

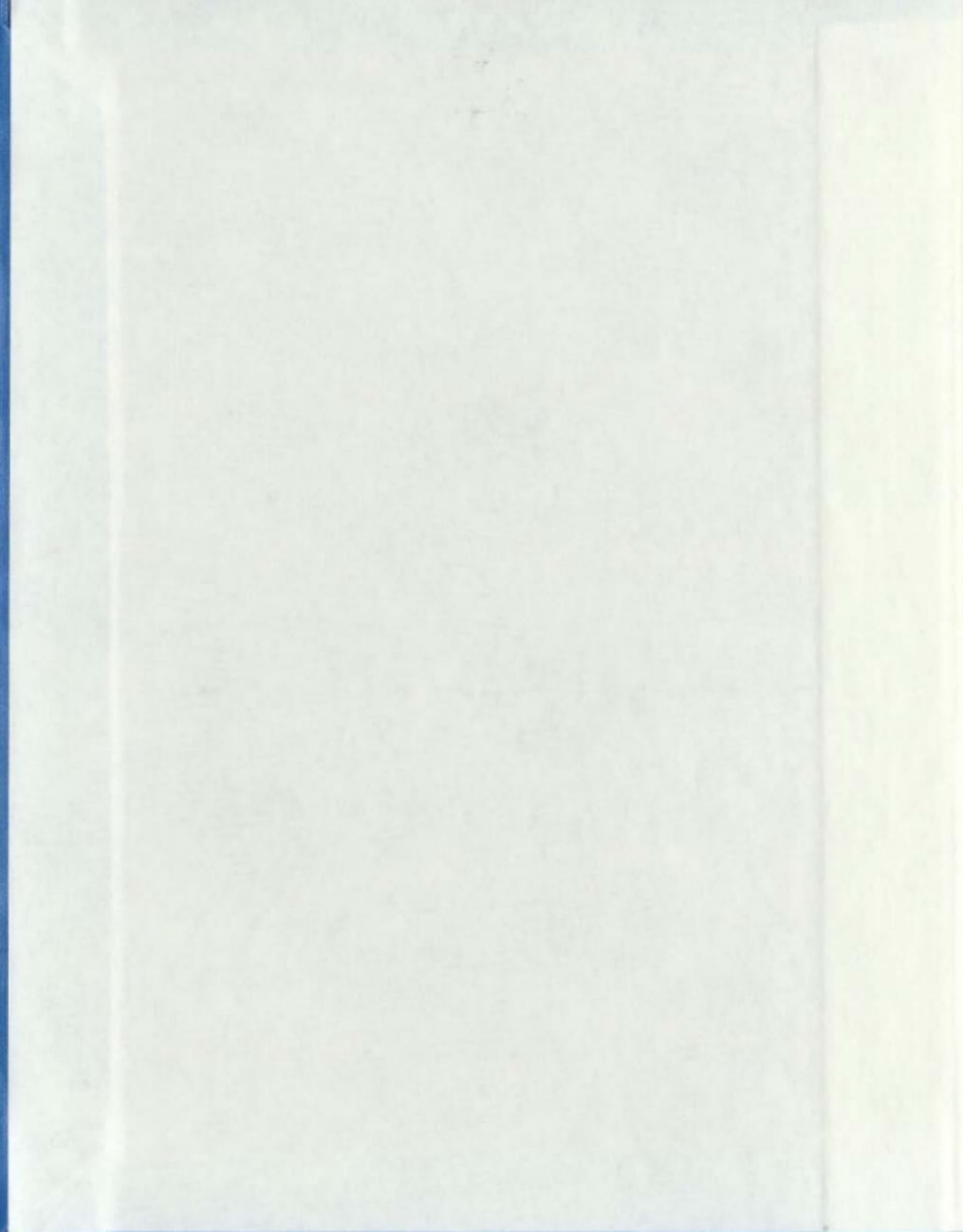
IMAGES AND REALITIES: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN
A NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR FISHERY CRISIS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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NANCY ROBBINS



**Images and Realities:
Women's Experiences in a Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery Crisis**

**by
Nancy Robbins**

**A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

This thesis explores the "line of fault" (Smith, 1987) between women's experiences in the fishery crisis in Newfoundland and Labrador and the construction of the fishery crisis in the print media in this province.

An analytical framework based on the work of Dorothy Smith guides the analysis. Smith (1987: 50) argues that a line of fault or a "disjuncture between experiences and the forms in which these experiences are socially expressed" occurs in society. In this case, the experiences of women in the fishery crisis as expressed in a series of workshops entitled Gathering Our Voices are contrasted with the results of a media analysis of The Evening Telegram coverage of the crisis. This analysis reveals two different stories: women's expressed realities in the fishery crisis and the expression and framing of the fishery crisis in the print media.

Women are under represented in the print media of Newfoundland and Labrador. Their absence as authorized knowers, reporters, and in news photos show that there is a lack of news stories written from women's point of view. A qualitative analysis of The Evening Telegram also shows that women's issues and concerns are not represented in the coverage of the fishery crisis. Instead, the fishery crisis is framed from a male centered point of view in the print media.

Women's experiences in the fishery crisis are unique and different from men's as women held different roles in the paid and unpaid sectors of the fishing industry. Women worked as mothers, wives and daughters in the household and as fish plant workers and harvesters in the paid sectors of the fishery. Women are concerned about themselves, their families and their future in the rural fishing communities of Newfoundland and Labrador.

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the writing of this thesis and taught me about personal strength and survival. Without their example, I doubt I would have completed this work.

"For your family, find a sheltered deep-water cove with a place to haul up boats, land to sink a well... Read weather signs in all seasons; study tides and navigation-sew nets, mend nets, cure the fish-and know your own coast. Keep your eyes open and put your hand to anything to survive the regular, random disasters."

From: "Recipe" by Gordon Rodgers in Wild on the Crest: Poems of the Sea, Newfoundland and Labrador (1995) St. John's: Jeroboam Books.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABE	Adult Basic Education
ACIC	Atlantic Council for International Cooperation
ACOA	Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
CAP	Canadian Assistance Plan
CAW	Canadian Auto Workers Union
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CED	Community Economic Development
CHST	Canada Health and Social Transfer
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans
EI	Employment Insurance
ERC	Economic Recovery Commission
FANL	Fisheries Association of Newfoundland and Labrador
FCC	Fisheries Council of Canada
FFAW	Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers Union
FOWAP	Fish Plant Older Worker Adjustment Program
FPI	Fisheries Products International
HAB	Harvesting Adjustment Board
HRD	Human Resources and Development
ISER	Institute of Social and Economic Research
ITQs	Individual Transferable Quotas
MHA	Member of House of Assembly
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NatSea	National Sea Products
NCARP	Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Package
PACSW	Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women
REDs	Regional Economic Development Boards
RDAs	Rural Development Associations
RSI	Repetitive Strain Injury
SA	Social Assistance
SEC	Special Eligibility Criteria
TAC	Total Allowable Catch
TAGS	The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy
UFCW	United Food and Commercial Workers Union
UI	Unemployment Insurance
WEB	Women's Enterprise Bureau

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

The cod moratorium in Newfoundland and Labrador has brought, and will bring radical economic, social and cultural changes to this province. The cod fishery has always been the backbone of the province's economy and was the reason for settlement in the first place. I became interested in the fishing industry in Newfoundland and Labrador as an undergraduate in sociology. My family originates from a fishing community in Bonavista North and I am descended from a long line of men and women who made their livelihood from the sea. My maternal grandmother made her living working on the shore in Lumsden South, and running the fishing household while my grandfather fished. My father's family were all involved in the fishery and came from Cat Harbour (also known as Lumsden North) - a community depicted in a study by James Faris (1972). In fact, my father is the only person from his generation to be mentioned in Faris' book and the only person to be identified by his first name. All other individuals are identified by aliases. As an adult, my interest in the fishery increased as I attended a protest in St. John's, shortly after the moratorium, during which a flotilla left St. John's Harbour for the Grand Banks. The aim was to promote awareness of the problem of foreign fishing fleets on the nose and tail of the Grand Banks. I saw the cod fishery through different eyes at this protest. I became even more aware of the problems of domestic and foreign overfishing when I travelled to Portugal in the summer of 1993. In Portugal, the fishery was in as much trouble as it was in

Newfoundland and Labrador. The problem became global to me, instead of a local occurrence in my own home province.

As an undergraduate, I worked as a research student examining print media coverage of the fishing industry in Newfoundland and Labrador. The lack of information on women in the fishery was noticeable. I became more aware of this gap after I joined the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet in the summer of 1994. This is a collective of individuals and groups such as the Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAW), United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women (PACSW), Women's Policy Office and feminist researchers from Memorial University who are concerned about the future of women in fishing communities. This group helps identify the impacts of the cod moratorium on women in this province. These impacts include inequalities in federal compensation packages, the marginalization of women within the models of the fishery of the future, the potential effects of social security reform on women in the fishery, and the inadequate training programs that exist for women ("Group profile...." Spring 1995; Muzychka, Jan. 1995). From here, I learned more about women's situation in the fishery crisis and the moratorium. When I applied for graduate school, I decided this was where I wanted to focus my research.

In the summer of 1995, I was offered a position as a researcher for two FishNet workshops to be held with women in the fishery. After the publication of Women of the Fishery: Interviews with 87 Women Across Newfoundland and Labrador (Educational Planning and Design, 1994), women on the tip of the Northern Peninsula and the Labrador

Straits had expressed a strong interest in having group meetings with women to discuss their concerns in the fishery crisis. FishNet submitted a proposal to the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) at Memorial University to help organize and sponsor two workshops in the area. The workshops were funded by ISER, and a planning committee consisting of the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women (PACSW) and FishNet designed the workshops with the cooperation of two facilitators, one from West St. Modeste, Labrador and the other from Quirpon, Newfoundland. Two two-day workshops were subsequently held in these areas.

The workshops were a great success and gave me an opportunity to see rural Newfoundland and Labrador and the fishery crisis through the eyes of the women I worked with and talked to in the workshops. After the original workshops, a group of women from the Northern Peninsula approached Human Resources and Development (HRD) to fund more workshops in northern, central and western Newfoundland. The workshop areas were chosen using information from the Economic Recovery Commission (ERC). Six economic zones were identified throughout the province where the impact of the fishery crisis has been the strongest. Two communities in each zone were identified for the workshops. This second set of workshops was sponsored by the PACSW, FishNet and the Women's Enterprise Bureau (WEB). These workshops followed a similar format to the original ones on the Labrador Straits and the Northern Peninsula.

As an undergraduate and graduate research assistant, I also conducted an extensive media analysis of the print media in Newfoundland and Labrador. The contrast between

what women told me in the workshops, what I heard in FishNet meetings and what I learned and read in the local newspaper was striking. I can now identify this difference as a "rupture" or a "line of fault" (Smith, 1987). The reality of everyday life as experienced by women was largely absent from the images expressed in the print news media. There were two different versions of the same story and somehow, women's stories were being erased or excluded from the media vision and when they were present, they were presented in a biased fashion. This rupture or fault line grounded my research and provided the basis for my thesis.

1.2 The Fishery Crisis

In 1977, the federal government expanded Canada's domestic fishing zone to 200 miles in an effort to curb foreign fishing off its shores. With this 200-mile limit "a strong institutionalized role for science was created" (Finlayson, 1994: 6) resulting in the expansion of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) as a political and scientific body. Subsequently, changes occurred in local fishing technology and the void left by the foreign vessels within the 200-mile limit resulted in domestic vessels with increasingly advanced technology fishing around Newfoundland and Labrador.

By 1982, the cod fishery was considered to be in "serious trouble" (Kirby, 1982: vii) and the Task Force on the Atlantic Fishery was formed to look into the looming crisis. A main recommendation of the Kirby Report regarding the cod fishery was that Canadian quota allocations for northern cod could be increased each year until 1987 as these cod stocks recovered (Kirby, 1982: 91). The main issue was how these stocks would be allocated and managed, not the stocks themselves. As trawling technology was increasing, inshore

harvesters¹ using small-scale technologies found their catches of northern cod were decreasing. The offshore industry was booming as their share of the resource increased and the technology advanced allowing them to catch more and more fish.

By 1989, an Independent Review of the Northern Cod Stocks, and the subsequent Harris Report acknowledged that there was a serious ecological crisis in the Newfoundland and Labrador cod fishery. Harris wrote:

...even though there is not an immediate threat to the survival of the northern cod stock, recent catch levels simply cannot be maintained without causing a significant and potentially very serious decline in the exploitable and spawning biomass (Harris, 1990: 3).

The report recommended a dramatic decrease in the total allowable catch (TAC) of northern cod off the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador.

In July 1992, a cod moratorium was instituted for areas 2J3KL covering the Northeast coast of Newfoundland and coastal Labrador from St. Mary's to Cartwright.² The moratorium was expected to last for two years. The government also introduced the Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Package (NCARP). NCARP was considered to be an Income Replacement Program for those deemed eligible by DFO. Eligibility was determined by dependence upon northern cod. After an individual was deemed eligible for the program, they were required to choose one of five options consisting of training outside the fishery, professionalization within the fishery, other fishing activities, early retirement

¹ I have chosen to use the term "harvester" instead of the terms "fisherman" or "fisher" to refer to workers in the harvesting sector. See chapter three for a discussion of sexist language.

² See Appendix I for a map of the fishing zones around Newfoundland and Labrador.

or license retirement (Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1992).

By August 1993, the cod fishery in the Gulf was in serious disarray and subsequent moratoria were called in other areas (south coast of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia). By the end of the two years planned for the NCARP program, it was obvious that the northern cod fisheries would not reopen soon. In April 1994, The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) was implemented, and the cod moratorium was extended for an unspecified amount of time. It was first thought that the TAGS program would continue until 1999, however, budget constraints and more eligible clients than anticipated resulted in a change in the projected end to the program to as early as 1998 or sooner. Like NCARP, TAGS includes an income replacement program, but unlike NCARP, some recipients were originally required to "work" for benefits. The main purpose of TAGS is to allow recipients an opportunity to find careers outside the fishing industry. Recipients were required to develop an individual career action plan, choosing from various options such as training, self-employment assistance for starting new businesses, green projects (work experience with environmental projects), wage subsidies, community opportunities pool (volunteer activities with community groups) or retirement through the Fish Plant Older Worker Adjustment Program (FOWAP) (Human Resources and Development, 1995).

In early 1997, the commercial cod fishery reopened on the south coast of the island portion of the province. It is uncertain, however, whether the commercial fishery will reopen for an extended period of time. The development of other fisheries in underutilized species such as snow crab and sea urchins has meant work for some harvesters and processors.

However, some of these other species such as capelin, shrimp and turbot continue to be over fished (Newfoundland and Labrador Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, 1995). Models for the fishery of the future have been developed by many groups including the provincial government (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1993), federal government (Cashin, 1993), the Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers Union or FFAW (GTA Consultants, 1993) and the Fisheries Council of Canada or FCC (1994). All models see the cod fishery returning to Newfoundland and Labrador in the near future but with fewer workers than prior to the moratorium.

The closure of the cod fishery has brought serious economic changes to rural Newfoundland and Labrador. At the same time, both the federal and provincial governments have begun to decrease the social safety net. The year 1994 saw the federal Social Security Review by the federal government which hoped to "reform" Unemployment Insurance (UI), the Canada Student Loans program, the Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) (social assistance and services) and the Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons (Government of Canada, 1994). The intent of the Social Security Review was to remove "frequent claimants" (Government of Canada, 1994: 13), such as fishery workers who qualified every year from the UI system. The UI system has been reformed recently and renamed to the Employment Insurance system (EI). This new system changes eligibility requirements from a system of weeks worked, to one based on number of hours worked. The minimum requirement to qualify is based on the average work week of 35 hours and the maximum length to qualify is reduced from 45 weeks to 910 hours (Government of Canada, 1996). Women in the

fishery are affected differently than their male counterparts. Women who do shore work with their partner's fishing enterprise, for example, are no longer eligible for benefits. Household incomes are now considered when applying for EI meaning women who are lower paid than their partners may not qualify for benefits (Neis and Williams, forthcoming).

In 1996, the federal government also implemented the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) program. This is resulting in a decrease in federal transfers to the provinces in the areas of education, health and social services. For those displaced by the fishery, a cut to social services is especially detrimental as their inability to find work at the end of the TAGS program means that there will be a heavier dependence upon social assistance (SA) in the province in the future. Cuts to social services as a result of the CHST mean that less money is available to TAGS recipients whose TAGS eligibility has ended.

