NCARP recipients in the Newfoundland Region, about 36 percent of whom were women (Williams 1996:23). NCARP also provided options such as early retirement for older workers, groundfish license retirement and retraining. The five-year, \$1.9 billion Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) came into effect in May, 1994. It was anticipated that there would be 30,000 recipients in the Atlantic Region. Further groundfish closures increased this number to 39,000 by the spring of 1995. The initial budget, however, was not increased to compensate for the thousands of additional layoffs. As a result there has been a financial shortfall and cuts to the program. Statistics for October, 1995, indicate that 27,854 residents of Newfoundland and Labrador were eligible for TAGS. These included 11,240 fishers

and trawler workers, and 16,614 plant workers. Women made up 35.5 percent of these. Among fishers, 11.8 percent were women, while among plant workers 52.2 percent were women (Williams 1996:24). Such programs offered various opportunities to adjust to the future reality of reduced quotas and fewer participants when the fishery reopens.

In addition to AFAP, NCARP, and TAGS the Federal government set up a Trepassey Community Development Fund. The fund's mandate was to attract business development to the Trepassey area through the distribution of investment funds. It was intended to create and maintain private sector employment in the Trepassey area. The fund had seven million dollars to assist businesses establishing operations. Up until September 1993, three million dollars had been allocated to approximately 18 out of 200 proposals. The fund assisted in establishing a local flower shop, a welding shop and the Weather Shore Window Shop to name a few (Correspondence with Darren Pitcher 1993).

Also, the Southern Shore - St. Mary's Bay Futures Committee Incorporated was established. This is a non-profit organization devoted to improving economic opportunities. The organization is dedicated to grassroots development, encouraging small business, helping people acquire and maintain job skills, improving job opportunities, long term economic development and developing resources for a more stable and diversified economy (Correspondence with Donna Hewitt 1993).

Finally, the Southern Avalon Development Association was set up. The Business Development Center was established to administer the seven million dollar development fund and provide advisory services to business owners and prospective business owner interested in setting up operation in the Trepassey area (Correspondence with Viola Pennell 1993).

CONCLUSION

Without a doubt, Trepassey is experiencing a crisis never before seen in its five century history. Since Trepassey was settled the fishery was the mainstay of the community. Before Confederation residents depended on the agnatic based inshore fishery. This provided a livelihood for hundreds of families. While the men caught the fish, the women and children were mostly responsible for drying and curing the fish. Modernization, however, changed the social and productive organization of the fishery. The offshore fishery, that was not necessarily agnatic based, became the predominant fishery. Furthermore, the market for salt fish declined and was replaced by a frozen fresh filet industry. This resulted in the construction of a fish plant that employed hundreds of men and women. In its heyday Trepassey was a prosperous community. This prosperity, however, was destroyed by government mismanagement of the fishery. The closure of the fish plant and the fishery has resulted in mass unemployment and increased out-migration. Despite government

intervention through AFAP, NCARP, the Development Fund and the Business Development Center, the future of Trepassey is uncertain.

CHAPTER FIVE - DATA ANALYSIS - FEMALE PLANT WORKERS

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the data collected from the female plant workers. It will examine the effects of the loss of paid employment on unpaid domestic labour in terms of the amount of time women spent on domestic tasks and the kinds of tasks they performed since the closure of the fish plant. I would like to bring to the readers' attention that percentages were based on 12 female plant workers as discussed in Chapter Two. As a result, percentage increase may seem more significant than numerical increase. That is, the increase in responsibility for a domestic task may have been 8.3% but this was only one woman more. Percentages were used, however, to maintain a consistent analysis with the male plant workers and offshore fishermen to follow in Chapter Six.

ROUTINE HOUSEWORK

The first component of domestic labour to be addressed is routine housework which consists of the eleven tasks outlined in Chapter Two. Whether employed or unemployed, Sinclair and Felt (1992) find that women are usually responsible for performing most household tasks. Similarly, Edgell (1980) concludes that when wives are in paid employment they retain ultimate domestic responsibility, while Pahl (1984) concludes that when the children are young and the female partner is

unemployed there is a much greater likelihood of a segregated domestic division of labour.

Such is the case for this study. For most of the women who worked in the fish plant the fishery crisis had resulted in a more segregated domestic division of labour. According to the data on the time women spent on routine housework, there had been a substantial increase in the number of hours women spent on routine housework since the closure of the fish plant. The average time spent on routine housework before the closure was 21.3 hours, while since the closure women spent 34.8 hours per week. That is, on average, women spent 13.5 hours more per week on routine housework after the closure of the fish plant. The majority of women interviewed disliked the increased number of hours they spent on routine housework. A couple of responses will reveal how most women felt about this increase:

I am nearly cracked up because there is nothing to do except to find things to do around the house. Being unemployed means I am spending more time in the house so I find things to do that I may not have done before.

I am home most of the day and my husband doesn't help much. I would rather be out working in paid employment.

While these responses represent the majority of women who did not like spending more time on routine housework, other women did not mind the extra time they spent performing the tasks that made up the routine housework component. In fact, some women were glad they had more time. For example:

Now I don't have to rush to get it done during the day. What I don't get done during the day I can do during the evening now that I don't have to go to work on the night shift at the fish plant.

I am not working so I have more time on my hands to spend on housework. My husband and son are in the woods in the day time and my daughter is in school so I am home by myself. I find things to do to keep busy around the house.

While the number of hours women spent on routine housework tasks had increased on average, it is important to note that it had not increased for all women. Interestingly, the two women who reported not spending more time on routine housework were employed. One woman was employed at the local grocery store and worked 40 hours a week. She claimed: "I do not spend much time on household tasks because my husband helps out a lot." In fact, she mentioned her husband had a "big cabbage supper" cooked one evening when she got home from work. In terms of routine housework, the amount of help she received from her husband before and since the closure of the fish plant, was not the norm. Despite the fact that he also worked full-time in paid employment, he contributed equally to housework. From the data collected in this interview, it can be concluded that this marriage, in terms of sharing routine housework, appeared symmetrical as conceptualised by Young and Willmott (1973).

The other woman who was not spending more time on routine housework was employed as a secretary. In fact, she spent less time on routine housework since the closure, approximately ten hours per week, than when she was employed at the fish plant, when she spent approximately fifteen hours per week on routine

housework. She claimed: "I hate housework. I wish I never had to do it at all." The reason, however, that she spent such little time on routine housework was because other family members were being more helpful. Her sons were getting older and taking more responsibility for certain tasks. For example, her son was heading downstairs with a basket of laundry while I was there conducting the interview.

Looking specifically at the tasks that made up the routine housework component, it was evident that overall women reported they were more responsible for the tasks included in this component of domestic labour following the closure of the fish plant as compared to before the closure. This accounted for an increase in the amount of time spent per week on routine housework. For instance, while only 25.0% of the women reported they were responsible for cooking prior to the closure, 75.0% reported they performed this after since the closure. When they worked at the fish plant women reported more help from their partners and more sharing of this task with their partners. While the task of cooking showed the largest percentage increase, the women also reported that they were more responsible for the following tasks: cleaning the bathroom, doing the laundry, ironing, serving meals, sewing, cleaning floors, vacuuming and washing the dishes/loading the dishwasher. Of these tasks, women were almost exclusively responsible for cleaning the bathroom, dusting, ironing and sewing. These findings are compatible with Hochschild's (1989) study. She concludes that men do fewer of the undesirable household chores such as cleaning toilets.

While there were two tasks, dusting and making beds for which the womens' level of responsibility was the same both before and after the closure, overall, in terms of routine housework, the majority of women interviewed had taken on much more responsibility for the tasks included in this component of domestic labour after the fish plant had closed.

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES

With respect to household finances, the women interviewed were predominantly responsible for the household money. Prior to and following the plant closure 75.0% and 83.3% of the women respectively, spent one hour on household finances per week. That is, since the fish plant closure there was not much change in the amount of time that women spent on this component of domestic labour. In fact, only one woman spent more time on household finances since the closure of the fish plant. While this increase was slight, the high percentage of women reporting having spent time on household finances in both sets of data was noteworthy.

Although no reason was given for this by the women, it may have something to do with the fact that in the traditional Newfoundland fishery women were usually responsible for banking and keeping the books for their husbands who worked as inshore fishermen. This practice of women being responsible for banking may have

been passed down over the generations.

Looking specifically at the tasks included in the component of household finances, one woman more, for a total of 58.3% reported that they were responsible for both paying the bills and banking since the closure of the fish plant. While this increase was not substantial, the fact that the women took primary responsibility for these tasks was important. Even though the majority of women said they were responsible for paying the bills and banking in both sets of data, there was some sharing of these tasks between partners.

In contrast to paying the bills and banking, only one women reported she was responsible for the task of filling out income tax forms in both sets of data. Both before and after the closure 66.7% of the women reported that a non-household person was responsible for filling out income tax forms. That is, a lot of people brought their income tax forms to H&R Block.

During the interviews there was little discussion about household finances. Most of the women claimed that despite a fall in their personal yearly gross income, they had not yet experienced financial strains and problems. This was due to the fact that all of their partners were still in paid employment. There were, however, a couple of women who reported financial problems since the closure of the fish plant. They claimed:

We don't have as much money. We can't afford expensive things for the children.

There is a difference in income. Even though we have less money, I am actually spending more money now that I am not working because I have more free time to shop.

CHILD CARE

A major component of domestic labour is child care. As discussed in Pahl (1984), the stage in the domestic life cycle is a key determinant in the amount of time that women spend performing child care tasks. Before the closure of the fish plant the child care component of domestic labour in this study was applicable for 33.3% of the women and since the closure it was applicable for 41.6%. Many of the women interviewed were past the child rearing stage. For most of the women, their children had either moved out or were teenagers and tasks such as diapering and dressing children were no longer applicable.

This study shows that there was an increase in the amount of time women spent on child care tasks. Looking specifically at those women who reported having spent time on child care before the closure, the average time spent was 36 hours per week. For the women who reported on child care after the closure, the amount of time spent per week increased to 45 hours, a difference of nine hours. These data shows that whether employed or unemployed women were primarily responsible for child care. While Oakley (1974), Edgell (1980) and Sinclair and Felt (1992) show that men take on more responsibility for child care than housework, most men do not contribute significantly to child care. That is, they may play with

their children or take them to a movie, but they do not take on sole responsibility for the day to day tasks that account for the long hours that mothers spend on child care. Therefore, before and since the closure of the fish plant, women spent a significant amount of time on child care. The fact that women spent nine hours more on child care after the closure may mean they were more confined to their homes since they became unemployed.

When interviewed the woman who had become a grandmother since the closure of the fish plant spent about 16 hours a week on child care as compared to none when she was employed at the fish plant. Her daughter did not live in Trepassey but brought her baby with her when she came home to visit on the weekends. The grandmother was delighted that she got to spend time with her grandchild. She reported spending all day Saturdays and Sundays minding and playing with the child, and putting the child to bed. Since she only had her grandchild on weekends, this grandmother had not spent as much time on child care as reported by the mothers interviewed.

Of the four mothers interviewed, two reported spending more time on child care since the closure of the fish plant. The two mothers spent approximately the same amount of extra time on child care, 14 and 15 hours. The reason they both gave for this increase was that their husbands did not take as much responsibility for child care. When the mothers were employed the fathers helped out more than since the mothers became unemployed.

The mother that reported spending 15 hours more per week on child care spent 45 hours per week when she was employed, while since the closure of the fish plant she spent 60 hours. The extra time she spent on child care was a result of an increase in her responsibilities and a decrease in the father's responsibilities. While employed she reported an equal sharing of all child care tasks between herself and her husband. They were both responsible for disciplining, dressing, minding, playing with the children and caring for them if they were sick. Since the mother worked the night shift, the father was responsible for putting them to bed, while the mother took them to school and to the doctor. This sharing of responsibility for child care tasks, however, changed when the mother became unemployed. Since she was not working, she took over most of the child care tasks. In contrast to when she was employed, this mother reported that her husband did not help out nearly as much. In fact, she claimed that he only took responsibility for minding and playing with their two daughters aged nine and seven years old. When this mother was working in paid employment, the father had no choice but to be responsible for sharing tasks. Now that his wife was unemployed he relinquished most of his responsibilities. The time that he spent with his daughters was fun time. That is, he spent time minding and playing with them at his convenience, while the mother was responsible for the time consuming tasks of looking after the children's day to day needs. Evidence of this behaviour is supported in the literature by Hochschild (1989). She shows that women spend more time on the maintenance of children,

while men participate in more leisurely activities such as going to the zoo or to the movies.

The mother's feelings about this change in responsibility for child care tasks can be seen in the following statement: "I spend too much time on child care. I would much rather be out working for pay." Also, when talking about plans for that evening, in a disgruntled tone the mother said: "I have to stay home and wait to go pick the girls up from skating while he is going out with his friends ski-doing." The mother's facial expression and tone of voice indicated the hostility she felt toward her husband for his lack of participation in child care tasks. She seemed to resent the fact that she was responsible for most of the child care since she was no longer in paid employment and he was employed. This resentment may be reflected in her response to the question regarding any increase in stress or conflict among family members now that they were spending more time together. She claimed: "Yes, there is more conflict. We have a scattered racket."

While this mother was not happy with the extra time she spent on child care since the closure of the fish plant, the following mother did not mind this extra time. This mother of two daughters, aged eleven and four years old, reported having spent approximately 40 hours per week on child care tasks when she was employed. After the closure of the fish plant, however, she reported spending approximately 54 hours per week on child care, an increase of 14 hours.

When she worked at the fish plant she reported that "my husband did a lot."

Since she worked the night shift, her husband helped out with child care responsibilities required of their two daughters. She stated that: "My husband never had much choice but to look after the house and children in the evenings and mornings." This was demonstrated by the number of child care tasks that she reported were performed by her husband. When she was employed he was responsible for diapering, disciplining, dressing, minding and playing with the children. He also put them to bed and took the older daughter to school and sports. The mother, on the other hand, reported responsibility for diapering, minding, playing with the children, caring for them if they were sick and taking them to the doctor. Obviously, the father spent an equal amount, if not more time, on child care tasks.

The closure of the fish plant, however, changed both the amount of time the mother spent on child care and the kinds of tasks she performed. Due to the requirements of the fishery compensation package she was enrolled in a training program. Having quit school after completing grade six, she was attending adult basic education classes to complete courses to attain her general education diploma. Since she spent 30 hours a week attending classes, she hired a babysitter to look after her youngest daughter from 9:00 am to 3:00 pm during the week. Despite the time she spent at school, she reported having more time for the kids than when she was employed. At that time she had the evenings and mornings free.

Spending more time on child care meant that she performed more child care

tasks than when she worked at the fish plant. She reported being responsible for disciplining, dressing, minding and playing with the children, putting them to bed, caring for them if they were sick and taking them to the doctor. While this mother reported that her husband still disciplined, minded, played with the children, took them to school and brought them to recreational activities, she claimed:

Now that I am home in the evenings I take some of the child care responsibilities from my husband. I do more, he does less. Now I am kept busy from when I get home from school til the kids go to bed.

This mother's loss of paid employment resulted in her having taken over more of the child care responsibilities.

While the two mothers discussed so far spent more time on child care since the closure of the fish plant, the other two mothers interviewed spent the same amount of time on child care both before and after the closure, albeit differing amounts with one mother reporting 60 hours and the other 35 hours per week.

The mother that spent 60 hours per week on child care reported that when she worked the night shift at the fish plant she spent all day looking after her infant son. While she was at work her husband took over all applicable child care responsibilities. This mother reported:

My husband shared with housework and child care responsibilities. When I was at work he looked after the baby. He diapered, dressed, minded and played with him. Also, he cared for him when he was sick and put him to bed.

Even though her husband helped out while she was at work and on the weekends,

she spent most of her time off work caring for her son. In fact, when asked about what she did with her leisure time she stated: "I was mostly home except sometimes I would go to mom's on the weekends."

In terms of the amount of time she spent on child care her life had not changed following the closure of the fish plant. She spent 60 hours per week on child care tasks, the same as when she was employed. Due to the requirements to qualify for the compensation package, she was enrolled in a computer training program. In total, the amount of time this mother spent in school and studying was almost equivalent to the number of hours she worked at the fish plant. Also, since the closure of the fish plant she had another baby who was eight months old. Caring for a three year old and an infant required all of her time and attention . Obviously, this mother did not have any extra time to spend on child care. She devoted the same amount of time to child care after the closure of the fish plant as she did when she was working in paid employment. Even though she spent a lot of time performing child care tasks, she reported:

I don't mind doing routine housework and I especially enjoy spending time with the children. In fact, I hate to see my first child go to school next year.

While she spent 60 hours a week on child care, it is important to note that even though she was home during the evenings, her husband still shared equally with child care responsibilities. That is, her loss of paid employment had not resulted in her husband giving up his share of the responsibility for child care. This mother reported that her husband truly enjoyed spending time with the children.

Another mother I interviewed also spent the same amount of time on child care tasks, 35 hours per week, both before and since the closure of the fish plant. She worked at the fish plant on the day shift plus overtime in the evenings if it was required. Since her children were in school this schedule worked out well because her mother would mind and play with the children from the time they got out of school until she or her husband got home from work. This mother reported that in the evenings and on the weekends she and her husband equally shared the child care responsibilities.

Since the closure of the fish plant the time this mother spent on child care was the same as when she was employed. She was enrolled in a computer training program that took place during the day. The hours of the training program were similar to the hours she worked at the fish plant. Therefore, she did not have much extra time on her hands to spend on child care tasks. Since her children were much older than the previous mother discussed, they did not require the same long hours and constant care. Furthermore, her daughter and son were 15 and 13 respectively, so she assigned some of the child care tasks required to care for her seven year old daughter to them. This mother reported sharing all other applicable child care tasks equally with her husband except for putting the seven year old daughter to bed. She claimed: "My daughter will only go to bed for her father." The closure of the fish plant had little impact on the time this mother spent on child care and the kind of tasks that she performed. Overall, however, women's loss of paid employment in

the public sphere resulted in an increase in the amount of time women spent on child care in the private sphere.

RUNNING ERRANDS

The next component of domestic labour to be examined is running errands. The data show an increase in the amount of time women spent running errands. The average time spent running errands before the plant closure was 54 minutes per week, while since the closure women spent one hour and 48 minutes running errands. That is, women spent twice as much time running errands after the closure of the fish plant.

While the amount of time women spent running errands increased on average, it is important to note that it had not increased for all women. Of the 12 women interviewed, only 25.0% reported spending more time running errands since the closure of the fish plant. In fact, 66.7% of the women who reported having spent one hour per week running errands before the closure of the fish plant still reported one hour per week after the closure. Also, the one woman who reported spending no time running errands when she worked at the fish plant still spent no time running errands when she was unemployed. For both sets of data this woman reported that her partner was totally responsible for running errands.

Of the three women who reported spending more time running errands since

the closure of the fish plant, one woman increased the amount of time from one to eight hours per week. This woman's increase in time spent running errands was a result of spending one day per week in St. John's since the closure of the fish plant. When she was working in paid employment she reported that she never had time to go to St. John's. Since she became unemployed she went to St. John's more and did more shopping. Another female plant worker who reported having spent one hour per week running errands before the closure of the fish plant spent four hours per week since the closure. As with the previous woman, this increase was due to the fact that she spent more time in St. John's. She went to St. John's to visit her daughter and grandchild. While there, she did some extra shopping beyond what she would if she stayed in Trepassey. Finally, one woman increased her amount of time running errands from one to two hours per week. She simply spent more time running the same errands that she did before the closure of the fish plant, except since the closure she reported that she did not have to rush around.

Looking specifically at the tasks that made up the running errands component, there was little change in who went shopping, got the groceries and ran other errands following the closure of the fish plant. For going shopping and running other errands one woman less reported she performed these tasks and one woman more reported herself and her partner performed these tasks since the closure as compared to before the closure. That is, there was considerable sharing of these tasks since the closure of the fish plant with 58.3% and 50.0% of the women

reporting that their partners participated in the tasks of shopping and running other errands respectively. This is in accordance with the findings of Sinclair and Felt (1992). In their study they conclude that shopping is one household task that is more likely to be shared by married men and women - 44.9% of the women and 45.7% of the men reported that they shared shopping with their spouse (Sinclair and Felt 1992:63). This study shows, that both before and since the plant closure the male partners were not so helpful with respect to grocery shopping in particular. One woman more, for a total of 75.0% reported that they did the grocery shopping after the closure of the fish plant. While there was little change in who performed the tasks in this component of domestic labour, some women spent more time running errands since the plant closure.

HOME MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION

Another important component of domestic labour examined in this study is home maintenance and construction. Due to the nature of the tasks included in this component no data were available on the average amount of time that women spent per week on home maintenance and construction. That is, it was difficult to calculate the cumulative time spent on tasks that varied from week to week and season to season. Some people may have been willing to make estimates but these were likely to have been highly inaccurate. For example, no one could state

accurately how much time they spent on cutting grass, shovelling snow and indoor painting when such tasks were not performed consistently on a weekly basis. Therefore, the data analysis of home maintenance and construction was an analysis of changes in who performed the eight tasks included in the component as outlined in Chapter Two.

Overall, this study shows that there was an increase in the number of women who participated in some of the tasks that made up the home maintenance and construction component of domestic labour since the closure of the fish plant. Looking specifically at the tasks, women participated more in cutting grass, taking out the garbage, shovelling snow, gardening and indoor painting.

It is interesting to note, however, that this increased participation was generally not a result of women having performed the tasks by themselves. In fact, there were only two tasks more women claimed sole responsibility for since the closure of the fish plant. For cutting grass only one woman more reported that she performed this task since the closure for a total of 16.7% of the women, which is not that relevant. Also, for indoor painting, only one woman more reported that she was exclusively responsible for this task after the plant closed for a total of 58.3% of the women. While the increase in the number of women who reported that they did the indoor painting was not substantial, the fact that such high percentages reported that they were responsible for this task in both sets of data, was substantial. Indoor painting was a task that women considered themselves better

at than their partners. This opinion can be seen in the following statements:

I wouldn't let him near the painting. I do that.

I am responsible for painting. He is so messy he would have paint everywhere.

In fact, only 25.0% of the women in both sets of data reported that their partners were exclusively responsible for indoor painting. This is consistent with Sinclair and Felt's (1992) findings. They show that 19.6% of the women in their study reported that their spouse does the painting, while 25.0% of men reported they perform this task.

The increased participation of women in home maintenance and construction was not a result of women reporting that they were more solely responsible for tasks, but rather varying combinations of themselves, their partners and other persons within the households. That is, women had not taken on exclusive responsibility for more tasks. Instead, they were participating more by sharing the responsibilities with other family members. For example, for the task of disposing of garbage, 33.3% of the women since the closure of the fish plant reported this task was jointly done with their partners, whereas only 8.3% of the women reported having shared this task with their partners before the closure. Also, for shovelling snow 41.7% of the women after the closure of the fish plant reported some participation in this task with other family members, while only 16.7% of the women reported participation before the closure. Finally, the same was true for gardening. Two more women, for a total of 33.3%, reported having shared this task with their

partners since the closure of the fish plant as compared to before the closure.