Along with the changes in the social safety net, the cod moratorium has caused the provincial government to refocus its economic plans in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. The introduction of the Economic Recovery Commission (ERC) meant a focus on community economic development in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. One objective of the ERC was to implement Regional Economic Development boards (REDs) throughout the province. The province was divided into 19 economic zones with each zone having a board consisting of representatives from Rural Development Associations (RDAs), women's groups, business, labour, development corporations, health officials, municipal governments and educational institutions (Economic Recovery Commission, 1995). The ERC was replaced by the provincial government with a new government department called the

Department of Rural Development and Renewal; this new department carried on with the zonal board process but also found itself criticized on the grounds that women were not included in the process. Attempts were made to add women as a special interest group to the boards but many women felt that they were not welcome in the process and gender parity is still an issue for many of the boards. Under the new government department the RDAs were dissolved as part of the new zonal board structure. RDAs had worked in rural Newfoundland and Labrador to increase rural development in other areas besides the fishery. Since they have also been a major employer for women in rural areas, their demise has meant a step backwards for some areas where their boards were very productive in employing individuals on a short term basis and improving community spirit (Women and the Fishery Discussion Group, 1994).

1.3 Women in the Fishery

Early research on the Newfoundland fishery consisted of anthropological ethnographies of fishing communities with a focus on men's work in the fishery (Faris, 1972; Firestone, 1967). These ethnographies discussed women's work in the fishery but in relation to men and not as a separate entity. As a critique of this type of research, feminist researchers began looking at women's work in the fishery and in the home both in Newfoundland (Antler, 1977; Davis, 1983; Porter, 1993) and cross culturally (see Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988; Cole, 1991 as examples). The quantity of research on Newfoundland women in the fishery has increased since the early 1980's.

Prior to the introduction of processing plants, women worked alongside men

processing fish in their households. This meant women had the major responsibility for salting the fish and laying it out on the flakes to be dried.

Men would bring their catches ashore and with women would head, gut, split the fish. The men then would return hastily to the fishing grounds while women remained in the fishing rooms. Here, they would salt and stack the fish and place them in the sun to dry (Antler, 1977: 107).

Murray (1979) argues that in pre-1950 Elliston, no women were involved in the harvesting sector in the traditional inshore fishery. Instead, women were responsible for "shore work" and "making the fish" (1979: 14). Women prepared the fish for market and for household consumption. Other operations by women included bringing the fish from the boats, splitting the fish, cutting their throats and laying it out on the flake to be dried and salted. As well, women were responsible for household work and agriculture (Antler, 1977; Murray, 1979; Davis, 1983; McCay, 1988; Wright, 1990; Cadigan, 1995a; Porter, 1995).

Women were not paid for their work on shore but their work was crucial to the survival of the fishing household. Antler (1977) estimates that in Conception Bay in 1953, women's work in the onshore processing added as much as \$2,000 to the household income. Women also played an important emotional role that was respected by the community. The "grass widow" is a symbol for "women's emotional involvement in the fishery" (Davis, 1988: 221). The grass widow is:

...a woman whose husband is not dead but gone away. Grass widow formally describes a very passive female expressive role - the woman who sits on the grassy hills (actually mossy rocks) overlooking the shore, staring out to sea, wondering when and if her husband will come home from fishing (Davis, 1988: 220-221).

Many women had male family members who went out to sea for extended periods of time. Anticipation and worry about the men on the sea gave women a role on the shore where they kept the family together and maintained the household. Davis (1983; 1988) argues that the "grass widow" was the ideal woman in the community who worried about the men at sea but concealed her suffering while supporting the community and family.

After Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, fish processing gradually shifted from salted, dried cod to frozen fish blocks. The market was now demanding frozen fish and the traditional salt fishery was no longer economically viable. Instead the frozen fish companies expanded, creating a new field of employment in processing. The introduction of frozen fish allowed women to enter paid employment in the fishery in the numerous inshore and offshore plants throughout the province (Wright, 1995). With the introduction of fish plants, women added to the household economy with cash and unemployment insurance (UI) benefits (McCay, 1988; Reid, 1991). As the cod fishery and the economy deteriorated in the late 1980's, women's income from fish processing became more valuable to the household as two or more incomes were needed for the household to survive (Andy Rowe Consulting Economists, 1991). These wages were added to the harvester's income or to that of male processing workers to pay household expenses and fishing bills (McCay, 1988).

Neis (1993) argues that the post World War II fishery moved from "familial patriarchy" to "social patriarchy." "Familial patriarchy" was characteristic of the fishing household and the merchant fishery where women were considered dependent on men for survival (Cadigan, 1995b; Neis, 1993). With confederation, social programs such as UI and

welfare allowed women to move from a dependence upon men in the household to a dependence on the state (McCay 1988; Neis, 1993). With the introduction of new processing technologies in the fishery, women could move away from the household fishery and into a paid job in the fish plant with UI to depend upon in the off season.

In the fish plants, women had to face many barriers. Work was gender segregated (Andy Rowe Consulting Economists, 1991) and this was reflected in the different wages for men and women prior to the 1970's. Although laws prohibited separate wages for men and women after this time, placing men and women in different jobs allowed for different wages to be paid (Andy Rowe Consulting Economists, 1991; Fishery Research Group, 1986). In the Catalina fish plant, for example, grading, cutting and filleting were "men's jobs" while packing and trimming were lower paying "women's jobs" (Andy Rowe Consulting Economists, 1991; Fishery Research Group, 1986). Management was also considered a "man's job" within the plant. Women were usually discouraged from applying for the management positions through societal pressures from within the plant and community (Fishery Research Group, 1986). Employers could not move women into "men's jobs" without threatening the wage gap and "gender segregation" in the plant (Andy Rowe Consulting Economists, 1991).

Many women worked the night shift in the fish plant because they were responsible for child care in the day. As a result, they were in lower paid positions and low on the seniority list. Some plants, such as the Catalina fish plant, operated a two shift system where the worker worked a week of nights and then a week of days (Porter, 1993). Often, there was

no formal day care in the fish plant and child care became the women's responsibility. Some women worked opposite hours from their partners who might have been harvesters or fish plant workers (Porter, 1993). If the woman was single, she often had to rely on other family members for babysitting. If family members were not available, she might pay most of her wages to a "poorly paid young babysitter" (Porter, 1993: 130).

Fish plant work is often highly repetitive, immobile, isolated, cold and damp with poor lighting and inadequate ventilation (Fishery Research Group, 1986; Neis and Williams, 1993). Ergonomic factors, such as hard work in uncomfortable working conditions and positions, assembly line work and inappropriate technology lead to problems such as cuts and infections, back pain, repetitive strain injuries (RSI), occupational stress, burn out, and other health problems (Neis and Williams, 1993; Neis, 1994). Some crab processing workers have also developed crab occupational asthma (Neis, 1995).

In the 1980's, women's work in the fishery expanded to the harvesting sector. This occurred mainly in the inshore sector where women have worked alongside their husbands or partners in hauling and setting traps (Cahill and Martland, 1993; Educational Planning and Design, 1994; Silk, 1995). In 1990, two years before the moratorium, women were reported to have made up 15% of the harvesting sector in Newfoundland (Cahill and Martland, 1993).

This modest percentage of women in the harvesting sector has been achieved in spite of many obstacles. Government policies have worked against women who wished to work in the boats as harvesters. Women who worked in boats with their husbands, like the women before them who dried fish on the shore, were not initially eligible for UI benefits (Cashin,

1993; McCay, 1988; Neis 1993; Silk, 1995). Changes in the UI regulations in the early 1980's finally ended this sexist policy against women in the harvesting sector (Neis, 1993; Silk, 1995). Local belief systems worked to keep women out of the boats in the inshore fishery. Faris (1972) claimed that local harvesters believed that having a woman in a boat "jinks it" and the day's fishing. Silk (1995) writes about the myth that having a woman in a fishing boat brought bad luck. Many of the older, more traditional men in Silk's community believed this myth and in many cases, it held women back from working on the sea. She also tells of the societal pressures that she faced as a harvester in Petty Harbour, the major one being a belief that a woman's "place" was not in a fishing boat.

At the time I started fishing, I was the only woman fisher in Petty Harbour, and according to most of the community, the only woman to ever fish out of the Harbour. At that time, there were approximately 11,000 licensed fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador of which approximately 350 were women. Needless to say, there was much talk and discussion about it and I was the brunt of many, many jokes. One fellow asked if I'd like to crew with him, be his cook, and in my idle hours be his masthead (Silk, 1995: 266).

Women were also excluded from the local ecological knowledge needed to succeed in the harvesting sector. This knowledge was passed from father to son and was taught in traditional male settings such as fishing stages, wharves and boats (Neis, 1993; Silk, 1995). Difficulty obtaining adequate child care has been another major deterrent to women working in the fishing boat. Silk (1995: 267) confronts this issue:

...the problems that come with mixing kids and fishing don't go away. The long, arduous hours leave little time for interaction with children and there is a tendency for women to lose valuable time on the water due to family issues that arise. Unless one has good live-in help, it's difficult to fish the long hours while kids are still in school.

Women's work in the fishery in the household, processing sector and harvesting sector has been central to the industry. Until recently, this work has been overshadowed by attention to the work of men and by societal pressures that ignored women's unpaid labour, kept women in the lower paying jobs in the plants and constrained women's work in the fishing boat.

The fishery research has not really examined gendered construction of the fishery in mainstream and alternative media. The media have played an important role in constructing Canada and Newfoundland's understanding of the fishery crisis. In press reports and in many policies on the fishery, the assumption has been that men are the main workers in the fishery. Media coverage has largely embraced this assumption. Few news articles have challenged it or specifically identified women's concerns in the fishery crisis as being unique and different from men's.

1.4 Women and the Fishery Crisis

NCARP and TAGS were based on male-centered assumptions about the fishing industry. Both programs failed to recognize the contributions women had made as shore-based workers, processors and harvesters in the fishery. In 1995, women in Anchor Point filed a Human Rights complaint against DFO. These women claimed that they had been unfairly treated by the TAGS program and that they were dropped from the program while men with the same qualifications had their benefits continued ("Newfoundland Women Fight...", Summer/Fall 1995; Williams, 1996). There is also evidence of gender differences in the level of TAGS and NCARP benefits. Under NCARP, women received an average of

\$260 per week while men received an average payment of \$313. The maximum weekly payment available was \$350 (Cahill and Martland, 1993; Williams, 1996). TAGS weekly payments were set 6% lower than NCARP payments and averaged from \$288 to \$382 per week. Women were still more likely to receive the minimum payment under TAGS which was now 11% lower than the minimum payment under NCARP (Williams, 1996). Women also had problems with NCARP and TAGS eligibility. In appeals, female harvesters were less likely than men to be accepted into the program (Muzychka, 1994; Williams, 1996). As fish plant workers, men and women were almost equal in the rejection rate for their appeals. This may, however, have been due to the fact that although women make up 50% of the fishing industry, fewer women than men applied under the appeal process (Muzychka, 1994; Williams, 1996).

Models for the harvesting sector of the fishery of the future are, for the most part, male centered. A proposal to professionalize the fishery has been accepted and the professional harvester of the future is defined in the following way:

...a professional fisherman is someone who is experienced, highly skilled and well trained in the fishing sector. This individual is a vessel owner/operator or is a steady member who fishes for the full season, and depends on fishing for his livelihood and future. The professional fisherman is involved in the management and development of the fishery through fishermen's organizations. He is respected by his peers and the general public as an accredited member of a professional group (Cashin, 1993: 68-69).

The federal government envisions a harvester who can "fish for a full season" (Cashin, 1993) without the hassles of child care. To be a "vessel owner/operator" who "fishes for a full season" (Cashin, 1993: 68) assumes easy access to capital and to day care. Neither

option is readily available to women in rural Newfoundland and Labrador (Robinson, 1994). Women are the lowest paid among those who are recipients of federal compensation programs (Cahill and Martland, 1993; Muzychka, 1994) meaning there is limited money for them to invest in fishing gear or child care. Single mothers are especially vulnerable, and even women with partners cannot normally depend on men to tend to the children because they are usually involved in training or are working or fishing elsewhere (Silk, 1995; Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers, 1994).

During the moratorium, female harvesters, like female fish plant workers, have been trained in traditional pink collar jobs and generally not in occupations that can be used in the fishery of the future. Women are discouraged by counsellors from taking non-traditional courses such as aquaculture training (Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers, 1994). If they decide to take the non-traditional courses, these will probably not be offered in their community making it difficult for them to participate (Muzychka, 1994; Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers, 1994; Williams, 1996). Moving for a course means having a place to live in another community as well as in the home community. Many families cannot afford this luxury and therefore, relocating for retraining becomes impossible.

Involvement in "fishing organizations" (Cashin, 1993: 64) is also difficult for women. Women in the fishing industry are not adequately represented on decision making boards and are also poorly represented on union executives. Cahill and Martland (1993: 7) argue:

The domination of men in the harvesting sector has effectively excluded women from the decision-making process. Because women are concentrated in the plants, they are generally not represented on administrative bodies that

address resources allocations or harvesting regulations even though the recommendations of these bodies may have an impact on their work. Women are also poorly represented on union executives...

Along with these factors, the language usage (i.e. "his" and "fisherman") tends to exclude women from discussions about the fishing industry. This language is probably intended to be used as the "generic he" to refer to both men and women (Arliss, 1991:28). Instead, such usage helps to hide women's involvement in the fishery, as well as the differences between men and women's experiences and problems.

1.5 Research Objectives

More research needs to be conducted however, on women's experiences in the fishery. This thesis and the action research workshops are part of this process. The objectives of this research project are as follows:

- ◆ to examine how the print media present the fishery crisis in Newfoundland and Labrador. Are women present in the print media's coverage of the fishery crisis? How do the print media describe women's positions in the fishing industry? How do the print media portray women's experiences in the fishery crisis? What are the images of the fishery of the future that emerge from an analysis of print media coverage? What place do women occupy in these images? Are there alternative print media that explore these women's issues?
- ◆ to examine the impact of the cod moratorium on women's lives in fishing communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. What are the issues that women are concerned about? How are women dealing with the effects of the cod moratorium on themselves, their families and their communities? What are their plans for the future? What is the reality of women's lives in the cod moratorium?
- ◆ to compare the actual experiences of women in fishing communities with print media coverage of the fishery crisis. Are there different stories being told or is the print media accurately relaying women's experiences in the fishery crisis? Are women coming up with alternatives to the future of their communities that are being ignored by the print media and by the government?

1.6 Summary and Outline of Thesis

In this chapter, I have introduced the thesis topic and shown how I arrived at this research subject. I have also provided some background on the fishing industry in Newfoundland and Labrador and examined some of the economic changes that have occurred in the province since the closure of the cod fishery in 1992. I have shown how economic changes in the province are combining with social policy changes to threaten the standard of living for many women and men who live in Newfoundland and Labrador, including those who work in the fishery.

The next chapter presents the analytical framework that guides the thesis. This thesis is both feminist and interdisciplinary in that it focuses on women's lives by combining insights from various disciplines. This analytical framework is based on the work of Dorothy Smith and the concept of the line of fault. The line of fault is the "disjuncture" between women's experiences and the gendered construction of the fishery crisis by the print media. This thesis will document a disjuncture between women's experiences in the fishery crisis and the interpretation of these experiences with the print media construction of the fishery crisis. The media analysis will incorporate insights from literature on the media in Canada and the United States. Quantitative and qualitative content analyses are used to examine The Evening Telegram coverage of the fishery crisis in Newfoundland and Labrador. Women's lives in the fishery crisis are documented using results from action research workshops with women in the fishing industry of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter three presents a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the

construction of the fishery crisis in the print media in Newfoundland and Labrador. The quantitative content analysis examines women's presence in news photos, as journalists and as authorized knowers. The qualitative content analysis examines schematic, thematic and structural elements of media coverage related to gender and fisheries. This chapter and analysis serve to show how women have been excluded and misrepresented in the construction of the fishery crisis in the print media in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter four summarizes the findings from the workshops. This chapter explores women's problems and their situations in the fishery crisis in terms of family, work, health and future plans. Women's lives are examined from an "everyday world" point of view. Their experiences challenge the construction of the fishery crisis in the media and show how women's voices and situations in the fishery crisis are ignored.

Chapter five identifies the "line of fault" between women's experiences in the fishery crisis and the image of gender in the fishery crisis as seen in the quantitative and qualitative media analyses. Various examples highlight differences between the construction of the fishery crisis in the mainstream print media and women's everyday life experiences.

Chapter Two

Theory and Methods

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I develop the analytical framework that guides this thesis. The thesis is feminist and interdisciplinary and it is broadly guided by insights from the work of Dorothy Smith (1987). Smith's concept of the "line of fault" is explained in detail in this chapter and provides a framework for contrasting the print media construction of the fishery crisis in print media and women's experiences in the fishery crisis. The gendered analysis of media coverage draws on a broad spectrum of approaches from analyses of sexist images associated with the "images and representation approach" to an analysis of the gendered nature of the media used in the "cultural theory approach." The methodology for the quantitative content analysis draws on the work of Junette Davis (1982) and is used to document the number of times women appeared as writers of news stories, as authorized knowers or sources, and in news photos. The qualitative content analysis draws on the work of Teun Van Dijk (1988) and will be used to show hidden gendered assumptions about the fishery crisis. The analysis of women's lives in the fishery crisis is based on data gathered from action research workshops with women in fishing communities.