Not surprisingly, all of the women in both sets of data reported no participation whatsoever in the tasks of home repair of electrical problems and home repair of plumbing. For home repair of electrical problems 41.6% of the women reported that their partners performed this task, while 50.0% of the women reported that a non-household person performed this task. Conversely, for home repair of plumbing 50.0% of the women reported that their partners performed this task, while 41.6% of the women reported that a non-household person performed this task. It can be said that women's employment status had not affected their participation in these two tasks. Whether employed or unemployed home repair of electrical and plumbing problems was the responsibility of the partners, or as the data shows, someone who was not a member of the household, usually hired help.

It is interesting, however, that two women in both sets of data reported that they were exclusively responsible for plastering. This was surprising because plastering was certainly a difficult task to take on by one's self. These two women also reported they were responsible for indoor painting before and after the closure. Important to note, however, was that the plant closure had not affected women's participation in plastering. The same two women reported they performed this task before and since the closure of the fish plant. Also, with only 16.7% of the women reporting they plastered, it can be said that participation in this task was not the norm for most women. In fact, most women reported that their partners or a non-

household person was responsible for plastering in both sets of data. These findings are consistent with the findings of Sinclair and Felt (1992). They found that:

Interior finishing was tackled by most women who reported making any contribution, but there were some women involved in every phase of construction (Sinclair and Felt 1992:62).

For plastering, they found that 8.8% of the women reported they performed this task, while 9.1% of the men reported that their spouse performed this task (Sinclair and Felt 1992:63). Although women were not participating more in plastering specifically, they were participating more in most of the tasks that made up the home maintenance and construction component of domestic labour since the closure of the fish plant.

VEHICLE MAINTENANCE

Turning to the component of vehicle maintenance, it was not surprising to find that the 12 women interviewed all reported having spent no time on this component of domestic labour both prior to and following the closure of the fish plant. That is, whether employed or unemployed the women in this study took no part in the responsibilities of vehicle maintenance. They reported, however, that their partners and other members of the households spent some time performing their own car repairs.

Looking at the specific tasks that made up the vehicle maintenance

component of domestic labour, the women reported that their partners, other persons within the households or a non-household person were responsible for changing the oil, replacing the fanbelt and fixing the brakes. For changing the oil, one woman more, for a total of 50.0%, reported that other persons within the households and/or their partners changed the oil in the car after the closure of the plant. A notable number of women, however, reported that a non-household person performed this task. In fact, one woman more, for a total of 58.3%, reported that their partners brought their cars to the garage to have the oil changed. Likewise, for the task of replacing a fanbelt, most women 66.7%, reported that a non-household person was responsible for this task before and since the closure of the fish plant. The remainder of the women 33.3%, reported that other persons within the households and/or their partners replaced the fanbelt. Finally, for the task of brake repairs, the responses of the 12 women were identical to the responses for who was responsible for replacing the fanbelt. That is, 66.7% of the women before and since the closure reported that a non-household person was responsible for this task. The remainder of the women 33.3%, reported that other persons within the households and/or their partners performed brake repairs.

SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION

The final component of domestic labour to be analyzed is subsistence

production. With respect to the amount of time women spent on subsistence production, there were no data available. The reason for this was the same as that given for the home maintenance and construction component. That is, it was difficult to calculate the cumulative time spent on tasks that varied from week to week and season to season. Some people were willing to make estimates, but these were likely to be highly inaccurate. For example, no one could state accurately how much time they spent on picking berries, cutting wood and fishing when such tasks were not performed consistently on a weekly basis. Therefore, the data analysis of subsistence production was an analysis of change in who performed the seven tasks included in the component.

There was little change in women's participation in subsistence production during the first two years after the closure of the fish plant. In fact, there was only one task, growing vegetables, for which women reported they were more responsible for since they became unemployed. While no women reported they grew vegetables before the closure, two women reported that they were solely responsible for this task after the closure. This, however, did not mean that there was an increase in the number of households growing vegetables. Before the plant closed 66.7% of the women reported that this task was not applicable to their households, while after the closure 83.3% of the women claimed that growing vegetables was not applicable. This was surprising because some women had more time on their hands and less money to spend. Therefore, one might have expected

that more households would have relied on growing vegetables to supplement the groceries bought at the supermarket. This, however, was not the case. Both before and since the closure, growing vegetables was not a dominant form of subsistence production.

The tasks of picking berries, pickling and making jam were important forms of subsistence production. The fish plant closure, however, has had little impact on women's participation in these tasks. For picking berries, only one woman reported that she exclusively performed this activity in both sets of data. There was, however, sharing of this task among family members with one woman more, for a total of 50.0%, having reported varying combinations of themselves, their partners and other members of the households after the plant closure. Sinclair and Felt (1992) also found that picking berries was an activity most likely to be shared. In their study, 39.3% of the women and 48.1% of the men reported that self and spouse picked berries together (Sinclair and Felt 1992:63). Prior to and following the closure of the fish plant picking berries, especially blueberries and bakeapples, was important to women for both subsistence production and the enjoyment of getting out in the country. In both sets of data, only 25.0% of the women reported that this task was not applicable to their households.

With respect to pickling and making jam only one woman more, for a total of 58.3%, reported that she performed these tasks after the closure of the fish plant. It was obvious that these tasks were mostly done by women alone, in contrast to

picking berries where women reported more sharing with household members. In fact, only one woman reported sharing these tasks with her partner since the closure of the fish plant, and another reported that her partner exclusively pickled and made jam. This was certainly true because her husband was present during the interview and insisted on showing me the bottles of jam he had made. These tasks, however, were not as prevalent as picking berries. Before and since the closure of the fish plant, 41.6% and 33.3% of the women respectively, reported that these tasks were not performed in their households. It can be said that the plant closure had done little to change who pickled and made jam.

The same was true for the tasks of knitting and making clothes. The only change was that one woman less reported that she performed these tasks following the closure of the plant for a total of 33.3% of the women interviewed. If these tasks were performed in the household, they were done exclusively by women. Most women, however, 66.7% after the closure reported these tasks were not applicable to their households. Even though most of the women's incomes had been nearly cut in half and they had more time on their hands, they had not done more knitting or made clothing for the family. This is in contrast to Davis' (1983:29) finding that:

Even time spent watching television or visiting with friends is filled with knitting or crocheting valued goods for home consumption or for charitable sales.

For the tasks of cutting wood, hunting and fishing no women reported having

performed these tasks. If these tasks were applicable to the households most women reported that other persons within the households and/or their partners performed these tasks.

In this study 75.0% of the women reported the task of cutting wood was not performed in their households since the closure of the fish plant, as compared to 50.0% before the closure. I expected that with less income more households would have relied on wood rather than oil or electric heat. A lot of houses, however, did not have wood stoves. For those that did, obtaining wood was no easy task. There is not much forestry around Trepassey and as one woman explained to me: "By the time you buy the truck, buy the four wheeler, buy the gas and do the work it is cheaper to pay for the oil." Also, before the closure of the fish plant one woman reported that when she was employed they bought wood, but since the closure she reported that they did not use wood to heat their home. This may have be due to loss of income in that they could not afford to buy wood. Rather than households using wood for heat since the plant closure, more relied on oil or electric heat. For those women that reported this task was applicable, however, other persons within the households and/or their partners performed this task.

For the task of hunting, 50.0% of the women in both sets of data reported that nobody in their households hunted. With the abundance of moose and caribou in the area, I was expecting a higher percentage of women to have reported that family members hunted to provide food for the family. For those women that

reported hunting was applicable, other persons within the households and/or their partners hunted.

Finally, the results for fishing were similar to those for hunting. One woman more reported that nobody in their households fished since the closure of the fish plant for a total of 58.3%. As with hunting, I was surprised to find that more men did not fish. The fishing in the area is supposed to be quite good, particularly for sea trout. For those women that reported that fishing was applicable to their households, other persons within the households and/or their partners fished.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that women's loss of paid employment in the public sphere had resulted in changes in the domestic division of labour in the private sphere. The fishery crisis had affected domestic labour in terms of the amount of time women spent on domestic tasks and the kinds of tasks they performed. Women spent more time on domestic labour and performed more tasks since the closure of the fish plant.

Specifically, women were spending more time on routine housework, household finances, child care, running errands and home maintenance/construction. That is, vehicle maintenance and subsistence production were the two components for which women reported not spending any more time

on following the closure of the fish plant.

This study shows that there was a substantial increase in the amount of time women spent on routine housework and child care. For routine housework, 83.3% of the women reported that they spent more time on this component of domestic labour since the closure of the fish plant. Women spent 13.5 hours more per week on routine housework. The average amount of time women spent on this component of domestic labour prior to the closure was 21.3 hours per week, while following the closure this increased to 34.8 hours per week. With respect to child care, the average amount of time spent per week on the tasks included in this component increased from 36 hours to 45 hours. That is, women spent 9 hours more per week on child care after the closure of the fish plant. A grandmother and two mothers reported spending more time on child care, while two mothers reported spending the same amount of time following the closure.

Since routine housework and child care are the two major components of domestic labour, it is consistent with the literature reviewed in Chapter One to find that since the women became unemployed they were spending more time on these two components of domestic labour. As Edgell (1980), Pahl (1984), Hochschild (1989) and Sinclair and Felt (1992) conclude, whether employed or unemployed, women are primarily responsible for routine housework and child care. While some male partners equally share responsibilities, such cases are the exception rather than the rule. The reasons for womens' increased participation in routine housework

and child care since the closure of the fish plant were as follows: some women had more time on their hands; some women were bored being unemployed; others were confined to their homes more; and most male partners had relinquished some of their housework and child care responsibilities.

There was also a notable increase in the amount of time that women spent on running errands. That is, women were spending twice as much time on the tasks included in this component of domestic labour. Before the closure of the fish plant women spent 54 minutes per week running errands, while since the closure women spent one hour and 48 minutes per week. This increase was a result of 25.0% of the women reporting having spent more time shopping, getting groceries and running other errands.

With respect to household finances and home maintenance /construction, the increase in the amount of time that women spent on these two components was not substantial. In fact, only one woman reported that she had spent more time on household finances since the closure of the fish plant. The increase was minimal, however, because both before and since the crisis 75.0% and 83.3% of the women respectively reported that they were responsible for household finances. For home maintenance/construction, as discussed earlier, the amount of time that women spent on this component of domestic labour could not be measured. The fact that women were participating more in some of the tasks included in this component of domestic labour, however, meant that women spent more time on home

maintenance/construction since the closure of the fish plant. Their increased participation was mostly due to more sharing of tasks with other family members.

It was not surprising to find that the fishery crisis had no effect on the amount of time women spent on vehicle maintenance. Both before and after the closure of the fish plant women spent no time on this component of domestic labour. While some women reported that persons within the households and/or their partners performed the tasks, most women reported that a non-household person, such as a mechanic at a garage, was responsible for vehicle maintenance.

The results for subsistence production, however, were surprising. I was expecting to find increased participation of women and/or their partners in some of the tasks to supplement family needs in times of less income, but this was not the case. While women reported more participation in gardening, overall female plant worker households relied less on subsistence production since the closure of the fish plant.

CHAPTER SIX - DATA ANALYSIS

MALE PLANT WORKERS AND OFFSHORE FISHERMEN

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the data collected from the 12 male plant workers and 12 offshore fishermen. This chapter will examine the effects of the loss of paid employment on unpaid domestic labour in terms of the amount of time men spent on domestic tasks and the kinds of tasks they performed since the fishery closures.

ROUTINE HOUSEWORK

The first component of domestic labour to be addressed is routine housework which consists of the eleven tasks outlined in Chapter Two. According to the data, there had been an increase in the number of hours men spent on routine housework. The average amount of time that men spent on routine housework before the closures was only 3.9 hours per week, while since the closures men spent 9.4 hours per week. That is, on average, men were spending 5.5 hours more per week on routine housework following the fishery closures. This was a big increase of more than 100%.

There were a number of important changes with respect to the amount of time that men spent on routine housework. For instance, while 50.0% of the men reported having spent one hour per week on routine housework before the closures, only 20.8% of the men reported they spent as little as one hour per week after the closures. Also, the maximum time spent on this set of tasks

before the closures was 15 hours per week, while following the closures it was 40 hours per week. Obviously, there was an increase in the number of hours that men spent on routine housework. A few responses will reveal how men felt about this increase:

I do more than before but I do not feel I spend too much time on routine housework, especially when I have all kinds of time.

I spend more time doing things around the house but I am not bothered by what I have to do. The days are long so I do more things just to pass time.

No, I do not feel I spend too much time on household tasks. My wife works and I done it for mom at home. It keeps me busy and passes time. Housework gives me something to do.

From these responses, it can be seen that the 15 out of 24 men interviewed who reported spending more time on routine housework did not mind the extra time they spent on this set of tasks. Not one man complained about spending more time on routine housework since the fishery closures. Important to note, however, is that in comparison to the literature on the time women spend on routine housework (Oakley 1974; Edgell 1980; and Hochschild 1989), and the findings of the women sampled in this study, the majority of men had not spent nearly as much time as women on routine housework.

While there had been an increase in the amount of time men spent on routine housework, it was not great enough to bother the men. In fact, most of the men reported that their partners remained responsible for the majority of routine housework. Some men claimed:

My wife does most of the routine housework but I do more than when I was working.

I do not do any more than before even though I am not working. My wife and daughter do it all.

I am in school five days a week. I do a few things but my wife, mother and babysitter does the housework mostly.

While there was an increase in the amount of time that men spent on routine housework, spending an average of 9.4 hours per week on this set of tasks was certainly not enough to constitute equal sharing with their partners. Even though there were a few exceptional cases, such as one man who reported spending 40 hours, another 28 hours and yet another 21 hours per week on routine housework, these contributions were not the norm.

The man who spent 40 hours per week on routine housework did so because his wife worked full-time in paid employment. Since he was unemployed he figured it was only fair that he did the routine housework because he was home and had plenty of time. He made particular note of the fact that he really enjoyed baking. When he worked at the fish plant, he reported that he spent only a couple of hours a week on housework. The fishery closures had certainly affected his involvement and role in this component of domestic labour. The same was true for the man who reported spending 28 hours per week on routine housework since the fishery closures. His wife also worked full-time in paid employment. Therefore, he reported that he performed all the necessary housework because he was home all day. Interestingly, the man who reported spending 21 hours per week on routine housework since the fishery closures also had a partner who worked full-time. While he reported his partner did most of the housework, he spent more time on tasks to pass the time. From this data, it can be stated that the female partner's employment status had a direct impact on the amount of time the unemployed male partner spent on routine housework.

This is in accordance with Pahl's (1984) study. He concludes that the

more hours the female partners are employed, the less conventional is the domestic division of labour. Conversely, the fewer the hours the male partners are employed, the less conventional is the domestic division of labour. This is certainly the case for this study. The three men who reported spending the most time on routine housework since the fishery closures all had wives who worked full-time in paid employment, while the men were unemployed. Those men whose wives were not working in paid employment reported having spent little time on routine housework both prior to and following the fishery closures. While there was an increase in the amount of time men spent on routine housework since the fishery closures, it had not increased for all men and there were varying degrees of increase.

Looking specifically at the tasks that made up routine housework, men were more responsible for all of the tasks included in this component of domestic labour after the fishery closures as compared to before the closures. This accounted for the increase in the amount of time spent per week on routine housework. The task for which there was the largest increase in male partner participation was washing the dishes/loading the dishwasher. While no men reported they were responsible for this task before the closures, 33.3% of the men interviewed reported they exclusively performed this task since the closures. When employed the men reported that their partners were mostly responsible for this task. Since the closures men accepted much more responsibility for washing the dishes/loading the dishwasher.

The men were more responsible for all of the tasks included in the routine housework component, although not to the same degree as washing the

dishes/loading the dishwasher. There were a couple of tasks for which the increase in participation was not that substantial, yet quite interesting. For example, for cleaning the bathroom, 12.5% of the men reported they performed this task since the closures as compared to 4.2% of the men before the closures. While the increase was modest in absolute numbers, the fact that a couple more men performed one of the most undesirable household chores was worth mentioning. Similarly, 12.5% and 8.3% of the men reported they did the laundry and ironed respectively, since the closures. Prior to the closures the men reported no participation at all in these tasks. In fact, one man was doing the laundry during the interview while his wife was in St. John's shopping. Since he was home, he was responsible for the housework that needed to be done that day. He claimed: "I never did laundry in my whole life, until now." Of particular interest was the one man who reported doing the sewing since the closures. At first I was a little reluctant to believe him. According to the data and from my experience it is very unusual for a man to be responsible for sewing. He did, however, promise me he was telling the truth. He claimed: "I sew on buttons when they come off my shirts and stuff like that." In fact, this is similar to Sinclair and Felt's (1992) finding. In their study 3.4% of the men reported that they were responsible for mending clothes (Sinclair and Felt 1992:63).

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES

Turning to household finances, there was not much change in the amount of time that men spent per week on this component of domestic labour since the

fishery closures. In fact, only 12.5% of the men spent more time on household finances. It is interesting to note that 66.6% of the men before the closures and 54.1% of the men after the closures reported having spent no time on household finances. This, however, is in accordance with Sinclair and Felt's (1992) study. They found that only 15.3% of the men reported they were responsible for doing the banking, while 47.4% of the men reported that their partners did the banking.

The percentage of men that reported they were not responsible for household finances before the closures was high due to the fact that the offshore fishermen, in particular, reported that their partners were responsible for this component of domestic labour. Since they worked for ten days and were off for two days, they were usually out at sea when the bills were due or they were only home on the weekends when the banks were closed.

The fishery closures, however, have had an impact on the amount of time offshore fishermen spent on household finances. While only 12.5% of the offshore fishermen reported having spent one hour per week on household finances before the closures, 29.2% of the offshore fishermen spent one hour per week since the closures. It is interesting that this increase reported by offshore fishermen was offset by a decrease in the amount of time male plant workers spent on household finances. One male plant worker less, for a total of 16.6%, spent one hour per week on this component following the plant closure. Therefore, the increase in the time men spent on household finances was attributed to offshore fishermen who had taken on more responsibility for the tasks that made up this component of domestic labour since they became unemployed.

Looking specifically at the tasks included in household finances, the data show that men had not taken on more exclusive responsibility for the tasks. Instead, men's increased participation was mostly a result of sharing responsibility for the tasks with their partners. For paying the bills and banking, 20.8% and 16.6% more men respectively, reported sharing these tasks with their partners since the closures. While there was some sharing reported for filling out income tax forms, several men reported that their partners were responsible for this task. The participation of the partners, however, decreased following the fishery closures. That is, 20.8% less men reported that their partners were responsible for income tax returns since the closures, while 12.5% more men reported that a non-household person was responsible for filling out income tax forms. After the fishery closures 54.1% of the men reported that a professional prepared their income tax. This may have been due to the increased complexity of their household finances since the fishery crisis.

During the interviews there was some discussion about this component of domestic labour. While talking about household finances the men offered insight into how the fishery closures had affected their financial situations. With only a few exceptions, most of the men reported that their personal yearly gross incomes had fallen to about half of what they were earning when they were employed. Therefore, many men reported financial strains and problems. Some men claimed:

There is a financial burden which affects other aspects of our life such as going out and what we can buy.

It is a full-time job to make ends meet. We can't satisfy the kids with the brand names they want to wear.

Financially for me there is a big change. We don't have nearly as much money as we used to.

There were some exceptions to these financial problems. Men whose wives were in paid employment reported that financially they were not as burdened as those households that depended exclusively on the male partners' income. They reported:

I am not making as much money but with my wife working full-time it is not as much of a burden as some other families.

We have had a child since the fish plant closed. Financially, however, there is not too much change. We are fortunate that my wife is working.

Financially there is a change but my wife is a school teacher and she works full-time. It is not too much of a strain.

While one man reported that his income had stayed the same because he was employed, another man who was also employed reported that his income had risen. He claimed:

We are not like most people, our financial situation has improved. I make more money now than I did when worked at the fish plant.

These two cases were the exception rather than the rule. These men were fortunate to have found employment since the crisis.

CHILD CARE

Child care is an important component of domestic labour. In this study, 37.5% of the men interviewed reported having spent no time on child care before the closures, while 25.0% of the men reported spending no time on child care since the closures. That is, the child care component of domestic labour was applicable for more men since the fishery closures.

This study shows that there was an increase in the amount of time men spent on child care after the fishery closures. Before the closures 15 of the 24 men interviewed reported having spent an average of 13.0 hours per week on child care, while after the closures 18 of the 24 men reported spending 23.8 hours per week on child care. That is, there was a 10.8 hour increase.

Of the 18 men who reported on child care since the closures, 10 reported spending more time on child care than before the closures. Among the 10 men there were varying increases in the amount of time spent on child care per week, ranging from 60 hours to only 5 hours. A few examples will illustrate why there were such differences.

The man who reported the most increase spent 10 hours per week on child care before the moratorium and 70 hours after it, an increase of 60 hours. He reported that while employed he spent approximately 10 hours of the two days he had off with his children. He performed all applicable tasks except taking the children to the doctor, which was his wife's responsibility. After the closure of the fishery he spent much more time with his six, five and two year old children. He reported sharing all applicable tasks with his wife. This father spent 60 hours per week on child care despite the fact that his wife was also unemployed and home with the children. He claimed:

I spend more time doing things around the house and especially looking after the children but I am not bothered by all I have to do.

His wife was present during the interview and expressed what a relief it was to have her husband home to help with the children and all other domestic tasks. It seemed that she was truly bothered by all of the child care and domestic responsibilities she had when her husband was away at sea for ten days at a

time.

Of the 10 men who reported spending more time on child care, two could be characterized as househusbands. That is, since they became unemployed they have spent a significant amount of time on child care. They took on primary responsibility for the household and children because their wives worked full-time in paid employment.

One male plant worker I interviewed spent no time on child care before the closures because he had no children. Following the closures, however, he cared for his infant daughter and reported spending approximately 50 hours per week performing all applicable child care tasks. His wife worked from 9:00 am to 3:00 pm; so he was responsible for the baby all day and shared the responsibilities with his wife in the evenings and on the weekends. Even though he spent a substantial amount of time on child care, he did not feel it was too much. He claimed: "I enjoy spending time with the baby. If I never stayed home with her we would have to hire a full-time babysitter." However, this man had only been in the role of househusband for seven months. This was a drastic change from working full-time in paid employment and having no child. While this role was new to him, it would be interesting to see if this positive attitude will change over time. That is, will he enjoy his role in the private sphere as much five years from now?