2.2 Feminist and Interdisciplinary Research

Research on print media and women in fishing communities has benefitted from women centered and feminist research. Feminist research is based on the premises of feminist theory (Reinhartz, 1992). This thesis draws on the theoretical perspectives of

feminist theorist Dorothy Smith and "aims to create social change" (Reinhartz, 1992: 240). Feminist research has challenged the sexism in existing disciplines and emphasizes the need to avoid biological assumptions, sex-specific language, false dichotomies and an androcentric viewpoint (Reinhartz, 1992; Eichler and Lapointe, 1985). Feminist research is interdisciplinary when it "...spans two or more fields" (Salter and Hearn, 1991: vi). By combining insights from history, sociology, anthropology, women's studies, media studies, and communications, the interdisciplinary thesis avoids some of the shortcomings of a disciplinary approach. Interdisciplinary research also allows the researcher to explore "societal issues" which "cannot be easily addressed from within the confines of particular disciplines" (Salter and Hearn, 1991: 1). This allows for observations, methods and theories to be used that could not be used if the thesis was written within the confines of one discipline (Salter and Hearn, 1991).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Dorothy Smith's concept of a "line of fault" (1987: 49-60) is used to organize this thesis. The "line of fault" is the "actual or potential disjuncture between experiences and the forms in which experiences are socially expressed" (Smith, 1987: 50). For a line of fault to occur, women must have awareness of its existence. From here, inquiry can begin into why and how the line of fault exists.

Smith (1987) argues that the women's movement has focused on a line of fault. The movement has given women the ability to see their place in the world and see that a rupture or line of fault exists because of men's power over women in society. According to Smith:

...this rupture of experience, and between experience and the social forms of expression, was located in a relation of power between women and men, in which men dominated women...[This is]...identified...as the patriarchy. The forms of thought, the means of expression, that we have available to us to formulate our experiences were made or controlled by men. From that center women appeared as objects (1987: 51).

As they study the construction of society in texts like the media and policy documents, women find that their experience is not seen as a form of knowledge, as a source of authority or as legitimate within these documents. Women are not, according to Smith (1987: 51-52), part of the circle that claims these privileges as the circle belongs to men:

...women have been excluded from the work of producing the forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered. We can imagine women's exclusion organized by the formation of a circle among men who attend to and treat as significant only what men say. The circle of men whose writing and talk was significant to each other extends backward as far as our records reach. What men were doing was relevant to men, was written by men about men for men (Smith, 1987: 18).

Women are strangers within this circle and as they study these forms of thoughts, texts, and images, begin to see this "strangeness" as part of the line of fault. As a result, women begin to critique the institutions or circles of which they are not a part. Smith (1987: 53) cites many examples in the women's movement where a critique has taken place, such as "attacks on stereotyping in advertising...[or] of the exclusion of women's interests and news relevant to women from the news media." As women critique these institutions and identify problems, they realize that their experiences are valid and begin to speak of their experiences from the "everyday world."

The everyday world is that world we experience directly. It is the world in which we are located physically and socially. Our experience arises in it as

conditions and occasions, objects, possibilities, relevances, presences, and so on, organized in and by the practices and methods through which we supply and discover organization. It is necessarily local -- because that is how we must be -- and necessarily historical (Smith, 1987: 89).

Exploring women's experiences of the everyday world provides a "discourse" that:

...expresses, describes, and provides the working concepts and vocabulary for a landscape in which women are strangers. That strangeness is an integral part of the socially organized practices constituting it. This is the same rupture of consciousness - the line of fault from which this inquiry begins (Smith, 1987: 52).

The women's movement, according to Smith (1987: 58), has given us the opportunity to speak about our everyday experiences through such activities as consciousness raising groups. Women have learned to develop their own language and symbols to describe their everyday experiences, and have thus been able to voice their critiques of the institutions or the circles dominated by men. It is this "authority to speak" (1987: 34) that has led to an awareness of the line of fault and shown that women's experiences are different and unique from those of the circle and subsequently, those of men.

Documenting a line of fault between women's experiences and the gendered construction of the fishery crisis by the print media involves exploring women's experiences in the everyday world of the fishing industry. Women work in processing, harvesting and in the fishing household in Newfoundland and Labrador. Action research workshops were designed to examine the "everyday world" of women in the fishery crisis. Women in fishing communities took part in two-day workshops where they were asked to examine their experiences and problems and search for solutions. In this thesis, recording the everyday

experiences of women in fishing communities provides the "discourse" (Smith, 1987) to critique the media circle that excludes women. Two different stories emerge: (1) the everyday experiences of women in the fishery crisis and (2) the construction of the crisis in The Evening Telegram. The news construction of the fishery crisis is explored in the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the print media in Newfoundland and Labrador.

2.4 Gender and the Media

There are four primary approaches to studying gender in the media. According to Lana Rakow (1986), these approaches are the "images and representation approach," the "recovery and reappraisal approach," the "reception and experience approach," and the "cultural theory approach." The "images and representation approach" (Rakow, 1986: 24-28) is concerned with the images of women in the media and popular culture. It emphasizes women's absence from the creation of the media and the construction of popular culture. This approach is linked to a liberal feminist framework and examines areas such as gender differences in communication. It is based on quantitative content analyses (Cirksena and Cuklanz, 1992: 21-25). Early work in this tradition by Gaye Tuchman (1978: 1979) focuses on the images of women in television, women's magazines, newspapers (mainly women's pages) and radio. Tuchman (1978: 1979) argues that women have been "symbolically annihilated" in these media, and when women are present, they are often defined from a male perspective. She argues that women are discredited, isolated and undercut leaving them under-represented, trivialized and condemned. Literature in this tradition has expanded and

examines how variables such as height, age, skin colour, weight and hair colour are used by the media to give the impression that women are homogenous (Davies, Dickey and Stratford, 1987). The images and representation approach indicate that men's standpoints are portrayed as universal in most mainstream media, while women's experiences or standpoints are ignored or seen as secondary to men's.³

Another approach to examining gender in the media is the "recovery and reappraisal approach" (Rakow, 1986: 28-32). This approach looks at how women manage to express themselves in mainstream and alternative media. It also examines the reasons why women are ignored and overlooked within the media and examines how women have created their own media in alternative settings in order to have their stories and voices heard. Alternative media are a prime example of how women have learned to "grasp [their] own authority to speak" in a male dominated society (Smith, 1987: 34). Feminist media and other alternative media examine women's lives by drawing on their "everyday experience." Alternative media also portray women's experiences as being different from men's and not secondary as is commonly seen in mainstream media.

Steiner (1992) examines the history and structure of women's alternative media in

³ Many feminist researchers have criticized the images and representation approach arguing that it does not explain how to eradicate sexism in media institutions. Feminist scholars such as Cirkse and Cuklanz (1992), Janus (1977) and Steeves (1987) criticize these studies for what they call a "liberal bias." They argue that the images and representation approach merely uncovers the negative images of women in the media. Steeves (1987) argues for a socialist feminist approach to studying the media. Socialist feminists expand the liberal feminist view of gender and the media by moving beyond the liberal feminist critique of women's under representation in employment in media industries and the sexist images of women. A socialist feminist approach would incorporate an analysis of both capitalist and patriarchal influences upon the media and its devaluation of women.

the United States. Although alternative media are as diverse as the women's groups who run them, there are some common structural similarities. Women's alternative media are usually produced by the same group of women who make up the audience. Women are involved in all aspects of production and men are rarely included. These women, however, have little formal training in media organization. As a result, staff resources are often small and women often overwork themselves and suffer burnout. Women's alternative media is rarely profit driven. As a result, the management structures are usually based on equality (Coffey, 1991; Steiner, 1992).

Alternative feminist media in Canada have a similar history. Feminist media provide a forum for women's voices which are otherwise lost in mainstream media. Coffey (1991: 25) argues, "it is only in the feminist press that women can find out about what other women are doing." Mainstream media do not report women's issues and women's stories. The focus, instead, is on men and male-centered institutions.

The third approach to examining gender and the media is the "reception and experience approach" (Rakow, 1986: 32-35). This approach is concerned with the differences between women's realities and images in the media. It moves beyond the images and representation approach in that it looks at more than women's images in the media. The basic premise is that women's experiences are different from men's and these differences are unrecognized in mainstream media. Some research in this area uses feminist film theory, the "male gaze" and the debate surrounding pornography (Cirksena and Cuklanz, 1992: 30, 33). Another way of conceiving this approach is that it suggests a line of fault capturing the

rupture between women's experiences in the everyday world and the images portrayed in the mainstream media.

Some research in the reception and experience approach has been done on the omission of farm women from the mass media in central Canada. Sigurdson and Harrop (1980) examine newspapers, agricultural papers, women's magazines and television programs and advertisements for images of farm women. In the newspapers, they discover that farm women make up less than one per cent of news coverage. When farm women appear, they are shown in unusual ways such as "an eighty year old woman rancher who still enjoys a good roundup, and an eighteen year old farm woman who shears sheep to pay for her university tuition" (Sigurdson and Harrop, 1980: 11). Farm women are rarely presented in ways that show their farming work. Only one farm woman appeared on the front page of a newspaper in Sigurdson and Harrop's (1980) study. This story was not about the farm woman, however, but about her horse who had given birth early in the spring. As well, the agricultural papers did not cover any women's issues related to farming. Articles on men and their involvement in the agricultural industry were more common. Issues pertaining only to farm women were never discussed. Agriculture was discussed in terms of men and their activities.

The final approach is the "cultural theory approach" (Rakow, 1986: 35-38). This approach moves away from a focus on media content to the larger structure and organization of the media producing social institutions. This approach requires an examination of "the larger set of social and economic arrangements" (Rakow, 1986: 35) and women's position

within them. The cultural theory approach is based on the premise that men and women exist in two different spheres of life and thus, have different cultural experiences. Women are excluded from men's world of the media and are silenced and labelled as symbols. Research on television news production focuses on how women are used as "signs" to create a particular image for the viewing public. Rakow and Kranich (1991) argue that the male oriented production of television makes women's appearances in the news exceptions to the norm. The phrase "woman as sign" is used by Rakow and Kranich to refer to the ways women are placed as subordinate objects in television news. Women are seen as "signs of the times" (Rakow and Kranich, 1991: 16) when used in the domestic sector as mothers, wives, neighbours or to relay personal experiences. Women are also used as "signs of support" (Rakow and Kranich, 1991: 17) when they speak against or for organizations. Women are "unusual signs" (Rakow and Kranich, 1991: 17-19) when they appear as feminists in the television news. When women are seen as a homogenous group and the differences among women are ignored, Rakow and Kranich (1991: 19-20) refer to it as "all signs are alike." When women challenge social norms and contradict news events, they are treated as disorderly or as part of "the nature of the sign" (Rakow and Kranich, 1991: 20-22).

Although men and women have different experiences in society, news production presents men's experiences as the norm. News production is gendered through men's domination of news events and women's appearance and participation in news production is seen as exceptional or as extraordinary. It is this gendered reality of news production that creates a "circle" in which women are on the outside or seen as secondary participants.

Literature concerning gender and the media shows that women are excluded from many aspects of media production and media images created within this circle. From this critique of the "circle" comes the media analysis.

The quantitative and qualitative content analysis of print media coverage as used in this thesis establishes that women are not part of the circle that defines and shapes news coverage of the fishery crisis in Newfoundland and Labrador. Their exclusion from the circle means that women in the fishery are "strangers" (Smith, 1987) to the creation of the media. By examining media from their standpoints, we become aware of the problems with how the media has constructed the fishery crisis. Our understanding is enhanced when we turn to women's "everyday experience" of the fishery crisis to find out what is missing from the media and to find ways to have their voices heard.

2.5 Methodologies

Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analyses measure the frequency of an event, measure its "favourable and unfavourable" characteristics, represent the facts of a text, and provide knowledge and insights (Krippendorff, 1980: 40). They are quantitative in that they measure the amount of something (Berger, 1991: 107). They are part of the images and representation approach to studying gender and the media where the main focus is on the image of gender in the media and popular culture. The quantitative content analysis for this study is borrowed partly from the work of Junette Davis (1982). Her research answers the following questions: "Do the mechanical aspects of the story reveal sex bias? Does the content of the stories

reveal sex bias? Are men and women portrayed differently in the stories?" (Davis, 1982). Davis identified certain quantifiable characteristics such as terms of address for women, occupations of men and women, sex of reporter, contents of pictures and descriptions of sources (i.e. personal information) found in newspaper articles and measured them for frequency of events. I adopted a similar set of variables to look at print media coverage of women in the fishery crisis. Articles identified as part of the sample were analyzed for sex of writer, sex of authorized knowers and the identification of authorized knowers.

News photos accompanying the articles were analyzed in a manner similar to that used by Roy Blackwood (1983). Blackwood (1983) conducted a follow up study of work by Susan Miller (1974) who examined news photos of men and women in two American newspapers during the Watergate scandal. The photos were examined for the number of times men and women appeared and the roles portrayed by each. Instead of counting photos, Blackwood counted the number of representations in each photograph. For example, a picture of a man and woman was counted as two representations even though it was only one photograph. In this study, news photos were examined in a similar fashion. The number of representations were counted and photos were analyzed for placement in the newspaper and the role of each representation.

Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analyses examine themes, theories, meanings and relationships between ideas in a text. This is part of the cultural theory approach to studying gender and the media. In this thesis, the qualitative content analysis examines what Reinhartz (1992:

162) calls the "exclusions, erasures and missing information" concerning women within media coverage. I use this approach to investigate how women are portrayed within print media coverage of the fishery crisis and why they are ignored in the coverage of particular issues. I focus on the relationships between the women mentioned in the media, the issues discussed in relation to women (i.e. TAGS cut-offs) and issues where women are missing (i.e. fishery of the future models). I also concentrate on women's fishery issues. Van Dijk (1988) provides a complex format for examining newspaper articles qualitatively through his work on a group of squatters occupying a building in Amsterdam and the media coverage of the demonstrations that followed. This case study is based on the print media coverage of one day's events in 1981 in Amsterdam. Using ten national and 27 regional newspapers, he analyzes news coverage of the removal of the squatters by police authorities. He provides a guide to analyzing newspaper articles through thematic structures, schematic structures, local semantics, style, rhetoric, photographs and other media to give a comprehensive picture of the hidden meanings and biases of the reporters (Van Dijk, 1988). Not all devices are used in this thesis. Only those relating to gender and the media are examined. The larger structure of how the news is created and presented is examined and women are studied to see how they are framed or used as "signs" within the structures of the news.

Sampling

The content analysis drew on a sample of newspaper articles on the fishery crisis from 1991 to 1995. The articles were selected from a computerized database of approximately 1900 articles that had been constructed with the assistance of various students

in the Sociology Department at Memorial University.⁴ I selected 216 articles from this database and from other sources.⁵ The articles used in the sample were selected using four criteria. First, these articles had to have been published by The Evening Telegram. This paper is based in St. John's, Newfoundland but covers news stories throughout the province. The paper is also circulated throughout the entire province with circulation ranging from 45,000 people during the week to 65,000 on the weekends.

Secondly, the articles had to fall within a strict time frame. The period of 1991 to 1995 was chosen for various reasons. January 1991 to July 1992 represented a time when there was public awareness of the emerging fishery crisis. July 1992 to the end of 1995 represented the period of moratoria, announcements, the introduction of TAGS and NCARP, relevant changes to social programs, and the action research workshops used for this study.

Thirdly, the articles had to be news stories. Editorials, letters to the editor, columns and opinions were not included as they did not directly deal with specific news stories in the fishery crisis. At times, in the qualitative content analysis, editorials were used to emphasize particular points, but they were not included in the overall content analyses. Some of the articles included in the sample came from special editions of The Evening Telegram that were devoted largely to the fishery crisis. The first special edition appeared in May 1994.

⁴ Stephen Bannister and Tina Mercer also worked on this database under the direction of Barbara Neis, Department of Sociology, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

⁵ Most articles were selected from those collected in the database. However, others were selected from an informal "snowballing" technique where articles found that fit the criteria for the sample framework were also collected. For example, there are no articles on community economic development (CED) and zonal and development boards in the database but because this was an important issues in the workshops, articles on these topics were located and added to the sample for this study.

approximately one month after the end of NCARP and the start of the TAGS program. The second appeared in December 1994.

Finally, the articles in the sample had to deal with the "fishery crisis." For these purposes, "fishery crisis" referred to any events, policy changes or social or economic events that represented a decline in the cod fishing industry in Newfoundland and Labrador. Articles included in the sample dealt with issues such as fishery protests, moratoria announcements, TAGS, NCARP, diversification and community economic development, changes to social programs, union disputes, retraining, fish plant closures, food fishery, secondary processing, fishery of the future, professionalization, zonal and development boards and provincial government plans for economic diversification, alternative fisheries, licensing and cuts to provincial transfer payments. Not included in the sample were articles dealing with fisheries science, fisheries other than cod (except when discussed in terms of community economic development or the fishery of the future), the "Turbot War", fishing disputes with St. Pierre or other Canadian provinces, foreign fishing, changes to the structure of DFO and the provincial fisheries department and management plans for species other than cod.

Other mainstream print media were used as a comparison to The Evening Telegram articles. The coverage of the workshops and the Anchor Point women in The Northern Pen is compared to that in The Evening Telegram. It is a weekly paper which covers the Labrador Straits and the Northern Peninsula. The Northern Pen is different from The Evening Telegram in that it covers a rural district only and is an independently owned paper.

Coverage in The Evening Telegram is also compared to that in alternative print media. The Union Advocate, published by the FFAW, and circulated to all dues paying members includes current information on the fishery crisis, information on changes to UI, compensation programs, professionalization and other news events within the fishing industry. A newsletter published by The Nova Scotia Women's FishNet (Summer/Fall 1995: Summer 1996) entitled The FishNet News contains articles about women's perspectives on the fishery crisis. Finally, the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet published a small, one page newsletter in the fall of 1995 (Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet, 1995). This newsletter is also included in the analysis.

Alternative media are important to a study of gender and the media. The recovery and reappraisal approach argues that alternative media are an opportunity for women to express themselves in ways that are overlooked by mainstream media. They provide an opportunity for women in the fishery to have their voices heard and gain their "authority to speak" (Smith, 1987). This authority allows women to criticize institutions or "circles" where male privilege is dominant, such as the media. This authority to speak in alternative media structures is part of a process of documenting a line of fault as it allows women to identify areas and issues that are present in their everyday lives but are ignored or considered secondary by the mainstream media. The importance of these alternative print media to the analysis lies in the fact that they are focused on relaying information to those directly affected by the fishery crisis. Union publications offer current information on TAGS and give individuals information on various issues in the fishery. The FishNet publications have

been circulated to women affected by the fishery crisis and give women space to explore issues in the crisis from a women centered point of view.

Action Research

Action research is "the systematic collection and analysis of information on a particular topic for the purpose of informing political action and social change" (Women's Research Center, 1987: 1). It is a qualitative research method where the researcher is required to "interact in the community or situation that she is studying and with the people who are part of the community" (Women's Research Center, 1987: 4).

In this study, action research was used in a workshop format where the research was "participatory" (Reinhartz, 1992: 181). While some feminist researchers make distinctions between action research and participatory research, some suggest combining both approaches to allow research to be conducted for "the purpose of taking action" and for the purpose of "making change" (Barnsley and Ellis, 1992: 9). Participatory action research involves three processes which work together and cannot be separated. These processes include a "collective investigation," a "collective analysis" and "collective action" on the problems and issues under study (Participatory Research Network, 1982: 2). Participatory action research was used in the workshops and group discussions. Ideally, this method "creates a situation in which people feel comfortable and free to speak" and follows a format that will "pose problems, identify causes, discuss possible solutions and evaluate action" (Participatory Research Network, 1982: 6). It is also very important that those involved in the participatory action research have ownership of the research process (Barnsley and Ellis, 1992). The

process should also lead to some form of action. In the workshops, the action research might end with a local women's support group or individualized action by some women to improve their situation in the fishery crisis. In the workshops, the action research might end with a local support group or with a greater collective understanding of how one's own problems are not unique.

This approach is different from the approach used by HRD in dealing with the fishery crisis. Under TAGS, individualized counselling is required by the recipient to decide on future career options and deal with problems that may arise from the fishery crisis. The workshop format is different from this individualized approach in that it helps women to identify common problems among those affected by the fishery crisis and gives them the opportunity to share with other women in the same situation how they are feeling. The workshops attempted to provide a safe, woman-centered environment in which women could share their experiences and look for solutions to their problems. However, not all women felt that the workshops were a safe environment for discussing some issues.⁶

Data from two set of workshops are used in this thesis. The first set was sponsored by the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet, the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women (PACSW) and the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER). They were held in West St. Modeste and Quirpon. The second set of workshops was sponsored by FishNet, the Women's Enterprise Bureau (WEB) and the Provincial Advisory

⁶ Long term community development is necessary to build trust and understanding between workshop facilitators and participants.

Council on the Status of Women and funded by Human Resources and Development (HRD).⁷ The second set of workshops were similar in design to the original workshops but with important methodological differences. First of all, the original set had a longer planning time. A time period of approximately six months was used to organize the two original workshops. A sub-committee was responsible for organizing them and the two facilitators worked with this committee to ensure that the workshops were well attended. Women in both areas were personally invited to attend the workshops and as a result, there was a high turnout for both sessions. Issues such as ethical considerations related to recording the sessions and follow-up after the workshops were discussed beforehand. After the workshop, a report was written about the discussions and distributed to all the women who attended (Robbins, 1995).

The second set of workshops did not have this extended planning time. These workshops were organized very quickly and there was inadequate time to ensure that women in the various communities knew about them or were even going to attend. As a result, while some workshops lasted the scheduled two days, others were only a one day event. In some cases, what was to be the first day of the workshop was spent establishing contacts in the community and getting local women interested. In other cases, workshops lasted only one day because of a problem with poor planning as one day of the workshop was a holiday or an important day in the community. In some areas, it was simply more convenient to have a one day workshop.

⁷ For a full description of the workshop areas and workshop activities, see Appendices three and four.

In the second set of workshops, there were two workshops in one week and little time was spent in each community. This compares with approximately one week in each community in the first set where time was available to get to know the local women and the area. There was a report written after the second set of workshops (Roberts and Robbins, 1995) but it was not distributed to all the women who attended. Instead, one woman in each community received a copy.

There was also a difference in the use of facilitators in the two sets of workshops. In the first set, one facilitator was chosen from each of the two different workshop areas. In each workshop, the woman who did not live in the area was the facilitator while the other woman was a participant. This enabled women participating in the workshops to feel comfortable in the workshop setting but not feel dependent upon a local woman to discuss the local problems associated with the fishery crisis.

In the second set, there was only one facilitator. She was not from any of the communities where workshops were held. This presented problems at times as it took a while in each workshop for local women to develop a rapport with the facilitator. But, sometimes it was beneficial in that women could explain to an "outsider" what had been happening in their communities since the fishery closed.

Action research is not without its limitations. One limitation is "the problem of mystique associated with research" (Martin, 1993: 139). In all workshops, women were aware that proceedings of the workshops were being recorded and were going to be published in workshop reports and used in this thesis. However, women often questioned

the value of such research when they were only meeting to look for solutions to their problems. This was a valid concern as the primary purpose of the workshop was to provide a forum for women to meet in a women-centered environment to discuss problems they were experiencing. Research was of secondary importance in the workshops and for the women participating.

Another limitation can be the relationship between the researched and the researcher (Martin, 1993: 140, 141-143). In this action research project, the researcher came from a very different social background from those being researched. Most women at the workshops were mothers and/or wives, ranged in age from 30 to 50, and were from rural communities. The researcher was a single, university educated woman in her early twenties with no children and from a largely urban center.⁸ There was a difference in experience between the researcher and the researched and although it was not usually a problem, there were occasions where the differences were discussed and became a problem for the women in the workshops. This was a rare experience, however, and it was usually handled without difficulty.

2.6 Summary

⁸ Dorothy Smith (1987: 140-143) talks about the problem of being a researcher and the dangers of treating women as a "subject" while examining women's everyday experiences. Although the researcher is "active in the same world" as those she is researching (1987: 91), there is still the problem of treating women as subjects of research and not as partners in the research problem. Smith writes of the researcher examining women's lives from their everyday world, "Like Jonah, she is inside the whale...Like the astronomer, she is of and inside the cosmos she seeks to understand. Her opportunities, her curiosities, as well as her limitations derive from just this necessary standpoint...Her own seeing arises in a context structured by the same social system of social relations structuring the everyday worlds of those whose experience provides the problematic of her inquiry"(1987: 142-143).

This chapter has outlined the theory and methods that guide the thesis. This research is feminist in that it aims to create social change while focusing on women's lives. It is also interdisciplinary in that it combines the disciplines of media studies, communications and sociology to create a more all-encompassing understanding of women's lives in the cod moratorium and the gendered construction of the fishery crisis in the media. Dorothy Smith's concept of a line of fault provides the basis for a comparison of women's experiences in the fishery crisis and the construction of the fishery crisis in mainstream and alternative print media of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The media analysis draws on insights from several different approaches. The images and representation approach is quantitative in its orientation as it explores the images of women in the media and women's work in media industries. The recovery and reappraisal approach looks at how women express themselves in the mainstream and alternative media. Alternative media are important, as they provide an opportunity for women to express their experiences in a safe environment. The reception and experience approach compares women's realities to the images of women in the media. The cultural theory approach explores the gendered nature of the media and shows how media are often produced from a male point of view.

Three methods of research are used for this thesis. Quantitative content analysis measures the frequency of events in the media. The quantitative content analysis measures the number of times women appeared as writers of news stories, as authorized knowers and in news photos. The qualitative content analysis examines the print media in terms of the

absence of women, the use of sexist language and the point of view of those writing the news stories. The findings of both content analyses are found in chapter three.

Participatory action research is the collection of information for the purpose of social change. The researcher is required to interact with the group or community under study as an equal participant. All data gathered are used for the purpose of taking action and finding solutions to problems in the group or community. For this thesis, I participated in a series of workshops with women in the fishery crisis throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. Data from these action research workshops and secondary literature portrays a comprehensive picture of women's lives in the fishery crisis.

Chapter Three

Forgotten Women⁹:

A Gender Analysis of Media Construction of the Fishery Crisis

3.1 Introduction

The qualitative and quantitative content analyses of the construction of the fishery crisis in the print media are the focus of this chapter.¹⁰ As previously discussed, a quantitative content analysis measures the frequency of events and the number of times an event occurs in a media source (Krippendorff, 1980; Berger, 1991). Based on the work of Junette Davis (1982), the quantitative content analysis in this chapter measures the number of times women appeared as writers, as sources and in news photos in The Evening Telegram in a sample of fishery crisis related articles between 1991 to 1995. The quantitative content analysis also examines the frequency of themes in news articles examined in the sample.

A qualitative content analysis explores themes, meanings and their relationship to each other in a text (Reinhartz, 1992). This qualitative content analysis follows a format developed by Van Dijk (1988) in his work on media coverage of a group of squatters in Amsterdam. Alternative media structures are also examined qualitatively and quantitatively serving as a comparison to coverage in The Evening Telegram.

⁹ Lavender and Vanstone (1991: 66) offer a checklist for recognizing gender bias within visual images in the media. They ask the questions: "Are women left out entirely? Are women relegated to inferior positions in the publication? Are women given less space? Are the women who appear token women?" I have modified these ideas to apply to this print media analysis of women in the fishery crisis.

¹⁰ The decision was made early in this research project to focus solely on print media. I decided not to include radio and television simply because of the enormous task of analyzing three different medium. This is an area that can be researched in further projects and is a much needed area of study.

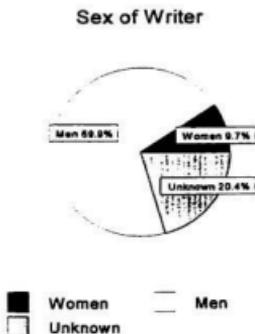
3.2 Quantitative Content Analysis

Variables such as sex of writer, number of authorized knowers, roles of authorized knowers, number of news photos, roles of people within news photos, and themes in the news articles were quantified. By measuring these variables quantitatively, it can be determined whether there is a sexist bias in the print media coverage of the fishery crisis. Women's absence in these roles shows that women are ignored in the coverage of the fishery crisis and treated as secondary characters in comparison to men in the media construction of the fishery. This type of analysis is part of the "images and representations approach" (Rakow, 1986: 24-28) to studying gender in the media.

Sex of writer

In a majority of articles on the fishery crisis, the authors were men (67.1%). Approximately 9.7% were written by women, and for the remaining articles, the sex of the writer was unknown (20.4%).¹¹

According to the images and representation approach to

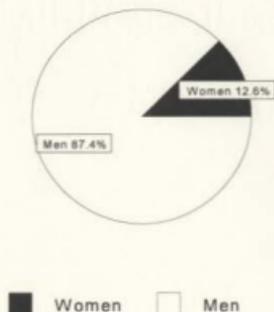


¹¹ See Appendix 5 for a chart on statistics on sex of writer and a comparison to the alternative media sources.

studying gender and the media, the lack of women writing in the media shows that there is a sex bias in the production of the news. Again, Smith's concept of the "circle" of men can be applied to this analysis. A lack of women writing the news means that women are on the outside while men are on the inside writing and producing the news. This suggests that women's point of view is marginalized in the construction of the fishery crisis in The Evening Telegram.¹²

Authorized Knowers / Roles Ascribed to Men and Women

Sex of Authorized Knowers



An examination of men and women as authorized knowers is also part of the images and representations approach to studying gender in the media. Newspaper articles commonly use sources to support an argument or confirm a news event. These sources are generally called authorized knowers as they are

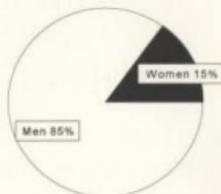
¹² Steeves (1987: 120) argues that the liberal feminist approach "is simply, and narrowly, a call for more women, particularly more nontraditional women, in communication content and institutions." She argues for a more socialist feminist approach to examining gender and the media. "Given the fact that women's secondary status remains so firmly entrenched in most cultures...and that it is built into most economic systems, it seems advisable for liberal feminists to reexamine the literature of feminist theory and to consider the long-range theoretical and political value of their research...It...seems important to acknowledge the complexity of women's devaluation in relation to media through research attention to more than one aspect of the mass communication process" (Steeves, 187: 121).

considered to be experts on a particular issue. Authorized knowers legitimize the news article and remind the audience that the story originated with particular people and organizations (Bell, 1991: 190). In articles in the sample, women made up 12.6% of all authorized knowers on the fishery crisis while men made up 87.4%. This is despite the fact that women make up 50% of fishing communities in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Authorized knowers in articles on the fishery crisis were also divided by class and gender. Fishery workers were rarely used as authorized knowers in articles and male fishery

Harvesting Sector by Gender

Source: Cahill and Martland (1993)



■ Women □ Men

workers were used more frequently than women. For example, the most common male authorized knowers were fisheries ministers (16.1%), followed by harvesters (10.5%), MHAs (9.9%), plant owners (8.4%) and mayors or town councillors (5.6%). Women appeared most frequently as activists and advocates (2.6%). Other roles for women were domestic roles (1.9%), plant workers (1.9%), students (1.2%) and mayor and town councillors (1%).¹³ Women did not appear as fisheries ministers, union presidents, FANL representatives, premiers, plant owners, HRD representatives and DFO representatives while men were sources in all these

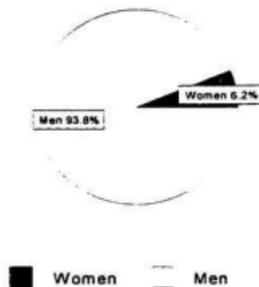
¹³ For a closer and more comprehensive examination of these statistics, see Appendix 7 for a table.

roles.

The division between men and women as authorized knowers was further illustrated by an analysis of a special edition of The Evening Telegram on the fishery crisis in May, 1994. In the entire edition, only four women appeared as authorized knowers compared to

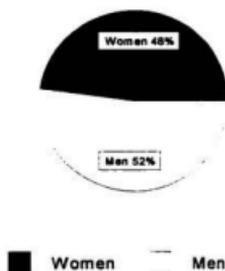
37 men. Men appeared as authorized knowers in roles such as town mayor, plant worker,

Harvesters as Authorized Knowers



Processing Sector by Gender

Source: Cahill and Martland (1993)

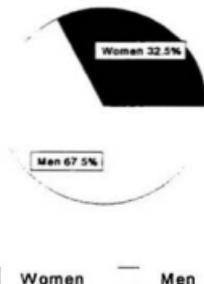


harvester, minister, federal MP, provincial MHA, town citizen, plant manager, hockey player, business operator, trawlerworker, musician, student, principal, doctor and hospital administrator. Women did not appear in these roles in the special edition although they occupy many of these positions in the general society.

While fishery workers were separated as authorized knowers from politicians and union officials, male fishery workers were often separated from female fishery workers. In the overall sample, female harvesters and fish plant workers were used less frequently as authorized knowers than men despite the fact that they make up a large portion of the fishery workforce. Female harvesters, for example, make up 15% of workers in the harvesting sector in Newfoundland and Labrador. Yet, when harvesters were used as authorized knowers in the sample, only 6.2% were women compared to 93.8% of men. Plant workers were used as authorized knowers in the same fashion. Women comprise 48% of workers in the processing sector yet only 32.5% of plant workers used as authorized knowers were women.