The other man who became a househusband since the fishery closures had worked offshore and reported having spent approximately 20 hours per week looking after his two children aged nine and two years old. While he reported that he shared all of the child care tasks with his partner, she was

predominantly responsible for the children because he was at sea for ten days and home for only two. Since the moratorium this man's life had changed with respect to the amount of time he spent on child care. He reported spending 60 hours per week on child care, an increase of 40 hours. Since his wife worked full-time in paid employment and he was unemployed, he had taken on primary responsibility for the children. While his son went to school, he looked after his daughter all day. He reported sharing the responsibilities of the two children with his wife during the evenings and on the weekends. Even though he spent 60 hours per week on child care, he claimed that he did not mind the new role he played in the household. As with the previous househusband, it would be interesting to see if this opinion changes over time.

According to the research available on househusbands, it can be said that some fathers did not play this role very long without feeling anxiety, stress and a desire to be a participant in the public sphere. Segal (1993:273) found that:

Fathers who were centrally involved in child care tended to encounter negative reactions from their relatives and male peer groups, with only a minority finding their friends or workmates sympathetic to their participation.

Other research, however, found that men were quite satisfied in their househusband role. Fox and Fumia (1993:364-365) claimed:

Where the man's assumption of domestic responsibilities was the chief variation from the norm - the women had better money earning potential than their partners. The men who stayed home full-time were pleased with their lives finding great satisfaction in the close relationships they have with their children.

Only time will tell which response to being a househusband the above two fathers will have.

While the fathers just discussed reported the largest increases in the amount of time they spent on child care, other fathers also made substantial contributions. For example, one father I interviewed spent 30 hours more per week on child care since the fishery closures. When he worked offshore he reported having spent about ten hours per week on child care. He looked after, played with and disciplined his three children on his two days off. Since he was away most of the time he reported that:

The wife reared the kids on her own. On my first day off I would hang around with the kids and on the second day I would go hunting and on the bike.

Having worked offshore for 18 years, his life changed when he became unemployed. Since the closure of the cod fishery he spent much more time with his children, approximately 40 hours per week. When I arrived to conduct the interview he was in the basement playing with and minding the children aged 15, 13 and 9 years old. Since he was unemployed, he reported sharing all applicable child care tasks with his wife.

Other fathers that reported spending more time on child care, however, did not make such vital contributions. For example, one man reported spending only five hours more per week on child care. That is, before the closures he spent no time on child care while after the closures he spent five hours per week. This man had worked at the fish plant on the day shift from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm. Having only been married a couple of years, he and his wife, who also worked full-time, had not yet had children. Therefore, the child care component was not applicable to the household at that time. Since the closure of the fish plant this man's life has drastically changed. He was fortunate to have found employment

working offshore harvesting a species other than cod fish. This meant he was away from home almost two months each time he went to sea. With respect to child care, he and his wife had two young children. With his work schedule he obviously was not home enough to have spent much time with his daughters. Since his wife still worked full-time in paid employment, they hired a full-time babysitter. He stated:

The babysitter does all of the applicable tasks from 8:30am to 5:00pm during the week. My wife looks after them the rest of the time when she is home from work. I only help out a bit in the evenings and on the weekends when I am home.

Spending only five hours per week on child care meant that his wife and babysitter were responsible for virtually all of the care of the children. Even though the babysitter looked after the children all day Monday to Friday, his wife was faced with the double burden of working full-time in paid employment and being a full-time mother in the evenings and on the weekends. The five hours that this man spent on child care was very insignificant in comparison to the long hours his wife spent raising two young children.

From these examples it can be seen that of the men who reported spending more time on child care since the fishery closures, there were varying increases in the amount of time spent per week. While some men made important contributions, others made hardly any. The majority of men that reported on child care, 55.6%, spent more time on this component of domestic labour whether it was 60 or 5 hours more per week. Of the remaining fathers 22.2% spent the same amount of time on child care since the fishery closures, while 22.2% spent less time. A couple of examples will illustrate why some fathers did not spend more time on child care.

One man who reported spending the same amount of time on child care fished offshore for 25 years working ten days on and two days off. While he was home he reported having spent about 10 hours per week on child care. He shared all applicable tasks with his partner except for taking the children to the doctor. Considering that he had four children, it was obvious that his partner was responsible for the majority of child care tasks because he was away so much. Despite the fact that he was unemployed and not enrolled in a training program, he spent the same amount of time on child care since the moratorium, approximately 10 hours per week.

There were two reasons for this. First of all, his children were older than when he was employed in the fishery. Although he had more time on his hands, he did not devote any more of it to child care because there were less tasks applicable. For those tasks that were applicable, he reported sharing the responsibilities with his partner. Since the children were older and he was home, his partner was relieved of much of the responsibilities of child care that she performed for 20 years. Another reason he reported spending the same amount of time on child care was that much of the extra time he had on his hands was not spent around the house, but rather on building a new house. In fact, the interview was carried out in the house that was under construction. While he worked, I sat on a wooden work horse and conducted the interview. For him, spending time building a new home gave him a sense of worth because he was doing something he felt was productive.

This type of behavior is in accordance with the literature presented by Pahl (1984) and Morris (1985). Morris, in particular, concludes that some men

who experience significant periods of unemployment have an extreme reaction against any surrender of the traditional division of labour. The way in which some men manage this is by finding some form of surrogate work or activity such as involvement in the informal economy. For example, many men complete structural alterations to their homes or help friends with theirs, while others find odd jobs to perform for neighbours, relatives and other contacts. Such was the case for this particular man in my study. By spending time in the informal economy while unemployed, he maintained a traditional division of labour in the household. He did not spend any more time on child care since he was unemployed.

One man who reported spending less time on child care spent 14 hours per week looking after his daughter before the plant closed, while after it closed he spent only 7 hours per week with her. When he worked at the fish plant, on the day shift, he spent time with his daughter in the evenings and on weekends. Since the plant closure, however, he was enrolled in a training program. He attended classes in St. John's from Monday to Friday and went home to Trepassey on the weekends. Being away all week meant that he only spent a few hours a day, Saturday and Sunday, with his 14 year old daughter. With his absence during the week his wife had taken on more responsibility for child care, while his responsibilities were less. If he had a choice he would rather have been home in Trepassey, but he was retraining with the hope of getting a job so he could support his family. He stated:

I am away from home five days a week at school. This has been going on since January 1993. I enjoy the training but I don't like being away from my family.

While this father spent less time on child care and others spent the same amount of time, the majority of fathers spent more time on child care since the fishery closures. With regard to the tasks included in this component of domestic labour, overall, the men performed the same tasks except they did them more frequently and for a longer duration.

RUNNING ERRANDS

The next component of domestic labour to be examined is running errands. According to the data, there was an increase in the amount of time men spent on this component of domestic labour. The average time spent running errands preceding the closures was 27 minutes per week, while after the closures men spent 42 minutes per week running errands. Obviously, this increase of 15 minutes was slight.

Even though the amount of time men spent running errands increased on average, it had not increased for all of the men. While 58.3% of the men reported having spent no time running errands before the closures, 37.5% of the men reported spending no time running errands since the closures. Also, two men reported spending less time running errands following the fishery closures. They were employed and reported that they did not have as much time to run errands. Their work took them away from home. Therefore, their partners had taken on more responsibility for the tasks included in this component.

There were, therefore, 29.1% of the men that spent more time running errands after the fishery closures. The man that reported the most increase

never participated at all in this component of domestic labour before the fishery closed, while after it closed he spent two hours per week running errands. When he was employed as an offshore fisherman his wife ran all the errands. Since the moratorium he had much more time on his hands; so he and his wife went to Bay Bulls once a week for a couple of hours to do their shopping. Furthermore, a man who reported having spent one hour per week running errands when he was employed reported spending two hours since he became unemployed. He was attending a college in St. John's as part of his retraining program. While in St. John's he did some extra shopping. He reported: "I bring stuff home on the weekends from town." Finally, 20.8% of the men that reported having spent no time running errands before the fishery closures, spent one hour per week on the tasks included in this component of domestic labour after the closures. For example, one offshore fisherman reported that his partner was responsible for running errands when he was employed because he was away from home so much. Since he was not working, he was available to help out when errands needed to be done.

Looking specifically at the tasks that made up the running errands component, there were some changes in who went shopping, got the groceries and ran other errands since the fishery closures. Overall, men had not taken on more exclusive responsibility for the tasks. The men, however, reported more sharing of the tasks with their partners. For example, while 37.5% of the men reported that they went to the supermarket with their partners before the closures, 50.0% of the men reported that they shared this task with their partners after the closures. This is in accordance with the findings of Sinclair and Felt

(1992). In their study they found that while only 2.7% of the men reported themselves as having done the shopping, 45.7% of the men reported that themselves and their spouse did the shopping. The tasks included in the running errands component were more likely to be shared than performed exclusively by men.

HOME MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION

Another important component of domestic labour examined in this study is home maintenance and construction. As discussed in Chapter Five, there were no data available on the average amount of time that men spent per week on the tasks included in this component because of the nature of the tasks. Therefore, the data analysis of home maintenance and construction was an analysis of changes in who performed the eight tasks included in this component of domestic labour.

Overall, this study shows that there was an increase in the number of men who participated in most of the tasks that made up the home maintenance and construction component since the fishery closures. Looking specifically at the tasks, men reported that they were more responsible for cutting the grass, disposing of garbage, home repair of electrical and plumbing problems, shovelling snow and gardening. The amount of increase, however, varied among tasks. The task for which there was the most increase was taking out the garbage. Before the closures 54.2% of the men reported that they were responsible for this task, while after the closures 79.2% of the men reported they

took out the garbage, an increase of six men. This increase was offset by a decline in the number of men that reported sharing this task with their partners or reporting that their partners were solely responsible for taking out the garbage. While employed, some of the offshore fishermen reported that their partners performed this task because quite often they were at sea on designated garbage days. Since the fishery closures most of the men had taken on the responsibility for garbage disposal.

Men had also taken on more exclusive responsibility for cutting the grass. While 45.8% of the men reported that they did this task before the fishery closures, 66.7% of the men reported that they were responsible for cutting the grass after the closures, an increase of five men. One of the reasons for this increase was that the mens' partners no longer performed this task as much because the men enjoyed doing odd jobs, such as cutting the grass, to pass the time. There was, however, some sharing of this task between partners since the closures with 25.0% of the men reporting that their partners also cut the grass. Another reason for this increase was that before the closures two men reported that this task was not applicable to their households. Since the closures, however, they had time to put in lawns, so cutting the grass was a task they performed.

Similarly, three more men after the closures, for a total of 50.0%, reported that they were responsible for gardening. Fewer men reported that their partners exclusively did the gardening or that they shared this task with their partners since the closures as compared to before the closures. As with cutting the grass, the men reported that gardening gave them something to do and they enjoyed

the outdoors.

Furthermore, there was an increase in the number of men who reported that they were responsible for shovelling snow since the fishery closures. While 54.2% of the men reported that they were responsible for this task prior to the closures, 66.7% of the men reported that they shovelled snow after the closures. Since this increase was small, the only change worth mentioning was that before the closures two men reported that their partners were exclusively responsible for shovelling snow, but since the closures no men reported that their partners were exclusively responsible for this task. In both sets of data, however, men reported sharing this task with their partners. While most men expressed the pleasure of being out in the yard cutting grass and gardening, the same sentiments were not expressed about shovelling snow. Although more men performed this task, it was very labourious and they did it because they had no choice.