More generally, fishery workers were marginalized as authorized knowers even in articles about events that directly affected their lives. An example is an article entitled "No answers for fishery workers" (Westcott, 23 Jan. 1991) about a fisheries conference on the Bonavista

Fish Plant Workers as Authorized Knower



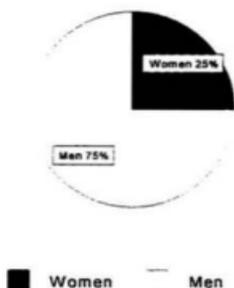
Peninsula's economy and the slow death of many of the rural communities in that area. The crisis in the fishery and the closure of three fish plants in the area were the main focus of the

conference. However, no harvesters or fish plant workers were quoted in the article. Instead, the conference chair, a local MP, and the provincial fisheries minister were asked their opinions on how to save the economy of the Bonavista Peninsula. No fishery workers were asked their opinions. Apparently, fishery workers, in general, are not considered experts on the fishery crisis, and women, in particular, are rarely cited in such articles.

News Photos

News photos are an integral part of any newspaper. They are used to emphasize important ideas in articles or to give the readers visual images of a significant event.

Representations in News Photos



Blackwood (1983) argues that news photos are important in newspapers as people who cannot read, or those who do not take the time to read news stories, focus on photos. He argues that it is reasonable to assume that news photos are the only way some individuals are exposed to world news events.

From Blackwood's (1983) work, it can be assumed that the general reader who is not involved in the fishery will often create a visual understanding of the fishing industry from what he or she sees in news photos. The news photos associated with the fishery crisis create images for the general public of the work men and women perform in the fishing industry

and the impacts of the fishery crisis.

Women are often "forgotten" in news photos in that they do not appear as often as men (Lavender and Vanstone, 1991). In photos associated with the fishery crisis, women were commonly omitted.¹⁴ Photos included MHAs, fisheries ministers, MPs, plant workers, mayors, premiers, plant owners, DFO representatives, citizens, FANL representatives, business owners or police officers. Men were represented in all of these roles. Women harvesters rarely appeared (0.6%) and female fish plant workers were even less common (0%). Men appeared as both (harvester 8%; fish plant worker 3.4%).¹⁵ A good example of the "forgotten" women is a news photo that appeared with an article on a fishing family in Sweet Bay, Bonavista Bay in a special edition on the fishery crisis (Whiffen, 11 Dec. 1994b). The article talked about a family that had worked in the fishery and how their lives had changed because of the fishery crisis. The father and his three sons were prominently displayed in the photograph that supplemented the article. The mother and two sisters were only briefly mentioned in the article and were not included in the photograph as part of the fishing family.

The media reflects a wider societal bias that states that women are not instrumental to the fishing industry and are instead, only found in the unpaid sector as mothers, wives and

¹⁴ It could be argued that 25% representation in news photos is a high number when compared to other studies concerning women's representation in photos. However, when the percentage is broken down as in appendix 9, we see that 24 representations or 13.7% of women were activists or advocates. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, women appearing as activists/advocates appear in groups of people, mostly men. The graph and high percentage may be a little misleading as women still do not appear individually or alone in news photos.

¹⁵ See Appendix 9 for tables and statistics concerning Representation in News Photos.

daughters. Women in the fishery are “forgotten” in news photos just as they are ignored as a vital part of the fishing industry by government and by fishery policy makers. Blackwood (1983) argues that the reading audience pays close attention to news photos. The lack of women in news photos enforces a societal bias that says that women are not active in the fishery in paid roles in processing and harvesting or in fishing communities as advocates for their communities and families.

Thematic Structures

In the sample of news articles selected for the fishery crisis from The Evening Telegram, thirteen major topics appeared. The percentage after each topic shows the frequency of occurrence in the overall sample.

1. General information on the fishery crisis and the decline of the cod fishery in the province. These included articles about the decline of the cod stocks from 1991 to the time of the moratoria, cuts to the fishery in the time period, conflicts in the industry, protests by fishery workers, etc. (27%).
2. The TAGS program (13.6%).
3. Fishery of the future (12.5%).
4. Fish plant closures. These articles mostly range from 1991 to early 1993 (9.8%).
5. End of rural life in Newfoundland and a loss of cultural identity associated with the cod fishery (8.3%).
6. Community economic development and plans to diversify the provincial economy. This also includes information about RDAs and zonal boards (7.2%).
7. Issues pertaining to women’s involvement in the fishery such as the Anchor Point women, women’s role in the family, women’s work in the fishery and related topics such as zonal boards and development associations (4.4%).
8. NCARP (3.8%).
9. Training (3.5%).
10. Family life in the fishing industry and in rural Newfoundland (2.3%).
11. Discrimination related to the TAGS program either against recipients or against workers in other sectors excluding discussions of the Anchor Point women (1.4%).
12. Changes to social programs such as UI and welfare and cuts to transfer payments from the federal government to the provinces (1.4%).

13. Other Issues such as health and stress (4.8%).

The first four themes focus on news events that were probably written from press releases. These themes focus on events or announcements such as that of the closure of a fishery, a change in the TAGS program or the closing of a fish plant. Themes that related to the discussion of the impact of the crisis on industry workers were relatively uncommon. Because these are the themes closest to women's lives, the thematic structure of the sample explains part of their marginalization in the print media construction of the fishery crisis.

Schematic structures refer to ideas and events that are given special preference by reporters in the news. In constructing news articles on the fishery crisis, reporters make reference to the "Main Event," the "Previous Event," the "Context," and "History" (Van Dijk, 1988: 270). In articles on the fishery crisis, the Main Event is the cod moratorium. The Previous Event refers to the decline of the cod stocks prior to the moratorium in July 1992. The Context refers to the fishery crisis and History includes the fishing industry in Newfoundland and Labrador prior to the cod moratorium in July 1992.

A majority of articles in the sample discussed the Main Event, the Previous Event and Context. History was rarely, if ever, discussed and comparisons between the present day crisis and the fishing industry of the past usually only referred to the Main Event and the Previous Event (the decline of the cod stocks). There were no references to women's place within the fishery of the past in the historical elements of news articles in the sample.

3.3 Qualitative Content Analysis

As with the quantitative content analysis, articles from The Evening Telegram were

selected and examined qualitatively from the time period 1991 to 1995. The qualitative content analysis draws upon a somewhat modified version of a framework developed by Van Dijk (1988). Articles are analyzed for how they discuss women and issues affecting women in the fishery crisis.

Local Semantics

"Local semantics" refers to "how the meanings of words and sentences contribute to and confirm the overall bias of the media" (Van Dijk, 1988: 270). Under examination are necessity, negation, perspective, agency and local coherence. In an article, the main function of "necessity" is to assign blame (Van Dijk, 1988: 271). There was a need in the overall sample to assign blame for the failure of the cod fishery. Not a single article in the sample, however, examined women's views on the end of the cod fishery or explored who or what women blamed for the collapse of the cod stocks.

The articles which looked at the women of Anchor Point encouraged the assignment of blame to the women for their loss of access to the TAGS program. In these articles, writers used negative phrases or slang phrases to refer to those who were no longer eligible for the TAGS program. In one article, women were "booted off the assistance program" (Jackson, 6 Jul. 1995) and in two articles, women were "dropped" ("Men get cheques...", 4 Aug. 1995; Whiffen, 27 Sep. 1995). In one headline, women got "the shaft from TAGS" ("Men get cheques...", 4 Aug. 1995). These phrases use slang to downplay the seriousness of the issue.

How blame is assigned to women in the fishery crisis becomes clearer in the article

"Men get cheques, women get the shaft from TAGS" (4 Aug. 1995). The news event in this article is a group of women who were cut off the TAGS program before its projected end. While the news event was a claim of discrimination on the basis of sex, the last three paragraphs of the article focused on the high cost of the TAGS program and the worries of the federal government that the program might be over budget. This emphasis supports the assumption that changes to TAGS were necessary to ensure that fewer people were eligible for the program so that there would be less money wasted. It downplays the issue of gender based discrimination.

There are worries it [TAGS] may be over budget by hundreds of millions of dollars as it is swamped with applications. Many Newfoundlanders who had been receiving federal cheques have been dropped from the program. Meanwhile, changes are expected to be announced in a few weeks to keep the program's costs from spinning out of control ("Men get cheques...." 4 Aug. 1995)

The underlying assumption in this article is that it is permissible to drop individuals from the program because the program is already over the projected budget. Placing information such as the high cost of the program in an article on discriminatory cutoffs will encourage the general reader to believe that such cuts are justified.

"Negation" refers to any impressions from the news coverage that are different from the actual course of events (Van Dijk, 1988: 272). Issues raised by women in the workshops discussed in chapter four were often different from those emphasized in news stories in the media.¹⁶ An example was an article that appeared shortly after the TAGS announcement

¹⁶ See chapter five for more discussion of this idea.

dealing with the promise of a quick response in delivering compensation cheques under TAGS. The article "The cheque is in the mail" (Bennett, 21 Apr. 1994) indicated that there would be a quick transition from NCARP under DFO to TAGS under HRD. Recipients would not have to worry about delays in receiving their cheques. The promise of a quick transition from DFO to HRD distributing TAGS cheques was not met, however. Many women in the workshops talked about late cheques and cheques arriving at different times in one community. This, however, was not discussed in the media. The only article said that the transition between the two departments would be smooth and no follow-up article appeared concerning the situation.

Another news story that appeared in November 1993 was entitled "Fish ban takes toll on women" (Bailey, 8 Nov. 1993) and was written in response to the preparation of a FFAW report (1994). Numerous issues were identified in the report, such as the need for flexible child care, worry about the future, a need to be a part of the decision making process and the importance of paid work to women in the fishery. The focus of the article was only on women and domestic abuse. The article stated that many women were being abused by their husbands due to stress caused by the collapse in the fishery.

Many women are being beaten by stressed-out males turned abusive because of the collapse of the East Coast fishery... "I've had to give people numbers for shelters, people who came to me in private after public meetings," said Parsons, chairwoman of the union's women's committee. One woman suggested to Parsons that women be offered self-defence courses to allow them to hold their own against abusive spouses (Bailey, 8 Nov. 1993).

To the general reader, the impression created by this article was that domestic abuse had

increased since the advent of the cod moratorium and that frustrated men in the fishery were turning to violence in the home. Although this may be true in some households, the FFAW Women's Committee did not find evidence of widespread abuse and hence, this article offers another example of negation. It does not correctly represent their findings.

...[D]uring the consultations several women came forward to speak privately about problems they were having in the home. In all a half a dozen women from different parts of the province confided their problems of verbal and/or physical abuse. In all of these cases women needed someone to talk to about their problems. We can not conclude that the problems expressed by these women were a result of the crisis in the fishery, but we suspect from the conversations that these are problems that were present before the moratorium (Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers, 1994: 25).

A third article entitled "Women in the fishery have few options" (Cleary, 13 Apr. 1994) discussed the FFAW report and some of the problems facing women in the fishery crisis. However, this article only briefly mentioned a second report presented at the same press conference by the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women (PACSW). The impression in the article was that the PACSW was present to give support to the FFAW Women's Committee. Only three paragraphs were allocated to a discussion of this second report compared to 10 paragraphs on the FFAW report. Instead of focusing on the report by the PACSW entitled The Impact of the Cod Moratorium on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Review of the Literature (Muzychka, 1994), the focus was on the fact that PACSW had unsuccessfully tried to meet with the provincial fisheries minister to discuss women's lives in the moratorium.

To that end, the advisory council has tried to meet with provincial Fisheries Minister Walter Carter. Six months later, Carter has yet to sit down with the

council, which has also tried in vain to meet with Brian Tobin, the federal minister (Cleary, 13 Apr. 1994).

"Perspective" involves an examination of language usage with the main focus being the point of view of the news articles - the reporter's or those being reported upon (Van Dijk, 1988: 272-273). In both special editions of The Evening Telegram, the final page of the newspaper was devoted to a section entitled "The Last Word." This section focused on the views of a harvester affected by the fishery crisis and how the individual felt about the crisis in the fishery. Both articles were in the harvesters' own words and were reprinted by Craig Westcott (Hardy, 1 May 1994) and Ryan Cleary (Keeping, 11 Dec. 1994). In both cases, there was also a large photo taking up almost half a page of the man sitting on a wharf. One of the articles, called "Kevin Hardy on Cashin, cod and whore's eggs" (Hardy, 1 May 1994), focused on one man's view of the fishery crisis. Hardy criticized the role of the federal government in managing the cod fishery and accused them of abusing remaining fisheries around the island. The article concerned one man in the fishery but it made the assumption fisherm**en** are the foundation and the best source of knowledge on the running of the fishing industry. They have the hands-on experience that politicians and fisheries scientists do not have. This type of article only appeared in the special editions. Although it is noteworthy that attention was given to the voice of a person in the fishery in this way, it is unfortunate that this happened only in a special edition. As well, it is also unfortunate that no similar article provided a voice for women in the fishery crisis. This type of news story portrays men in the fishery as the archetypal "fisherman" who is tied to the ocean and

the industry. Women are not seen in this manner.

"Agency" refers to the attitude of the news writer about the acts of the participants in the news story (Van Dijk, 1988: 273-4). Language usage in news articles should be examined for sexist content. Women are excluded by sexist language and the use of language can indicate the bias of the reporter towards women in the fishery. The term "fishermen" was commonly used in newspaper articles to describe those working in the harvesting sector. Alternative terms such as "fisher" or "fisherwoman" were rarely used. King (1991: 3) refers to this type of language usage as "male as norm" as women are excluded in the term "fishermen" and are thus, invisible.

Another form of sexist writing is what King (1991: 2) refers to as "irrelevant reference to physical appearance or domestic relationships." In articles on the fishery crisis that included women, they were commonly discussed in relationship to their families and domestic roles. Women were usually referred to as mothers or wives of men in the fishery. For example, in the article "Female fisherman earns her title" (Bailey, 22 Feb. 1993), the two women were described with such phrases as "the 35-year-old mother of two teenagers" and "a small woman with a direct but genial manner." As well, they were described in terms of their physical appearance. In this article, the focus on their physical appearance accentuated the fact that they were women working in a male-dominated field.

Another article using this type of sexist approach was "Mother puts daughter's welfare first" (Westcott, 1 May 1994b) which appeared in a special edition on the fishery crisis. This article was about a woman who was displaced by the fishery and was on a

waiting list for a training program. The writer said the woman was content to be out of the fishing industry as she was working in the fishing boat and could never have a voice over the men working with her in the running of the fishing operation. This woman said she would love to enrol in an Adult Basic Education (ABE) program but said that she would rather sacrifice her education in exchange for training and work for her daughters. The woman was described as a "mother of two" in the first sentence. Later in the article, she was described as a "fisher." The writer suggests that being a mother is her primary role and being a harvester in the workforce is secondary. This assumption is reinforced in the headline where the woman is defined as a mother first. This article is an excellent example of referring to women in terms of traditional or familial roles rather than their roles in the workplace. More important is the underlying issue that when women are mentioned as harvesters in the overall sample, it is not in relation to their work in the harvesting sector. Female harvesters are instead used as authorized knowers to discuss issues such as sexist language or their work in the family, or most significantly, their willingness to leave.

"Local coherence" is concerned with the relationships between facts in a news story. There are two types - conditional and functional local coherence. Conditional local coherence refers to "temporal or conditional relations among facts" (Van Dijk, 1988: 274) such as if this event occurs, then this will happen. Functional local coherence refers to the relationship between an event and its relevance to the reading audience (Van Dijk, 1988: 275). Most articles on the fishery crisis have functional local coherence in that they are written because they are relevant to the reading public. Few stories use conditional local

coherence in the sense that they explain to the reader the effect of a news event. Articles in the sample mainly stated the facts of the news story and did not elaborate on consequences of an event or explain why it occurred.

An example of functional local coherence was seen in an article on women's participation on development and zonal boards. This article quoted statistics and used female authorized knowers to emphasize that an increase in the numbers of females on development boards had occurred (Vaughan-Jackson, 18 Aug. 1994). However, missing from the article was the significance of having women on development boards and an explanation for why women need to be present. The article only quoted statistics and omitted any effects or consequences occurring after the event.