The increase in the number of men that performed home repairs of electrical and plumbing problems was slight. Only one more man reported that he was responsible for each of these tasks since the fishery closures. Worth mentioning, however, was that 66.7% and 70.8% of the men reported that they were responsible for home repair of electrical and plumbing problems, respectively, since the closures. As Sinclair and Felt (1992) found, the men in their study were particularly involved in home construction as 85.0% or more indicated personal participation in most of the tasks, either alone or with outside help. The men were least likely to install electricity, but even this skilled work was undertaken by 77.1% of the men (Sinclair and Felt 1992:62). Such was also the

case in this study. Most of the men interviewed were skilled in minor home repairs, skills probably learned from their fathers growing up because all of the men reported having helped their fathers with chores around the house when they were teenagers. In fact, some of the men used their skills to occupy their time since the fishery closures. A few of the men reported that they did home repairs for relatives and neighbours since they became unemployed.

With respect to plastering, both prior to and following the fishery closures 37.5% of the men reported that they plastered. This percentage is low in comparison to Sinclair and Felt's (1992) finding. They found that 62.3% of the men in their study reported that they usually did this task. In this study, however, a substantial number of men reported that a non-household person was responsible for plastering. Before and since the fishery closures, 45.8% and 37.5% of the men respectively, reported that they paid someone to perform this task. The men claimed that their partners did not participate in plastering.

This, however, was not the case for indoor painting. In fact, 33.3% of the men in both sets of data reported that their partners were exclusively responsible for indoor painting. According to the men, their partners performed this task because their partners claimed they were better and neater at indoor painting than the men. While there was sharing of this task between partners, one man less for a total of 25.0% reported that they were exclusively responsible for indoor painting since the fishery closures.

For home maintenance and construction, it can be stated that men were participating more in most of the tasks that made up this component of domestic labour. Since the fishery closures, men reported doing odd jobs inside and

outside their homes to pass the time. Some men claimed:

I do more things around the house now. The days are so long I am doing more things just to pass time.

I spend most of my time out in the garden, making a lawn and digging out under the house.

In my time off since the crisis I mostly do things around the house. I would like to do more repairs but I can't afford it.

VEHICLE MAINTENANCE

Turning to vehicle maintenance, this study shows no change in the amount of time men spent on the tasks included in this component of domestic labour. Both before and since the fishery closures only 20.8% of the men reported having spent one hour per week on vehicle maintenance, while 79.2% of the men reported having spent no time on this component. The limited time men spent on vehicle maintenance was reflected in who performed the tasks in this component. For both sets of data only 20.8% of the men reported that they were responsible for changing the oil, while 16.7% of the men reported that they replaced a fanbelt and repaired brakes. Most of the men reported that they brought their vehicle to the garage for maintenance. Since some men had more time on their hands and had less money, I was surprised to have found that men were not performing more of the maintenance on their vehicles rather than paying someone at the garage. In Sinclair and Felt (1992:63) it was found that 79.3% of the men reported that they usually performed minor car repairs. This, however, was not the case for the men from Trepassey.

The only important effect that the fishery crisis has had on vehicle

maintenance was that before the fishery closures one man reported the tasks in this component were not applicable to his household, while after the closures three men reported that vehicle maintenance was not applicable to their households. That is, since the fishery closures two more men no longer had vehicles. Due to loss of income they could not afford all of the expenses that a vehicle incurred. This in turn affected other aspects of their lives. Without a car the places the families could go were limited and the time it took to do things, such as shopping, was increased. In addition, another man that had a car at the time of the interview expressed concern about the future. He reported:

We have stopped using our car unless necessary because of the cost of gas. We used to go for drives and to Bay Bulls to get groceries but now we can't afford to do that. We figure once the car we own gives out we will never have another one.

SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION

The final component of domestic labour to be analyzed is subsistence production. With respect to the amount of time that men spent on subsistence production, there were no data available. Informants could not report accurately on the cumulative time spent on tasks that varied from week to week and season to season. Therefore, the data analysis of subsistence production was an analysis of changes in who performed the tasks included in this component of domestic labour.

Overall, this study shows that there was little change in mens' participation in subsistence production since the fishery closures. In fact, there were only three tasks, picking berries, growing vegetables and fishing for which men

reported an increase in responsibility. The increase, however, was slight with only one man more for each task reporting that he performed the task.

For picking berries, only 16.7% of the men reported that they performed this task after the closures. One of these men, however, was adamant about this task. I interviewed him during bakeapple season and he reported that every morning he got up early and picked berries all day because he knew where to find the best berries. He reported that he picked berries for enjoyment, not to make money from selling them. I did, however, buy a few gallons of bakeapples from him on subsequent trips I made to Trepassey. While not many men reported that they exclusively performed this task, three more men for a total of 54.2% reported that they performed this task with their partners after the closures. That is, there was substantial sharing of this task between partners. This is consistent with Sinclair and Felt's (1992) finding. They found that while only 15.8% of the men reported they picked berries alone, 48.1% of the men reported that they and their partners performed this task (Sinclair and Felt 1992:63). In this study the men reported that they liked sharing this task with their partners because they enjoyed getting out in the country.

Growing vegetables was not as predominant a form of subsistence production as picking berries. Only one man more, for a total of 25.0%, reported that they were exclusively responsible for growing vegetables following the closures. These men grew vegetables to supplement the groceries they bought at the supermarket. One man reported:

Now in my leisure time I spend more time in the garden. Actually, I made the garden a lot bigger this year than it was last year.

Despite this slight increase in male participation in growing vegetables, 62.5% of

the men reported that growing vegetables was not applicable to their households after the closures. This was a high percentage considering most men's loss of income and the fact that most men had more time on their hands.

Fishing was the other task in which men participated more since the fishery closures. While only one man more reported that he performed this task after the closures, a substantial percentage of men, (79.2%) fished. Obviously, fishing was a much more popular form of subsistence production for the men than the previous two tasks. The majority of men expressed the pleasure they got from fishing. While it provided food for their families, most men viewed fishing for home consumption as a chance to get away by themselves for a few hours or with the guys for a few days. One man I interviewed was proud to show me the catch he had made that morning. The interview was scheduled for 10:00 am so he got up at 7:00 am and went fishing. During that time he caught a dozen trout. While sea trout was considered a good fish, several men talked about how much they missed jigging a few cod. The fishery crisis, however, had not lessened men's participation in fishing for home consumption.

While one man less, for a total of 70.8% reported that he hunted since the fishery closures, the popularity of hunting was almost equivalent to that of fishing. This is similar to Sinclair and Felt's (1992) finding. They found that 72.4% of the men in their study reported that they hunted. As with fishing, in addition to providing food for their families, hunting was a chance to get together with other men for a week of cooking up and having a few drinks. There is no doubt that hunting is good in the area, with caribou herds visible from the road. The fishery crisis had done little to change men's involvement in this task.

The same, however, was not true for cutting wood. Three men less, for a total of 16.7% reported that they cut wood after the fishery closures. While two men gave no reason for no longer performing this task, one man claimed he did not have time to cut wood. He was enrolled in a training program in St. John's and only got home to Trepassey on the weekends. Therefore, since the fishery closures he reported that he bought wood. I was a little surprised to find that 79.2% of the men reported that this task was not applicable to their households. As alluded to in Chapter Five, however, many homes did not have wood stoves and for those that did, cutting wood was expensive. This may have been the reason the two men mentioned above no longer performed this task.

The fishery crisis has had no impact on men's participation in pickling/making jam and knitting/making clothes. For pickling/making jam only one man reported that he performed this task in both sets of data. Most men reported that their partners were responsible for these task. The same was true for knitting/making clothes. It was not surprising to find that men reported no participation in these tasks. In both sets of data, 33.3% of the men reported that their partners performed these tasks, while 62.5% of the men claimed that these tasks were not carried out in their households. The men's partners were not compensating for the loss of household income by doing more knitting or making family members' clothing.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that men's loss of paid employment in the public

sphere had resulted in changes in the domestic division of labour in the private sphere. The fishery crisis had affected domestic labour in terms of both the amount of time men spent on domestic tasks and the kinds of tasks that they performed. Men were spending more time on domestic labour and performing more tasks.

Specifically, men were spending more time on routine housework, household finances, child care, running errands, home maintenance/construction and subsistence production since the fishery closures. Vehicle maintenance was the only component on which men reported not spending any more time. The most significant increases in the amount of time spent per week were for routine housework and child care, the two major components of domestic labour. This was contrary to the common sense notion that men were spending much more time on home repairs, renovations and subsistence production.

For routine housework, 62.5% of the men reported that they spent more time performing the tasks included in this component of domestic labour. On average, men spent 5.5 hours more per week on routine housework since the fishery closures. For the men this was a big increase of more than 100%. With respect to child care, 18 of the 24 men interviewed reported spending time on this component of domestic labour after the closures. Of those 18 men, 55.6% spent more time on child care, 22.2% spent the same amount of time and 22.2% spent less time. On average, the fathers spent approximately 11 hours more per week on child care following the fishery closures.

Since routine housework and child care are the two major components of domestic labour, it is consistent with the literature reviewed in Chapter One to

find that since the fishery closures men were spending more time on these components. As McKee and Bell (1985; 1986) and Morris (1985) found, in the face of male unemployment there was evidence of change in dividing up responsibilities for domestic tasks. They also found, however, that unemployment had no uniform effect and the extent of male participation in the domestic sphere was something privately negotiated and executed. While there was some evidence of the blurring of boundaries between men and women in the division of domestic tasks, it in no way represented a major assumption of domestic responsibility.

The findings in this study confirm those of McKee and Bell (1985; 1986) and Morris (1985). While men were participating more in routine housework and child care, only a few men contributed significantly enough to constitute equal sharing with their partners. Most men gave more help but only to a limited degree. This was demonstrated by the average amount of time per week that men spent on routine housework and child care. While the averages had increased as indicated above, the time men spent on routine housework and child care was much less than women. The men in this study spent 9.4 hours per week on routine housework and 23.0 hours per week on child care. Compared to the amount of time that women spent on these components, in the studies conducted by Oakley (1974), Edgell (1980) and Hochschild (1989), and the amount of time women spent on routine housework and child care in this study, even after the increase men did not devote nearly as much time as women to these two components of domestic labour. Men were participating more, but there was still a long way to go before claims of equality could be made.

With respect to the remaining components of domestic labour, the increase in the amount of time that men spent on household finances, running errands, home maintenance/construction and subsistence production was not as substantial. For household finances, 12.5% more men reported spending one hour per week on the tasks included in this component since the fishery closures. Men, however, were not spending more time on the tasks by taking exclusive responsibility for them. Rather they shared responsibility for the tasks with their partners. Also, while there was an increase in the amount of time men spent running errands, it was only a 15 minute increase per week. After the closures 29.1% more men reported sharing the responsibilities of running errands with their partners, rather than performing the tasks themselves. Both prior to and following the fishery closures the men reported that their partners were predominantly responsible for household finances and running errands.

For home maintenance/construction and subsistence production the amount of time that men spent on the tasks included in these components could not be measured as discussed earlier. The fact that men were participating more in some of the home maintenance/construction tasks meant they spent a little more time on this component of domestic labour after the fishery closures. Men reported that they performed odd jobs inside and outside their homes to pass the time. For subsistence production there was very little change in men's participation. There were only three tasks for which there was a slight increase in participation, two tasks for which men reported the same participation and two for which men reported less participation. I was expecting to have found a more substantial increase in the participation of men and/or their partners in more of

the tasks to supplement the household in times of less income, but this was not the case.

CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSION

The cod fishery played a dominant role in the lives of Newfoundlanders from the 15th century through to the 20th century. Throughout the centuries the fishery went through several periods of crisis', but none as devastating as that of the 1990s. As a result of mismanagement and overfishing Newfoundland's most important primary resource was depleted to the point that a cod moratorium was announced in 1992 and a sustainable recovery of the cod fishery is presently uncertain. Such a crisis will affect Newfoundland and its people for generations.

Many coastal communities depended on the cod fishery for their economic survival. This certainly was the case for the Southern Shore town of Trepassey. This isolated community was built around the fishery. The fish plant and offshore fishery employed hundreds of people and the fishery provided the economic basis for community development. In its heyday Trepassey was an extremely prosperous town. Since the fishery closures, however, Trepassey has been characterized by a high unemployment rate. This in turn has led to reduced incomes, less money circulating throughout the community and an increase in out-migration as the labour force seeks employment elsewhere. As a result of the fishery crisis the economic future of Trepassey is uncertain.

In addition to its economic role, the fishery also played an important social role. That is, the social organization of the fishery affected the structure of household relations. As discussed in Chapter Four, the traditional Newfoundland salt cod fishery was an agnatic based fishery in which the men fished while the women and children processed the fish. The social structure of the family was

based on a distinct division between what was considered male and female work. The domestic division of labour was such that men performed most of the tasks outside the home, such as fishing, hunting and cutting wood, while women performed most of the tasks inside the home, such as cooking and minding the children (Davis 1988; Porter 1983; Faris 1972 and Firestone 1967). In the second half of the 20th century the traditional inshore fishery was mostly replaced by an offshore fishery that relied on draggers and a large plant to process fish. This changed the social organization of the fishery in that fishing crews were no longer necessarily agnatic based and women entered into paid employment processing fish at the fish plant. The structure of household relations, however, did not change. That is, there remained a distinct division in domestic labour between men's work and women's work (Williams 1996; Binkley 1995 and Sinclair and Felt 1992).

The purpose of this study was to determine if a crisis such as that in the Newfoundland fishery would affect the rigid gender-based domestic division of labour. The following is a discussion of the effects that the fishery closures had on the domestic division of labour in fishery family households, the implications of such effects on family and community relations and future research considerations.

Before the fishery closures the female plant workers faced the double burden of working in the public sphere of paid employment and the private sphere of unpaid domestic labour. When employed most of the women reported that there was a segregated domestic division of labour in their households. The women were predominantly responsible for routine housework, child care,

banking and running errands, while their partners performed most of the home maintenance\construction, subsistence production and vehicle maintenance tasks.

Since the fishery closures there had been a number of changes in the domestic division of labour with respect to the amount of time women spent on domestic labour and the kinds of tasks they performed. For the women of Trepassey who worked in the fish plant, the plant closure resulted in increased responsibility for domestic labour. Overall, women reported that they spent more time on domestic labour and performed more tasks since the closure of the fish plant.

The main reason given for this was that, since women's loss of paid employment in the public sphere, most of their partners relinquished some of their responsibility for domestic tasks in the private sphere. When the women were employed, their partners contributed more to domestic labour than since the closure of the fish plant. The importance of the female partner's employment status in determining the male partner's contribution to domestic labour was highlighted by the fact that the two women who reported not spending more time on routine housework were employed in other jobs since the closure of the fish plant. Their partners continued to share responsibilities; therefore, the domestic division of labour, with respect to routine housework remained unchanged.

The fact that some men relinquished some of their responsibility for domestic labour can be viewed from two different perspectives. From a male perspective, the men may have felt that their partners should have been responsible for more domestic labour, especially routine housework and child

care since they no longer worked in paid employment, while the men were still employed. From a female perspective, a large number of women reported that their partners took less responsibility for domestic labour because the women were around the house, had more time on their hands and, in some cases, were bored. Therefore, they performed more domestic tasks to pass the time, leaving fewer tasks for the men to perform. Whatever the reasons, it can be concluded that women spent more time on domestic labour since the closure of the fish plant. This resulted in a more segregated domestic division of labour than when the plant was open.

With respect to male plant workers and offshore fishermen, they reported that there was a segregated domestic division of labour in their households when they were employed in the fishery. The men reported that they were predominantly responsible for home maintenance\construction and vehicle maintenance. While the men reported that they shared the responsibilities of child care and subsistence production with their partners, they reported that their partners were predominantly responsible for routine housework, household finances and running errands.

Since the fishery closures there had been changes in the domestic division of labour with respect to the amount of time men spent on domestic labour and the kinds of tasks that they performed. For the men of Trepassey who worked in the fish plant and in the offshore fishery, the fishery closures resulted in increased responsibility for domestic labour. Overall, men reported that they spent more time on domestic labour and performed more tasks since the fishery closures. This was particularly true for routine housework and child care. It is

worth repeating that men increased the amount of time they spent on these two components of domestic labour by approximately 100%. Despite this increase, however, men spent significantly less time on these components compared to women as documented in the literature (Edgell 1980; Pahl 1984; and Hochschild 1989) and as reported by the women in this study. While men increased their contributions, most reported that their partners remained predominantly responsible for routine housework and child care. There was only a couple of exceptional cases, such as two househusbands, who contributed the same as their employed partners. Therefore, while there was a less segregated domestic division of labour in some male plant worker and offshore fishermen's households since the fishery closures, a sharp sexual division of labour still remained.

The fact that a crisis such as that in the Newfoundland cod fishery had not significantly alter the domestic division of labour in fishery family households suggests that there were perhaps cultural, social and economic factors that militated against a major redistribution of domestic labour.

For the women and men interviewed their perceived role in the household was developed from childhood. That is, they were socialized around what was considered male and female work. For instance, only one woman and three men reported that their mothers worked in the public sphere of paid employment. All of those interviewed, however, reported that their mothers performed the majority of household tasks in the private sphere, such as routine housework and child care. With respect to their fathers, all of the women and men reported that their fathers worked in the public sphere of paid employment. In the private sphere it

was reported that fathers mostly performed outside chores, such as cutting wood and tending livestock. While fathers helped mothers in the household, their contributions were not substantial.

This division of labour was ingrained in the women and men from the time they started to perform domestic tasks or chores for their parents. When asked about what tasks they were responsible for when growing up, most women reported that they did housework and looked after siblings, while men performed mostly outside chores. Therefore, as adults, women and men assumed the domestic role they had been socialized to perform. This socialization process is explained by Fagot and Leinbach (1987:89):

...we assume that the sex typing encountered in everyday life provides the material upon which cognition feeds and that the family is the matrix within which the earliest sex role socialization takes place. There the child first learns who is male and who female, what males and females are and do, and that the whole business of being one or the other somehow matters a great deal.

Such socialization is a powerful familial interaction that instills roles, values and beliefs in individuals that are not easily broken down. The fishery crisis probably had little impact on people's socialization, thus their beliefs about their roles in domestic labour were fundamentally unchanged.

Also, as major circumstances change, people often try to maintain a sense of purpose and self. The fishery crisis resulted in mass unemployment, thus upheaval of personal lives and social dislocation. Such change affects the way individuals see and evaluate themselves. Being unemployed lowers one's confidence, self-esteem and self-worth (Burman 1988; Allan 1985). Therefore, people try to maintain some stability and normality in their lives to minimize the

effects of crisis. This was particularly true for male plant workers and offshore fishermen. A reaction against the surrender of the rigid domestic division of labour was one way men maintained some sense of control in their lives (Morris 1985). Most of the men occupied themselves in activities that kept them outside the household, such as those in the informal economy. Although they were unemployed, they were not inside the house full-time. Women, however, did not have the same reaction as men. While many women expressed the fact that they missed the camaraderie at work and the chance to get away from home life, it did not seem that their identity was as closely linked to their work in paid employment. Women were predominantly responsible for household work before the closures. Therefore, an increased responsibility in this role did not seem to be as serious a challenge to women's identities as it was for men. Research shows, however, that:

... over any length of time housework cannot fill the void unemployment creates... In contrast to housework, employment provides an arena for social involvement as well as an income that grants some level of independence... employment has provided women with a route out of the social and financial dependence domesticity traps them in. As a result, increased domestic involvement can not in any real sense act as compensation for unemployment (Allan 1985:161).

It may well be that over an extended period of time the women of Trepassey who worked in the fish plant may harbour more resentment toward their domestic role than was expressed in this research.

With respect to one's socialized roles and perceived identity it is worth mentioning the two men who became househusbands after the fishery closures. These two cases were the most extreme examples of the effects of the fishery closures on the domestic division of labour. Since their wives worked in paid

employment the men had a whole new set of responsibilities and duties. That is, the definition of the husband's role in the household changed. While the wives were at work, the men were responsible for housework and child care tasks. The experience of this role reversal can significantly impact on one's sense of self. The men were stripped of the life they knew and faced with a role, which up to that point in their lives, they had not played. While the men claimed that the househusband role had not negatively affected their perceptions and interpretations of their lives, the role was a relatively new experience. It is possible, however, that the longer the men are unemployed and in the househusband role the more likely they are to question their identities and be concerned about their peers' and communities' perceptions of their role as househusband (Segal 1993).

Furthermore, certain economic factors influenced the effects of the fishery closures on the domestic division of labour. The pursuit of employment and participation in retraining programs perpetuated the distinct domestic division of labour. This was especially true for the male plant workers and offshore fishermen. Two men were employed and two enrolled in training programs outside of Trepassey. Therefore, they reported actually having spent less time on domestic tasks since the fishery closures. This meant that their partners took on more responsibility for domestic labour. With respect to female plant workers, none were employed or enrolled in training programs outside Trepassey. When the interviews were conducted two women were employed and three were enrolled in training programs in Trepassey. As discussed in Robinson (1995:171-172):

...it was much harder for a woman to move away than a man. Some found it very difficult to consider leaving their communities because of domestic responsibilities, because their husbands would not go, or for financial reasons.

Such were the sentiments of the women I interviewed. This was especially true for those households with young children. Since the male partners were employed the families would have had to hire a full-time babysitter if the female partners were to find employment or attend retraining programs elsewhere. For these households such an arrangement would not have been feasible in both economic and familial terms. In fact, two women enrolled in training programs in Trepassey mentioned the added expense of having a babysitter during the day. When they worked the night shift at the fish plant their husbands looked after the children. Since the women were in training, both parents were absent during the day so a babysitter was responsible for child care. One woman in particular mentioned her concern about this matter. She realized that when she finished her training, if she did not find a job in Trepassey, she would have no choice but to remain unemployed because leaving her family and community was not an option. The prospect of leaving the household for employment or retraining was more of a barrier for women than men. This reinforced the societal perception of a woman's place in the home and the distinct sexual division of domestic labour.

Although this study adds to the literature on the domestic division of labour, there is still a tremendous amount of research to be carried out on the impacts of the fishery crisis on Newfoundlanders and their families. From my research comes the suggestion that, if the crisis had affected the domestic division of labour, then there are probably other social impacts that must be

addressed if governments, communities and Newfoundlanders are to effectively manage any negative social implications of the fishery crisis.

First of all, it would be beneficial to carry out a longitudinal study of the effects of the fishery crisis on the domestic division of labour to determine if there is a correlation between the length of the period of unemployment and the extent of changes in the domestic division of labour. For example, will men contribute more or less to domestic labour the longer they are unemployed?

Since the domestic division of labour is only one of many relationships within the private sphere of the household, there are a number of other familial issues that need to be studied. Research needs to be done on the effects of the fishery crisis on the incidence of domestic violence. That is, since the crisis are there more reports of spousal abuse in fishery family households? A crisis such as that in the Newfoundland fishery can cause tensions on a number of levels. For instance, there may be increased stress due to loss of employment, loss of income and from partners spending more time together. With such stress factors, people may resort to taking out feelings of anxiety, depression and frustration out on their partners in the form of domestic abuse. This concern is supported by the research carried out by the Canadian Mental Health Association's Needs Assessment For Community Health in 1994. This study gave people in communities affected by the moratorium, an opportunity to describe the way that their lives and communities had changed. This study found that domestic crisis did not seem to be widespread. There were no reports of domestic violence in the 46 family interviews and the RCMP reported no increase in calls to investigate domestic disputes. Several of the 51 Community

Leaders interviewed, however, identified family violence as a problem and spoke of the need for a women's shelter in one community. "Leaders tended to speculate that more problems were occurring in households than were actually reported by families"(CMHA: 1994:43), but this could not be verified. The researchers noted that their decision to interview spouses together may have reduced the likelihood that anyone would have reported incidents of family violence with the offending spouse present.