Style

Style refers to how groups or events are described by the news reporters - negative, positive or neutral. An examination of the phrases used to describe TAGS, NCARP and UI can uncover hidden biases held by news reporters. TAGS and NCARP were referred to as "federal relief" (Bailey, 21 Jul. 1994), the "package" (Westcott, 1 May 1994a; Westcott, 11 Dec. 1994a), "fishery relief program" (Cleary, 11 Dec. 1994), the "work-for-aid program" (Cleary, 28 Feb. 1994). In an article about religion in rural Newfoundland, a minister says that fewer people are attending church since the cod moratorium. The reporter says, "God now plays second fiddle to a brown government cheque. Their shrine is a mailbox" (Cleary, 1 May 1994a). UI was referred to as a "hangashore's dream" (Cleary, 1 May 1994b), the "UI rolls" (Westcott, 11 Dec. 1994b), "pogey" (Cleary, 14 May 1995) and "stamps" (Cleary, 14

May 1995). Using this type of language gives a negative picture of those dependent upon social programs and implies these workers have alternatives.

Rhetoric

Rhetoric refers to the use of devices such as numbers by the news reporter to stress the importance of a news event. Statistics and numbers are commonly used to support the validity of a news report and often give the news article an air of authority. Van Dijk (1988: 279-80) stresses the importance of asking where the numbers in the article originate and whether they were collected independently of the news event and story. An article in August 1994, for example, claimed that women's participation on zonal and development boards was on the increase. However, the basis of the article was a paragraph on statistics from Patt Cowan, Minister Responsible for the Status of Women.

Cowan announced Wednesday that for the quarter ending June 30, 1994 there were 308 women serving on government boards and commissions as compared to 527 men. Females make up 37 per cent of the position holders, while males hold 63 per cent of the appointments (Vaughan-Jackson, 18 Aug. 1994).

The use of numbers in this context gives the article an air of authority and validity. However, no source for the numbers is given except that they were quoted by Cowan.

Photographs

News photos were previously examined quantitatively for frequency of times men and women were represented. In this section, they are examined qualitatively for their content and for the types of artifacts and objects that are used.

Semiotics or the study of signs examines the use of objects or artifacts as signs in a

culture. In semiotics, each sign or symbol has two parts: the signifier or the visible interpretation and the signified or the invisible interpretation (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993: 23). In the case of news photos, the signifier is the cultural artifact such as the fishing boat on land, the destroyed lobster pot or the old fish plant. The signified is the invisible meaning associated with each symbol. Each symbol represents the end of a "traditional" way of life as a result of the moratorium. Because men were commonly seen with these artifacts, there must also be an examination of the denotation and connotation of the usage of these cultural artifacts. Denotation refers to the obvious, first meaning of the sign (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993: 26). In this case, denotation refers to the connection between men and the fishery. Women, according to their sparse representation in news photos in association with cultural artifacts, do not have these connections. Connotation refers to the second invisible meaning of the sign that suggests fishing as the domain of men (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993: 26).

Men are commonly presented in news photos in conjunction with symbolic cultural artifacts such as abandoned fishing boats. This pattern was particularly common in photos in the special editions. On the front page of one special edition, a male harvester is chopping up the remains of his fishing vessel. Other photos in the special edition include a man in a fishing boat, a man on a wharf, a man tearing down his boyhood home and various other pictures of schools and fishing boats. One picture included a woman but she appears in a snapshot without cultural symbols associated with the fishery. Women have their own cultural artifacts associated with the fishery. Fish plant work clothes, fish plants and fishing boats can be considered cultural artifacts for women. The only photo to appear in the sample

that included these artifacts with women was a photo of Berni Stapleton and Amy House in their play A Tidy Package (Vaughan-Jackson, 11 Dec. 1994). This article and photo appeared in the entertainment section and the women were actors and not actual fish plant workers.

News photos in The Evening Telegram that showed women tended to reinforce an association between women and the family and domestic roles (3.4% of representations showed women in these roles). While these roles are important to women, there were usually no or few photos of women in other roles (female harvesters 0.6%; female plant workers 0%). An example is a photo that appeared in the December 1994 special edition of The Evening Telegram. This photo accompanied the article "Fate's Cruel Hand: Husband's death, plant closure devastate woman" (Whiffen, 11 Dec. 1994a) and was the only picture in the special edition that was not tied to some kind of cultural artifact associated with the fishing industry. The photo accompanying the article is large and includes a bedroom bureau with four snapshots of Donna McDonald. The image highlights the importance of McDonald's home to her life. The four snapshots scattered atop the bureau each show a different profile of Donna McDonald. One shows McDonald in her home, two show her standing outside and another has her face looking towards the camera. The pictures are fragmented and blurry suggesting confusion and uncertainty.

Women are sometimes portrayed as activists/advocates in fishery crisis photos (13.7%). Miller (1975: 71) defines activist/advocate as individuals who are:

portrayed as a spokesperson, representative or volunteer for some special

interest cause, and/or having deliberately thrust oneself into the public eye or sought publicity for oneself or a cause via a staged event, speech or other activity.

Protests have been relatively common occurrences since 1991. Women have worked as activists and advocates for various issues in the fishery such as TAGS cut-offs, foreign fishing and changes to UI regulations. However, when women appear in news photos in articles dealing with protests, they appear with men in a large group of people. An example was a photo accompanying an article called "Jobless workers speak out" (Cleary, 28 Feb. 1994). This article focused on a protest by displaced fishery workers on the St. John's waterfront. In this photo, two women appeared in a crowd of protesters. Interestingly, this article also used a woman in the protest as an authorized knower. Women were given prominence in the role of activist/advocate in this article. A similar photo appeared on the front page of the newspaper with an article entitled "Protest becomes rampage" (Bailey, 4 Sep. 1993). This photo showed two police officers pushing a woman against a car during a fishery protest. The woman appeared alone with four male police officers and a person of unknown sex. Although the woman was not quoted in the accompanying article, she was given the primary focus in the photo as an advocate or activist. The underlying bias here is that women are voiceless and appear only as part of a large crowd of people. The failure to use women as authorized knowers is reinforced by their presentation as part of a crowd of protesters without a voice to speak about the problems in the fishery or the reasons why they have become activists and advocates.

3.4 Other Media

It is important to contrast coverage in the mainstream print media with that in alternative media. In this section, coverage in two other print media sources, The Union Advocate and the FishNet News, is compared to that of The Evening Telegram. The Union Advocate is a newsletter published by the FFAW and is circulated to members of the FFAW. Eight issues of The Union Advocate from 1992 to 1995 were chosen for analysis. About 220 articles were studied in these issues.¹⁷ It is important to note that it is edited by Lana Payne who is also a member of the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet. Articles in The Union Advocate examine events in the fishery crisis from the point of view of the union and those working in the industry.¹⁸

The FishNet News is a publication of the Nova Scotia Women's FishNet. This newsletter focuses on issues pertaining to women in the fishing industry and is circulated to women in the industry. Two issues of FishNet News including 49 articles were examined. These issues appeared in 1995 and in 1996. Although it does not deal with issues specific to women in Newfoundland and Labrador, but rather women in all Atlantic provinces, women's issues from this province have been highlighted in various articles in FishNet News.

¹⁷ 220 articles were included in the sample for The Union Advocate as compared to 216 articles in The Evening Telegram. The reason for the smaller number in the mainstream print media source is that the time period was greater and not all articles were used in the time period. However, for The Union Advocate, all articles except editorials were used. As well, all articles in a particular issue of The Union Advocate refer to the fishery while only a small percentage of articles in one issue of The Evening Telegram focus on the fishery crisis.

¹⁸ It should also be noted that The Union Advocate is a union publication and a newsletter from an advocacy group. It is understood that there are certain biases that may appear in the publication as it follows the guidelines and mandates of the Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers Union.

In The Evening Telegram, most articles were written by men (69.9%). In contrast, articles in FishNet News were written almost exclusively by women (96.4%). Although the authors of most articles in The Union Advocate could not be identified by sex (95.9%), it can be assumed that they were largely written by the editorial board of the newsletter which made up of one woman and two men. When sex of writer could be identified in The Union Advocate, however, women wrote 3.2% of the articles.

Authorized knowers in FishNet News were almost all women (88%) and were mostly from the fishery (harvester 8%), activists/advocates (16%) or from various FishNet organizations in Atlantic Canada (24%). There were no plant workers used as authorized knowers in FishNet News.¹⁹ Authorized knowers in The Union Advocate were mostly men (87%) and most commonly found in roles such as harvester (21.3%) and FFAW members or representatives (15.5%). Women were seen most often as plant workers (4.1%) and FFAW members or representatives (2.7%). The use of fishery workers as authorized knowers in The Union Advocate contrasts with the urban bureaucratic bias in The Evening Telegram coverage. Sources from government or business were more likely to be used as authorized knowers in articles in the mainstream media. The alternative media structures chose to use fishery workers as authorized knowers instead of routinely using sources such as fisheries ministers and other politicians to comment on fishery policies.

Women appeared in news photos less frequently in The Union Advocate (21.8%) than in the mainstream media of The Evening Telegram (25%). However, in FishNet News,

¹⁹ See Appendix 5 for a table of authorized knowers from FishNet News and The Union Advocate.

women appeared in almost all of the news photos (91.3%) as either FishNet members (65.2%) or musicians and entertainers (26.1%).

An analysis of thematic structures serves to identify the themes in a newspaper and rate them according to their hierarchy and relevance to the newspaper (Van Dijk, 1988: 216).

The Union Advocate had the following themes:

1. General articles about the fishery crisis and the decline of the cod fishery in the province ranging to the effects of the cod moratorium and union plans to deal with the crisis (33%)
2. UI and changes to social programs other than TAGS (7.7%)
3. Fishery of the future - FFAW model, professionalization, Special Eligibility Criteria (SEC) and Harvesting Adjustment Boards (HABs) (7.1%)
4. Other fisheries and diversification of the fishing industry (7.1%)
5. Women's issues - FFAW Report, achievements of women in the industry and violence against women (7.1%)
6. Training (6.6%)
7. Activism - various fisheries protests organized by the union (5%)
8. Health and Safety issues (4.4%)
9. Fish Plant Closures - these articles were in the early issues of The Union Advocate before the TAGS program (4.4%)
10. Entertainment - articles focused mostly on the Folk of the Sea, a singing group of displaced fishery workers, most of whom are members of the FFAW (3.8%)
11. Family life in the fishery (3.3%)
12. TAGS (2.7%)
13. Discrimination against fishery workers (2.7%)
14. Other issues such as licensing (5%)

In The Evening Telegram, the most common theme was general information on the fishery crisis (27%). In The Union Advocate, this theme was also most common. However, The Union Advocate differed in that other themes and issues were also important. The Evening Telegram framed the majority of the articles included in the sample from press releases and news events such as fish plant closures. The Union Advocate served a more

critical role in its news coverage as it focused on how policies and events affect fishery workers and those in fishing communities. The focus was on how the fishery crisis impacts those in the fishery directly and, as a result, The Union Advocate articles related more to the everyday lives of women than those articles in the sample from The Evening Telegram. Issues such as entertainment and articles about activism were not highlighted in the mainstream media, however, they were in The Union Advocate.

FishNet News differed from The Evening Telegram and The Union Advocate in that the most important theme was information about FishNet activities throughout the Atlantic provinces. The fishery of the future was not as important an issue in FishNet News as it was in the other two media sources. It should also be noted that women's issues were not counted in the thematic structures of FishNet News as all articles were considered to be concerned with women's issues. Like The Union Advocate, the articles in FishNet News were reactions to events in the fishery crisis and related more to the lives of women living in fishing communities in Atlantic Canada than the coverage in The Evening Telegram. The articles went further than simple reporting of the news events as seen in articles in The Evening Telegram. Instead, they included women's experiences with particular policies and events and constructed the fishery crisis as having a direct effect on women in fishing communities.

1. FishNet activities - covers the events of various FishNet groups in the Atlantic provinces including the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet (30.8%)
2. UI and changes to social programs (15.4%)
3. Discrimination against women in the fishery (11.5%)
4. General articles about the crisis in the fishery (9.6%)

5. TAGS (5.8%)
6. Family life in the fishery (3.8%)
7. Training (3.8%)
8. Fishery of the future (3.8%)
9. Health and safety (3.8%)
10. Entertainment (3.8%)
11. Other issues such as fishery of the future and changes to licensing (5.8%)

Schematic structures identify the "Main Event", the "Previous Event", the "Context" and "History" in news articles. As with The Evening Telegram, in the alternative media, the Main Event is the context of the fishery crisis, the Previous Event refers to the fishing industry prior to 1992 and the Context is the current situation in the fishery crisis. The difference is that History is discussed in more detail in the alternative media than in the mainstream media. Women are given a history in the fishery in The Union Advocate and FishNet News but not in The Evening Telegram. A 1995 article in The Union Advocate focussed on a family who worked in the harvesting sector of the fishery ("The Marches of...." Spring/Summer 1995). There was equal coverage of the male and female partners in the fishing family. Both were quoted throughout the article and included in the supplementary news photos. The female harvester's historical attachment to the fishery through her family and their history in the fishing industry was highlighted.

Peter and Eleanor work together as they have done since 1983 when Eleanor gave up her plant job, got a licence and joined her husband in the boat... Peter has been fishing for some 31 years, starting as a boy of 13. He too comes from a fishing family, although he is only one of nine children who continues to work in the industry. Eleanor, on the other hand, has three sisters and a brother who fish for a living ("The Marches of...." Spring/Summer 1995).

Overton (1993) explores the negative stigma towards poverty in the mass media. He

claims that the creation of negative public attitude allows the government to implement particular policies to reform UI. By quoting politicians, writing conservative editorials and printing conservative letters to the editor, the Canadian media has created negative images of unemployment insurance in Newfoundland and Labrador. UI, Overton (1993) argues, has become equated with laziness, alcoholism and child abuse in the media. Those with full time jobs are portrayed as hardworking and as supporting individuals who have a "holiday at the taxpayers expense" (Overton, 1993: 31). In one article in The Evening Telegram, for example, UI is blamed for destroying the work ethic in Newfoundland.

The Newfoundland work ethic has also eroded. Programs such as Unemployment Insurance have created a strong government dependence - a reliance that can't be severed in a single, fell swoop (Cleary, 1 May 1994a).

In contrast to the bias against UI and TAGS recipients in the mainstream media, one article in The Union Advocate confronted poor bashing and discrimination against the unemployed ("Stop Picking on...." Spring/Summer 1994). Instead of criticizing the unemployed, the focus was on the relationships between unemployment and the larger political and economic context.

The Globe and Mail has embarked on a near-daily attack of Canada's unemployed, particularly unemployed fish plant workers and fishing men and women. At the same time, the Toronto newspaper has hailed the cuts to UI and other social programs as 'ambitious and trend-setting.' ...They talk about the unemployed as if being out of a job was their own fault; as if being out of work was a situation people strived for; as if collecting a little more than half your regular pay allowed people to pay their bills and feed their families ("Stop Picking on...." Spring/Summer 1994)

Photographs were also examined qualitatively in the media analysis. In FishNet

News, photos represented various FishNet activities such as meetings and workshops. The Union Advocate, however, printed news photos similar to the mainstream media in that men and women were photographed with fishing artifacts such as fishing boats, wharves and fish plants. The difference is that in The Union Advocate, a large number of photos showed women in traditional settings in the fishing industry such as working in fish plants and in the harvesting sector on fishing boats.

3.5 Summary

Smith (1987) argues that a "circle" exists in the construction of society in forms such as the media. This circle develops the thoughts, texts and images in society and is largely controlled by men. Through analyses such as the one in this chapter, women see that they are strangers in these circles and begin to critique the media through an examination of their everyday lives. The absence of women in various areas of the mainstream print media of The Evening Telegram shows that the circle is structured and created from a male point of view. It is this gendered construction of the fishery crisis that excludes women's voices and everyday experiences. By turning to their own experiences women challenge the media construction of the fishery crisis that places men at the centre of the industry and ignores women's concerns and issues. Using the criteria set by Junette Davis (1982), the quantitative content analysis identified a definite sex bias against women in print media articles on the fishery crisis. There is also a class bias as fishery workers are not used as authorized knowers as frequently as politicians and fish plant owners. Female fishery workers are used less frequently than male fishery workers. Women in the fishery are "strangers" to the circle

of writers and authorized knowers who have constructed the fishery crisis through the mainstream media coverage.

In this chapter, I examined the presence and presentation of women in the media as writers, authorized knowers and in news photos. The quantitative content analysis showed that women were underrepresented in all areas of coverage related to the fishery crisis in The Evening Telegram. Women appeared as writers of news stories in only 9.7% of the articles when sex of writer could be identified. Women consisted of only 12.6% of all authorized knowers in articles on the fishery crisis despite making up one third of industry workers and 50% of fishing communities. The women presented were clustered in such roles as activist/advocate (2.6%), fish plant workers (1.9%) and in domestic roles in the household (1.9%).

An examination of the thematic and structural features of The Evening Telegram coverage deepened our understanding of these gender and class biases. Necessity shows how blame is often assigned to fishery workers for the closure of the fishery and that when women appear they are sometimes placed in opposition to men in the fishery. The section on negation showed that events in news stories are often different from the actual sequence of events in real life. Sexist language and a male elite point of view are also used to situate women in a secondary position relative to men in the industry. An investigation of style shows that slang is used in news articles reflecting the underlying biases of the reporter in the articles against TAGS and UI recipients. Rhetoric is used by news reporters to enhance the newsworthiness of a news story and, in some cases, is used in ways that are detrimental

to women. Photographs were also examined in a qualitative manner showing that the cultural symbols of the fishery used in these photographs are often associated with men. Although women in the fishery have their own symbols that tie them to their work in the industry, these are not highlighted in the mainstream media coverage in the same way.

In this chapter, I have shown that fishery women and their concerns are not part of the dominant circle that shapes print media coverage of the fishery crisis in Newfoundland and Labrador. In the next chapter, I examine women's experiences in the fishery crisis and use them to identify a line of fault that exists between women's experiences and the construction of the fishery crisis in mainstream print media in Newfoundland and Labrador. I explore how these experiences challenge the gendered construction of the fishery crisis in the mainstream media. Challenging the male "circle" is part of constructing a line of fault between women's experiences in the fishery crisis and the construction of the fishery crisis in the print media.

Chapter Four

Women's Lives in the Fishery Crisis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on a series of workshops held in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. In these workshops, women were invited to share their experiences of the fishery crisis and search for solutions to these problems they were experiencing. This chapter also adds to the growing body of literature which examines the lives of women in the cod moratorium in Newfoundland and Labrador. This literature recognizes that women's experiences in the fishery crisis are different from men's (Williams, 1996; Muzychka, 1994; Ennis and Woodrow, 1996; Educational Planning and Design, 1994; Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers Union, 1994). By examining women's lives from their "everyday world", we can develop the discourse and authority to challenge the claims of the institutions or circles from which women are absent. This exploration can help women gain confidence to critique media sources such as The Evening Telegram where their voices are missing and distorted.

This chapter first examines why women felt it was important to unite together and discuss the fishery crisis. Next, I address problems women have had with their work in the fishery. The importance of fish plant work and the lack of recognition for women's work in the fishery are explored. Thirdly, I discuss women's struggles with families and with children since the cod moratorium. Uncertainty about future work in the fishing industry is leading to stress and health problems for them and for other family members. It has troubled

family relationships. Next, I explore barriers women have experienced within the TAGS program ranging from problems with the program's structure and retraining programs to their experiences with discrimination while they were TAGS recipients. Women's roles in their communities and their concerns about the future survival of rural Newfoundland and Labrador are also examined. Despite divisions in the community women have experienced because of the TAGS program and a loss of cultural identity resulting from an end to the cod fishery, women still have plans for the future of their communities and their fishery. The final section discusses problems with media coverage of the fishery crisis identified by these women.

4.2 Need for women to unite

These workshops provided the first opportunity for many women to come together to talk about the fishery crisis. They were also the first opportunity for many women to participate in a support group format. Most women who attended the workshops said that they hoped to continue the process after the workshop and find ways to work together to help each other. They felt the need to speak for themselves and their communities.

Individually, we can't do anything. But as a group, we'll be listened to.
(Flower's Cove)

If there was a support group around we could sit and talk...everyone is not alone and we got the same problem. (Harbour Breton)

Why should we leave it up to the men? We, the women, are the people hurting. We need to be heard. It is our future also. The women in the community are the organizers...we can use some of this energy and organize things like this today and find where we can help. (Isle aux Mortes)

They should have some kind of support group, one night a week, to talk about TAGS. (Port aux Basques)

Women expressed a desire to get out of informal settings in their communities, like kitchens and stores, and into community groups. Women in La Scie said that they were already talking to each other around their kitchen tables and in the local stores but, this was not enough. They wanted to take action and they wanted to meet in a public building to make their groups more credible.

In some communities, women have been able to come together in groups since the workshops. In Quirpon, for example, the workshop resulted in the formation of a women's group. This group has been invited to many community meetings and has worked to raise money to pay for their meetings. In other areas, such as Port aux Basques, a willing women's organization has provided the space and the time for women to come together. After the workshop, the Gateway Women's Center in Port aux Basques started a women's support group for women affected by the fishery crisis. However, a lot of areas did not have these resources and if women did not take the initiative to form a group themselves, no organization was available to do it for them.

Everybody is talking about it but no one is doing anything. They need someone to speak on their behalf. (Isle aux Mortes)

After the workshops, women felt as though they were no longer alone in the crisis. A lot of women said that they were relieved to know that other women were experiencing the same problems. In every workshop, the facilitator would ask, "Are others feeling the same pressures, worries and concerns?"

Yes. Everyone feels the same. Some show they don't care but [they] think it. Most keep it to themselves. They'll explore and take it out on someone else. (Great Breat)

Yes. Everybody is. We don't express it and discuss it. Groups like this are good. We think we are alone but we're not. We're used to keeping it all inside. (Great Breat)

4.3 Women's Work in the Fishing Industry

Women have worked in the fishery in the household, in the processing and harvesting sectors and in their communities. In the workshops, women expressed frustration with the lack of recognition their work has received in relation to men's work in the industry. But, they knew the value of their work, especially in the fish plants, in terms of adding income to the household and in defining themselves as individuals. A wider societal bias exists that says women work as mothers, wives and daughters in the fishing industry but not as legitimate paid workers in processing and harvesting. As seen in the media analysis, the print media has embraced this bias. Mainstream print media such as The Evening Telegram rarely use female fishery workers as authorized knowers (plant workers 1.9%; harvesters 0.7% or in news photos (plant workers 0%; harvesters 0.6%). The absence of women in these roles reinforces the bias that women are not primary paid workers in the fishing industry.

Lack of recognition for women in the fishery

Women often talked about their work in the fishery and their treatment as women in the fishery. Those in the Flower's Cove area were in the process of registering a Human Rights complaint against DFO at the time of the workshop. Although this issue was not the

focus of the workshop, it did influence the workshop discussion. Women in Flower's Cove said that they had experienced sexual discrimination in the dealings with DFO in the fishery because "our name is not Harry."

Like the women in Flower's Cove, many women in other areas felt that their contributions to the fishery, both paid and unpaid, were invisible in relation to men's work. Men were often credited with their work in the harvesting sector and women who worked alongside men were often ignored or considered secondary. Women in the fish plant often spoke of similar treatment. Women's work in fish processing and in their communities was often not considered as valuable as men's work in the fishing boats.

It was women who developed the [Northern] Peninsula years ago because the men were on the water and the women were on the shore in the communities. (Plum Point)

Many women felt that their work was very important to the running of the industry and to the maintenance of the fishing household.

Men used to be the breadwinner and the boss but a lot of time it was because women were doing work elsewhere. Men brought in the fish but women used to salt it. (Pilleys Island)

Women in the workshops recognized the contribution they and their predecessors had made to the development of the fishing industry and felt that they should receive more credit for their unpaid labour.

There was no respect for women in the fishery. The women were always involved in the fishery even before they were recognized. They were on the flakes every morning spreading fish, in the stages helping their husbands and everything like that but...they weren't recognized for it. (West St. Modeste)

Women feel that they have taken on a lot of the responsibilities associated with managing their families' affairs and finances. Their role in the household has been extended to deal with family problems and financial worries exacerbated by the crisis. Men have not taken on these responsibilities to the same extent.

The men will still be out there hauling empty nets and empty traps and it will be the women who will have to turn it around. (Flower's Cove)

We're the ones that do the most worrying. (Great Breat)

Men don't express it the same way. A woman can sit down and cry but men can't. Maybe they'll visit the bar... (La Scie)

Importance of Work in the Fish Plant

In many communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, the fishery and local fish plant have been the main employers. In some instances, the fishery was the reason for settling in the community and starting a family. For many women, the plant was the only employer and the only opportunity to make money and add to the household income. Most women who attended the workshops were fish plant workers. Almost all processed northern cod except for a group of women in Lark Harbour who processed herring and mackerel.

When asked to describe their communities, many women saw the local fish plant as its most valuable asset. They saw the fish plant as the focal point of their communities that everyone depended upon for survival. The economic survival of the community was based on employment directly with the plant in the processing and harvesting sectors, or indirectly in spin off activities such as babysitting or restaurants. Many women did not see their communities surviving in the future without an operating fish plant.

The plant was always there for the plant workers and the plant was always there for the fishermen to unload the fish. (La Scie)

For a small community, we received a lot and it was because of the fish plant we got what we did. (Pilleys Island)

The Lark Harbour fish plant was torn down in 1994 by a local plant owner despite community protests. The promises of a new plant kept the community alive for about six months until they discovered their herring and mackerel quotas had been reallocated to another plant. At the time of the workshop in Lark Harbour, many women worried about getting the plant license renewed after it expired in December 1995. They were hoping for a new plant and a new license as the herring and mackerel fisheries were still viable in the area. Without a viable plant and quotas, these women saw their community dying. Women from other areas shared similar concerns.

[There will be] no future if the fishery don't come back. Fishery has to be a part of it. Businesses don't work as there is no money. A grocery store would work as TAGS and welfare would keep it going. (Great Brehat)

The community is dying. We're losing everything. There's more people leaving everyday. There's more houses for sale and apartments with a free month's rent. (Port aux Basques)

Some women feared that the plant would reopen and they would not be among those called back to work. One woman said she worried she might miss the call to go back to work.

You're afraid to go anywhere because you're afraid that the plant is going to open. Now I have to go to Grand Falls on Wednesday and what if they call that day for me to go back to work? (Pilleys Island)

In one workshop exercise, women were asked to draw a picture of their communities

in five years. The community fish plant was often the central feature of their visions. In almost every area, women had a rationalization for why their plant would be designated part of the fishery of the future.

If you look at the arguments, there has to be a plant for the northeast fishery. We have the developed harbour and there has to be a marine lab and those reasons give you hope. (La Scie)

Along with defining their community, the fish plant also helped women define themselves as individuals. A woman in La Scie said, "All of a sudden, you are only a wife and a mother again." Many female plant workers talked about the importance of paid work in the plant and the pride they felt in their work. For many women, paid work in the fish plant gave them "a purpose to get up in the morning."

There's just nothing to do. It's the same routine, you get up, make the bed, do the laundry, wait for your husband and kids to come home. (Isle aux Mortes)

I go to bed miserable but I wake up crazy. You go to bed but you don't sleep. (Flower's Cove)

Along with a steady pay cheque, women missed the companionship and social life at the plant. A woman in Port aux Basques said, "It's the money and companionship that we miss, not the actual fish plant." A lot of women said that the workshop was their first opportunity since the moratorium to see again the women who had worked alongside them on the processing line.

We never see the people we worked with. When we see them, there's nothing to talk about but the weather or the summer. Before we talked about work and fish and work in the fish plant. (Great Brehat)

We miss...getting up every morning and going to work and working with our friends and the rituals of coming home and lots of times we wished that when we were working, we weren't but now, we're not working and we wished that we would be. (West St. Modeste)

For these women, paid work brought contentment and purpose to their lives.

Women in one workshop discussed this issue and said that they would rather be working than getting a TAGS cheque.

I think I would rather work for less than my cheque if I was just contented.
(Plum Point)

It would have been better if they never gave us TAGS and gave us work.
(Plum Point)

Women in the workshops talked about the problems associated with changes in their incomes. The change from a steady pay cheque every one to two weeks in the fish plant to a TAGS cheque every few weeks could cause many problems. In most cases, incomes were drastically reduced. As suggested by one woman, "At the plant we had a cheque every week, now there's a cheque every two weeks. And this one is about half of the cheque we got at the plant."

The high cost of living is a major problem in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. The closure of the food fishery means that fish has to be bought at a grocery store or replaced with meat. Thus, grocery bills have increased. As well, bills are harder to pay when incomes are cut almost in half.

All income is cut in half but bills are going up. No money to do what we want to do. Cars are still being bought but where are they getting the money? We just bought a new car, but if you take a chance for the future to change, you'll be waiting a long time. (Great Breat)

This is just survival. Basic survival. You pay the bills and hope that you got enough left over at the end to do something with it. (West St. Modeste)

There are a lot of people in this room who don't have that. They can't even pay their bills and that's a worry in itself. (West St. Modeste)

4.4 Women and their Families in the Fishery Crisis

Women were worried about the future of their families. Financial insecurity from an unstable industry and cuts to benefits in the TAGS program left them wondering about their families' future.

Financial Insecurity

Many women worried about their children's futures. A university degree was considered to be the key to children's success but most women said they could not see their children in university. This was a source of significant concern. A woman in Flower's Cove said "You've got very little chance with a university degree, but you got none without it." Increasing tuition and difficulties getting student loans are making it harder for young people in rural Newfoundland and Labrador to attend university.

I got a girl that finished grade twelve. [I get] \$307 a week. I can't pay my bills and I can't send her to university even if she does get a loan. (Flower's Cove)

My daughter wanted to do medicine and we can't afford it and we had to tell her that she couldn't do it. (Great Brehat)

If kids do go to university, the cost of living in St. John's is high and, as one woman said, "There's always something extra."

Women with younger children talked about their inability to save for their children's

education. Some women had set aside money while working in the fishing industry and were now being forced to spend these savings for basic family survival.

I don't know about anyone else but I had a little bit of money put away for my daughter for school which was her baby bonus...Since I've been on the moratorium, there's not very much there cause I've had to take it and give it to her now. I can't afford to give her what she needs right now let alone what comes out of my pay cheque. So, her schooling, it's gone. (Quirpon)

It's pretty hard to save money for children's education. (Port aux Basques)

Stress on younger children was a big concern of a lot of women. Emotions were highest in the workshops when women talked about their younger children still in school. Many women talked about vandalism, lack of community money for social activities and, sometimes, drug abuse. Women are worried about the future of the children growing up during the cod moratorium. They wondered what effects economic and community depression would have on them.

When we were growing up, we were going into the good times. But, they grow up and they're going into bad times. (Flower's Cove)

A lot of women talked about how their younger children were worrying about the finances of the household. One woman in Pilley's Island told us that her eight year old asked every pay day "Mom, got a cheque yet?" Young children are obviously seeing the pressure that their parent(s) are under financially and are taking that stress into their own lives.

Stress and Health problems

One of the biggest issues in the workshops was the health problems that many have experienced since the cod moratorium. Many women talked about the stress in their own

lives as well as in the lives of their family members. The stress of being unemployed for an uncertain amount of time and the related worry about finances appear to have caused many health problems among those affected by the closure of the fishery.

Our kids are carrying around a lot of stress. (Great Brehat)

There's a lot of men getting sick. My husband has hypertension and I think that's where it's coming from. They're home and they're not doing anything and it's getting to them. (Great Brehat)

Stress is a big problem from being unemployed. (Harbour Breton)

Most of us said we feel pressure and stress because of TAGS, because of the uncertainty of our future. (Isle aux Mortes)

There's an increase in health problems. It's due to stress. People are home doing nothing, just eating, bored. And it's causing problems. (Isle aux Mortes)

Decreases in income have caused stress among women and stress, in turn, increases health problems. Drugs are then needed to pay for increased health problems but the money is not available to buy them and paying for them can create money problems and stress.

The stress leads to a cycle to which there is no solution. I've had to go to the hospital. I had to buy drugs, \$95.00 a week and I can't afford them and I'm getting sicker. (Flower's Cove)

You can't have health without the money because you can't spend the money to get well. (Flower's Cove)

I went to the doctor for the flu and he gave me one set of pills for \$63.00 and I didn't post the light bill this week. (La Scie)

Women often spoke of the high cost of drugs and the tendency for doctors to prescribe drugs such as Prozac® or Valium®. At one workshop, women talked about particular doctors they

would advise women in the larger group not to visit and particular communities where the majority of the population was being treated for stress.

Problems at home and in marriages

Wife abuse was an issue that few women would speak about in the workshops. As mentioned in chapter three, a problem with the action research workshops was that although the aim was to create a safe environment, the workshops were not always "safe" for women to discuss some issues. Most women attending the workshops knew or were related to the other women in attendance. This type of environment makes it difficult to discuss some issues. A few outspoken women dared to speak about problems in their marriages but their comments were often met with uncomfortable silence from the rest of the group. One woman challenged the group by speaking about the lack of resources in rural communities for battered women and how hard it was to leave an abusive relationship.

If you're a battered woman and you go to run, how the hell are you going to run to Corner Brook? Where are you going to go? How are you going to get to Corner Brook to get a battered women's shelter? You can steal the car as you are running out the door. If you are battered, you are going to go to your family. They [women's groups] come to my house and ask for money but I don't give a lot to their shelter because I don't think they are too accessible to women in rural Newfoundland. (Isle aux Mortes)

During the fishing years, many married women only saw their husbands for a few hours a day. A plant worker married to a fisher, for example, would probably see her husband a few hours in the nighttime, in the mornings before they went to work or between shift changes. With the closure of the cod fishery, both partners are at home for most of the day. This has put a strain on many relationships. Women talked about the hardships of

having a husband at home all day long.