Also, research is necessary on the incidence of alcoholism. For the same reasons mentioned above, fishery people may turn to alcohol as a means of escape. As discussed in the CMHA'S report on social problems, most of the changes noticed since the moratorium were related to alcohol. While most participant families reported no major increase in drinking, 20% of the families agreed that family members were drinking since the moratorium was imposed. It is interesting to note that 9 of the 10 families who reported that they were drinking more were on the Southern Shore, the location where research for this thesis was conducted. A footnote in the CMHA'S report states:

Alcohol and drug abuse are priority areas in the Public Health Care Service on the Southern Shore. There is much local lore about the drinking in the area, and a recent Needs Assessment conducted by public health showed that these communities identified counselling in alcohol and drug use as a need (1994: 56).

If the fishery crisis causes an increase in the rate of alcoholism, then one must consider the additional government expense of providing treatment to people with an alcohol addiction.

Research should also be carried out on the incidence of marital breakdowns. That is, have separation and divorce rates increased since the

fishery crisis? A crisis creates several problems within households that could threaten marital stability. In addition to serious problems, such as domestic violence and alcoholism, there are other less serious factors that must be considered. For example, separation of partners because of enrollment in training programs and employment relocation may result in an increase in marital infidelity, which in turn may lead to higher divorce rates. According to the CMHA'S report (1994:78) "only one person discussed the break-up of a relationship directly, and blamed the crisis in the fishery for this. Several others, however, reported that they knew of friends, neighbours or relatives who had broken up because of the moratorium."

Finally, research needs to be done on suicide rates. When people face long periods of unemployment, identity/role changes and feelings of despair, there are varying emotional responses. That is, people cope with crisis in different ways. Those that remain optimistic and have family and community support will likely survive a crisis. Others, however, may not have effective coping strategies and support networks. For such people, suicide may seem to be the only way out of a desperate situation. This concern is supported by the CMHA'S research. In their study thoughts of suicide were mentioned in only two interviews. They concluded, however, that "it is entirely possible that depression and thoughts of suicide are more widespread than our interviews indicate" (CMHA 1994:54). Therefore, future research should be conducted to determine if there is a correlation between suicide rates and the fishery crisis.

While there is much more research that could be done on the effects of the fishery crisis on the family life of fishery people, this thesis has made a

contribution to the literature on the domestic division of labour. The findings, however, are similar to those of the literature reviewed earlier. Whereas male plant worker and offshore fishermen households were less segregated, female plant worker households were more segregated. Despite the impact of the crisis in the Newfoundland cod fishery, the distinct sexual division of domestic labour remained entrenched.

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THE EFFECTS OF THE FISHERY CRISIS ON THE
DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOUR

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

Sample # _____
Date _____
Time _____Address _____
Sex M ___ F ___
Telephone # _____

.....

Hello, my name is Tanya Chapman. Your name was randomly selected from the telephone book and I would like your permission to ask you a few questions. First of all, was your last occupation one of the following? Offshore Fisherman ____; Male Plant Worker ____; Female Plant Worker _____. Secondly, are you married? Married ____; Living common law _____. How long have you been living with your partner? _____. You qualify for a study that I am carrying out at Memorial University related to the fishery crisis. Would you be willing to give me about an hour of your time for a personal interview in your home? The purpose of the interview is to gather information on household tasks prior to and since the fishery crisis. Maybe you can shed some light on the topic. Later in the interview I'll give you an opportunity to ask me some questions if you have any. The information you provide me will be used with other respondent answers to assist me in writing my thesis. I assure you of the strictest confidentiality of your responses. Your name will not be used in any connection with this research.

I would first like to ask you a few background questions about yourself personally.

1a. Were you born in Trepassey?

Yes ____ ; No ____

1b. If yes, have you lived here all your life?

Yes ____ ; No ____

1c. If no, how long have you lived here? _____

2a. What was the last grade (or year) you completed in school? _____

2b. Do you have any post-secondary education or training? _____

2c. If yes, what is the highest level of post-secondary education? _____

3. Could you tell me how old you were on your last birthday? under 25 ____ ; 25-35 ____ ; 36- 45 ____ ; 46-55 ____ ; 56-65 ____ ; over 65 ____

4. Are you unemployed?

Yes ____ ; No ____

5a. Are you a member of any union (s) ?

Yes ____ ; No ____

5b. If yes, which one (s) _____

6a. Do you rent or own your home?

Rent ____ ; Own ____

6b. How long have you lived in present home? _____

7a. Are you presently in any training programs?

Yes ____ ; No ____ If no, go to 8(a)

7b. If yes, what kind of training? _____

7c. Does the training take place in Trepassey?

Yes ____ ; No ____

7d. If no, where is the training facility? _____

- 7e. What kind of training is it? _____
- 7f. How many hours a day do you spend at training program? _____
- 7g. How many days per week? _____
- 7h. How long is the program in weeks? _____
- 8a. Have you been in any training since the fishery crisis?
Yes ____ ; No ____
- 8b. If yes, what kind of training? _____
- 8c. Did the training take place in Trepassey?
Yes ____ ; No ____
- 8d. If no, where was the training facility? _____
- 8e. What kind of training was it? _____
- 8f. How many hours a day did you spend at training program? _____
- 8g. How many days per week? _____
- 8h. How long was the program in weeks? _____
- 9a. Which figures come closest to your personal yearly gross income from all sources?
less than \$5000 ____ ; 5000-10000 ____ ; 10000-15000 ____ ; 15000-20000 ____
; 20000- 30000 ____ ; 30000-40000 ____ ; 40000 or more ____ ; no answer ____
____ ; don't know ____
- 9b. How has your yearly gross income been affected by the fishery crisis?
Risen ____ ; Fallen ____ ; Stayed Same ____
- 10a. Do you receive the compensation package?
Yes ____ ; No ____
- 10b. If no, why not? _____
- 11a. How many individuals live in the household? _____

11b. Could you please tell me the relationship of each of these individuals to you and their age?

Individual a _____
 Individual b _____
 Individual c _____
 Individual d _____
 Individual e _____

I am now going to ask questions about what type of household you grew up in.

12a. What types of tasks did your father perform?

12b. What types of tasks did your mother perform?

12c. Did your father work outside the household in paid employment?
 Yes ____ ; No ____

12d. If yes, what type of work? _____

12e. Did your mother work outside the household in paid employment?
 Yes ____ ; No ____

12f. If yes, what type of work? _____

12g. Who, in your opinion, performed the majority of household tasks?
 Father ____ ; Mother ____ ; Other ____

12h. What household tasks, if any, were you responsible for?

I am now going to ask questions back to when you were employed, before the fishery crisis resulted in the closure of the fish plant or the fishery.

13. Who usually performed the following tasks before the crisis?

14. Approximately how much time was spent on each group of tasks per week?

ROUTINE HOUSEWORK	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Cleaning Bathroom				
Cooking				
Dusting				
Doing Laundry				
Ironing				
Making Beds				
Serving Meals				
Sewing				
Cleaning Floors				
Vacuuming				
Washing Dishes				
Approximate Time Spent \Week				

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Paying Bills				
Banking				
Tax Returns				
Approximate Time Spent\ Week				

CHILD CARE	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Diapering				
Discipling				
Dressing				
Minding				
Playing With Children				
Putting Them To Bed				
Taking Them To School				
Caring For Sick Children				
Taking Child To Doctor				
Taking Child To Sports				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

RUNNING ERRANDS	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Going Shopping				
Going To Grocery Store				
Other				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

HOME MAINTENANCE \ CONST	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Cutting Grass				
Disposing Garbage				
Household Repair (Elec)				
Household Repair (Plb)				
Shovelling Snow				
Gardening				
Indoor Painting				
Plastering				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

VEHICLE MAINTENANCE	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Changing Oil				
Replace Fanbelt				
Brake Repair				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION	PRE-CRISIS			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Picking Berries				
Growing Vegetables				
Cutting Wood				
Pickling\Making Jam				
Knitting\Making Clothes				
Hunting				
Fishing (Home Consp)				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

15. Do you feel you spent too much time on household tasks? If so, on what tasks?

16. How do you explain the amount of time you spent on household tasks? Probe:
Do you feel your upbringing had any impact?

17. What did you do with your leisure time prior to the crisis (when you were employed)? Probes: Was time spent socializing? Was it spent on recreational activities?

I am now going to ask questions related to your present everyday life. I am interested in gathering information on household tasks since the closure of the fish plant and the cod moratorium.

18. Who usually performs the following tasks?

19. Approximately how much time is spent on each group of tasks per week?

ROUTINE HOUSEWORK	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Cleaning Bathroom				
Cooking				
Dusting				
Doing Laundry				
Ironing				
Making Beds				
Serving Meals				
Sewing				
Cleaning Floors				
Vacuuming				
Washing Dishes				
Approximate Time Spent/Week				

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Paying Bills				
Banking				
Tax Returns				
Approximate Time Spent/Week				

CHILD CARE	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Diapering				
Discipling				
Dressing				
Minding				
Playing With Children				
Putting Them To Bed				
Taking Them To School				
Caring For Sick Child				
Taking Child To Doctor				
Taking Child To Sports				
Approximate Time Spent/Week				

RUNNING ERRANDS	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Going Shopping				
Going To Grocery Store				
Other				
Approximate Time Spent/Week				

HOME MAINTENANCE\CONST	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Cutting Grass				
Disposing Garbage				
Household Repair (Elec)				
Household Repair (Plb)				
Shovelling Snow				
Gardening				
Indoor Painting				
Plastering				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

VEHICLE MAINTENANCE	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Changing Oil				
Replace Fanbelt				
Brake Repair				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

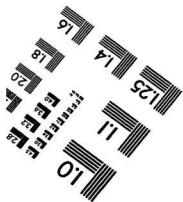
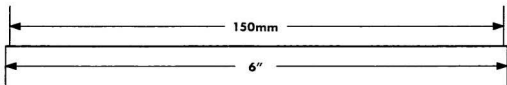
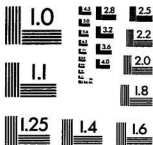
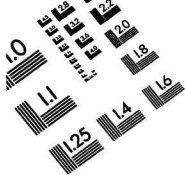
SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION	PRESENT			
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER	NA
Picking Berries				
Growing Vegetables				
Cutting Wood				
Pickling\Making Jam				
Knitting\Making Clothes				
Hunting				
Fishing (Home Consp)				
Approximate Time Spent\Week				

20. Do you feel you spend too much time on household tasks? If so, on what tasks?
21. How do you explain the amount of time you spend on household tasks?
22. What do you do with your leisure time off since the fishery crisis? Probes: Is time spent socializing? Is it spent on recreational activities?
23. Overall, do you notice any change in who performs household tasks and jobs around the home?
- 24a. Do you and your partner spend more time together now?
- 24b. Do you notice any increase in stress or conflict among family members now that you are probably spending more time together?

25. Are there any other changes in your household or family life?

26. Do you have any questions with regards to this subject matter or research you would like me to answer?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CONSIDERATION IN THIS INTERVIEW



APPLIED



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