My husband is about ready to climb the walls and I'm ready to bring him to the mental. (La Scie)

If you're used to working and you and your husband are home staring at each other all day, it kind of gets on your nerves. (Port aux Basques)

As for me and my husband, we're getting on each others nerves. I can't stand being home and if I go to my sister's, he's calling wondering when I'm coming home.(Isle aux Mortes)

Most times, these types of comments were met with laughter from the larger group. Women seemed uncomfortable discussing their marriages in such large groups, especially in a group that consisted of neighbours and relatives. Ideally, the workshop environment was meant to be "safe" for women to discuss their problems but there was not always the space for women to feel free to do so.

4.5 The TAGS program

Women identified many specific problems, ranging from eligibility to problems with retraining. As well, some had experienced discrimination from others in the community because they were receiving TAGS benefits. This was mainly due to the stigma attached to government programs like TAGS and welfare. A major worry was the uncertainty associated with the impending end of the TAGS program, fears of having to resort to welfare and the threat that they might have to leave their homes, like others in their communities, to look for work elsewhere in the province or the country.

Most participants said that they were frustrated with the TAGS program. A woman in La Scie said, "There's a sense that there's a loss of control because of the TAGS program

and regulations." Much of the discussion in the workshops centered around questions of eligibility. Many women on the Northern Peninsula and the Labrador Straits felt that the eligibility criteria for their areas should be changed because of certain circumstances in their fisheries. These criteria were based on income and participation during the last three years prior to the announcement of the moratorium. This had caused problems as these were not the three best years for the fishery in those areas. As a result, many did not qualify for NCARP and TAGS or only qualified after many appeals.

...eligibility for NCARP and TAGS should be based on the best years not the last three years. Well, when NCARP came out first...you had to put your last three years. And which around here, and I guess on the Labrador coast...that was our three worst years because nobody was getting any fish in. (Quirpon)

Eligibility and payment under NCARP and TAGS were based on historical attachment or dependence on the cod fishery as a livelihood (Human Resources and Development, 1994).

Those who did not immediately qualify for the compensation programs could go through an appeals process. Some extenuating circumstances could be cited as a reason for not meeting the eligibility criteria. Those criteria acceptable to DFO included:

localized catch failure, injury, illness, pregnancy or other special circumstance which prevented an individual from fishing or working in a designated plant in 1990 or 1991 (Human Resources and Development, 1994: 6).

Women seemed unsure of the meaning of the notion of "extenuating circumstances" and these were often cited as a reason why individuals were rejected from TAGS in the appeals process rather than grounds to extend qualification.

The first workshop exercise was a reading circle where participants were asked to

read stories from Women of the Fishery (Educational Planning and Design, 1994). Participants were expected to read the story and discuss how it related to their personal lives. Many women read Lucy Lee's³⁰ story. Lucy Lee did not qualify for TAGS because she was unable to work in the fish plant due to illness. Many women felt Lucy Lee's illness should have been considered an extenuating circumstance allowing her to qualify.

I mean we hear it a lot, extenuating circumstances, a lot of people get disqualified because of them but nobody ever defines what they are and what kind of circumstances...they talk a lot about criteria but I mean, they never define all of it. And the extenuating circumstance for Lucy should have been evident as they are for other people in the same situation. (West St. Modeste)

Another element of Lucy Lee's story was that she had to repay a sum of money to the government. Some workshop participants had seen this happen in their families or communities.

My fiancé got TAGS from May to December. Two weeks before Christmas he found out he owes \$8000 because they did not assess him correctly. It's not his fault, it's the government's. (Isle aux Mortes)

Difficulty in getting current and accurate information concerning the TAGS program frustrated many women. TAGS counsellors who attended the workshops said their jobs were also frustrating as it was often difficult for them to get correct information from the federal government. Frequent changes in eligibility criteria meant counsellors usually did not have a chance to tell their clients correct information when important decisions had to be made. Women at the workshops found this frustrating.

³⁰ Lucy Lee's story is found in a collection of interviews entitled Women of the Fishery (Educational Planning and Design, 1994: 60).

They're [TAGS counsellors] the front line...In one week, you got a letter about this and the next week there's a letter about something else that they changed from the last letter and so on. And who had to tell you and explain that kind of stuff?...the front line people. Not the people who's in Corner Brook or St. John's and Goose Bay. They didn't have to come here and tell you that. (West St. Modeste)

Women also vented their frustration about green projects and government bureaucracy. Green projects "are designed to create long-term jobs" and include "work experience on environmental projects with periods of training" (Human Resources and Development, 1995) while receiving salary through TAGS. They are a form of workfare in that TAGS recipients are required to work without pay in order to remain eligible to receive their TAGS benefits. Women from a local green project attended one workshop. These women were responsible for cleaning up a local beach and laying sods on the community soccer field as part of the TAGS program. Many felt like they were being forced to participate in order to keep their TAGS cheques. They said that this work made them feel "ignorant" and that the government had classified them as "uneducated."

They made the plant workers feel that way and I'm sure those people working on those grants must be made to feel the same way. (Port aux Basques)

Many women felt that projects such as these should be removed from the TAGS program and benefits should be increased. One woman in the Great Brehat workshop said, "They'd have a lot to give if they cut out all the crap they got with it." In other words, programs such as green projects were not deemed useful by some participants. Instead, they suggested that these projects should be removed from the TAGS program and the money to administer them

should be redirected into payments to recipients.

There were also stories about late cheques. One woman said she went 31 days between cheques in August and September.

I had to wait 31 days for my cheque from August 9 to September 9. Then I got three cheques at once. One had to pay my rent, another my groceries and another to buy some things for my son for school. Those days we had nothing in the house. It got so bad I ate at his [her partner's] house every night because we had nothing. I used to cry all day and then I had to go to school [at the same time]. (Harbour Breton)

With the shift from NCARP to TAGS, the responsibility for administering cheques moved from DFO to HRD. Instead of issuing cheques every two weeks, HRD decided to issue cheques when a set number was printed. As a result, cheques arrive at different intervals in the same community.

Experiences with Retraining

At the time of these workshops, some kind of training was required to remain eligible for TAGS. Most women who attended the workshops were in some stage of an Adult Basic Education (ABE) program. A few women had gone to a post-secondary program elsewhere or were on a waiting list. Two women from the original workshops in Quirpon and West St. Modeste had finished ABE and had taken their children to a larger center to do a two year conservation and adventure tourism program.

Some women enjoyed their schooling in ABE. Women would often talk about how they could now help their children with their homework in the evenings. One woman said she hated the classes in the daytime but she loved coming home after school with her

children and doing their homework together. In most workshops, the women who were outspoken and most confident were the ones who loved learning and enjoyed being in an education program.

I love it. I go home evenings and weekends and does work. I loves it. (Port aux Basques)

I was one of those afraid to go to school but now I'm getting my diploma for grade 7, 8 and 9. (Pillely's Island)

In some instances, it was hard for women to speak out as individuals and have a strong opinion that was contrary to the larger group. It was not easy for some women to challenge the viewpoints of their close friends and relatives in the group. The women who enjoyed school or had positive experiences were often the minority in the group and it often seemed they were intimidated into not speaking out about their positive experiences. Quite often those women who challenged the ideas of the majority of the group were those who spoke about their positive experiences in retraining. Other women were reluctant to admit that there were any positive features to going back to school. Some emphasized the negative dimensions of training.

Many women talked about the feelings of inferiority, intimidation and guilt they had about going back to school. They said that instructors do not always recognize the intimidation individuals may feel when returning to school after a long period of time.

But there's students there haven't been back to school for 20 years and they need help. That's fine if you been out of school for a few years. They aren't equipped for people who's been out of school for 20 or 30 years. (Port aux Basques)

Many women said the instructors made them feel stupid or embarrassed about being in back in school.

She [the instructor] don't know how we feel about it and we should have got together and told her how to teach us on an easier level. (Port aux Basques)

[There] was 25 students there. 2 teachers, everyone of them were on different things... [W]hen I went there I had grade ten completion and when they looked at me, no tests or anything now mind you...I don't know if I looked stupid or whatever I looked. I was supposed to be on level three. They put me back on level two. Why? Must be my looks. I got level two... Anyway, I says, I'll do it over. To me, it was a waste of time right then and there. To me, that was my downfall there. (Quirpon)

Some women said they felt that they were treated differently in the classroom because they were receiving TAGS. This usually occurred to women who were in post-secondary courses in professional schools. One woman said that she did not let anyone in her class know that she was a TAGS recipient because she was afraid of being treated differently. Other women talked of similar experiences.

I went to school last year and I was in a group with about 27 people into Cabot College who were on TAGS. From the rest of the school, even the instructor, we were the TAGS people. We weren't environmental technologists to be, we were the TAGS people and that's discrimination. It's almost like they're looking at someone and saying well, you're on welfare because you deserve to be on welfare. (West St. Modeste)

At most workshops, the ages ranged from 30 to 60. Many women felt they were too old to be going back to school and in a lot of instances, women were returning to school after 20 years or longer.

I'll never go to school cause I hated school when I was into it and I still hates it today. To me, I couldn't learn when I was in school so how the frig are they going to make me do good when I'm almost 50 years old? (Isle aux

Mortes)

Many felt guilty about taking advantage of a “free” education. Some had children who wanted to go to trade school or university but could not because of high tuition costs or long waiting lists to attend courses. Some said they would rather have their daughters or sons go to school.

Another issue was the lack of access to courses in rural areas. On the tip of the Northern Peninsula, for example, many went to St. Anthony to the local community college. But there were not many courses offered in this school and Deer Lake was the nearest available for the longer post-secondary courses. Women in the Great Breat workshop asked: “Why can’t we get the courses in St. Anthony? Why go to Deer Lake and Corner Brook?” Women on the Northern Peninsula worried about leaving their husbands and children behind while they went to Deer Lake or another center to school. Some opted not to continue their education after ABE simply because they did not want to leave their homes and families.

I’ve been wanting to go to take a trade somewhere but I got a girl home now, she’s 15, and she says “Mom, I’m not going. I’m staying and finishing grade 12 with the class that I started with and I don’t want to leave home.” But what do I do? I mean, I can’t go and leave her here alone. She’s only 15 years old, she needs me. And I think that puts a lot of stress on you. (Quirpon)

Courses that were available in centers like St. Anthony were often filled with people from the same area. Women were worried that there would be too many people in the one region retraining in the same field. It’s not that everyone is doing the same hairdressing course. It’s the only one that’s available. (Isle aux Mortes)

There are too many people training for the same job. We got women in the sewing course all making aprons for their husbands doing a marine cook course. They all think they will get jobs on the boats in the Lakes but there are no jobs there for everyone. (Isle aux Mortes)

They'll only give you retraining for two years and there are more people with the same two year course. I know a community with eight people in the community with the same two year program. (Flower's Cove)

What are you training for? Everyone is doing the same course. I did business. I never got a job and now they are putting more in [the course]. (Isle aux Mortes)

It was often suggested that the government and schools should spend more time planning ahead in relation to the job market and only train individuals for work that would be available in the future or needed in their particular area. The lack of jobs in the province made many feel that retraining was a useless endeavour.

What is the good of an education? People are educated now and they have no work. so what is the point of us going out and getting an education. There is nothing around. And then once you got an education, you need experience but you can't get a job. What's the good of your education if you haven't got enough experience. Education is almost a lost cause. (West St. Modeste)

What's there to train for? Do you get a job for it after? Just attending school is a major stress on top of everything else. (Harbour Breton)

Some worried that retraining outside the fishery meant that they would have to move to larger centers on the island such as Port aux Basques, Corner Brook, Deer Lake, St. Anthony or St. John's or even to mainland Canada. Others were worried that training outside the fishery would leave them unemployed and ineligible for work in the plant when the fishery returned to their area.

My husband went to school for a year because he had to and he couldn't get

a job because they are telling him he had to be a journeyman. How can he be a journeyman if he can't train in the workplace? (Isle aux Mortes)

Government should realize that they are training all these people and there's no jobs for them. (Isle aux Mortes)

Training is useless unless you resettle. I trained a year ago and I listened to Job Line six months and there were two local jobs. It was an AVON representative and someone to do video work. That was it. (Isle aux Mortes)

The women feel they are training for nothing. It's pretty hopeless to train for nothing when there's no jobs and the jobs that show up are not advertised anyway. Only a select few know about them. (Isle aux Mortes)

The barriers that prevented women from taking further training were discussed. Some women were happy to do the available training courses but had small children to care for at home and did not feel they could easily move to a larger center with them.

When you got two small kids you can't pick up and go to Corner Brook. I would love to go to St. John's and go to university but I can't. (Isle aux Mortes)

One woman wanted to take a mechanics course in Corner Brook. She was a single mother with a child under five and was financially unable to make the move. The women at this workshop supported her move and knew that it was her dream to go and take this course. However, this woman was receiving a low TAGS cheque and could not afford to move to Corner Brook and still keep her house in her community.

Another woman spoke of having two elderly parents at home who depended upon her for care and financial security.

This is what pissed me off...schooling at the age of 54. Now, no one didn't force me to go back to school. But they kept saying over the radio [and] television, if you don't do something for your money, you're going to have

to get your TAGS cut off...I got a problem. Taking care of your parents. I got a mother and a father at the age of 78. Now, what good is this training...when I got people down here depending on me. (West St. Modeste.)

Many felt they were forced into retraining in order to keep their TAGS cheques. As a woman in Harbour Breton said, "A lot of women think being forced to go back to school is a problem in our area." Some felt that the government was wasting its money on individual retraining. The money would be better spent upgrading fish plants or increasing TAGS benefits.

Discrimination against TAGS recipients

Women said that they were treated differently in their communities when others knew they were receiving TAGS. They spoke of business people who made negative comments to those receiving TAGS. Many said they were ashamed to go to the grocery store to change their cheques: they would make the extra trip to the bank instead.

They think that you're lazy and drunks and stay home and watch tv. Who wants to stay home and do nothing? We had a situation a year ago when my son wanted a job at a store and he never got it because the storekeeper said what do you need a job when your parents got TAGS money? If the TAGS cheques weren't coming in, he [the storekeeper] wouldn't have a job. (Great Brehat)

It's the business people that pisses me off. He [a store owner] says, they should all be cut off. Where does he think his business is going and is coming from? (La Scie)

Women in one workshop spoke of a local teacher who was making comments in class about TAGS recipients. Students would often write about how they felt about their parents being unemployed and the teacher would ask them to rewrite their homework without talking about

the cod moratorium. A woman in Great Brehat spoke of this experience with her children saying, "I sent my kids to that school and I don't need them to be degraded."

A lot of women spoke of how hard it was to get a job if there was already an income in the household from TAGS. A non-fishery worker who attended one workshop often made comments to the larger group about fishery workers being fortunate about receiving a steady income. This woman was an ABE instructor.

We are in an economic hardship. There are some tough decisions that have to be made. Where there is a decision to be made between someone who has a steady income and someone who doesn't, who do you think will get the job?

But what are we supposed to say? I don't want that cheque, Mr. Tobin. You're entitled to it! (La Scie)

Women from non-fishery sectors attending the workshops were there because they realized the problems in their community and hoped that by speaking out and working with other women, some solutions could be found.

Some women were ashamed of receiving TAGS and one woman said she often lied about being on TAGS. It was easier to say she was receiving unemployment insurance benefits.

We got plant workers drawing unemployment and all they can say is about those fucking people on TAGS. I'm getting unemployment but I'm not saying anything because in a few months, I'm going to be on TAGS. We were even working in the plant and they were saying they would rather be on TAGS than working. (Isle aux Mortes)

TAGS is the right name because you're tagged. You're looked at that way. You're thought as not wanting to work and you like the money. But I would say 95 per cent of those on TAGS don't want to be on it. (Isle aux Mortes)

The end of TAGS

At the time of the workshops (June to October 1995), the TAGS program was expected to last until 1998. However, few women who attended the workshops were "good till '98." Many women were going to be cut off the TAGS program in the spring of 1996 or in 1997. A common question asked in the workshop exercises was "What happens when the money runs out?" For many women, this was the first opportunity they had to collectively address this question. Most answered it with fear and apprehension about the future. One workshop exercise, called the futures exercise, had participants draw a picture of their community in five years.²¹ In this picture, participants were asked to describe their community and lives in five years after the TAGS program had ended. After drawing, the participants had to explain their vision to the larger group. Many women did not want to talk about their future. Some women drew very negative images such as pictures of graveyards and empty houses.

I've got so now, I couldn't care less. (Flower's Cove)

We're afraid to take a chance, afraid someone will laugh at us, afraid to invest in ourselves. (Flower's Cove)

Other women answered the question, "What happens when the money runs out?" with the belief that the fishery would return or that there would never be a time when there would not be any income.

When asked to describe her future in Harbour Breton, one woman said she wasn't

²¹ See Appendix 3 for more explanation of the futures exercise.

worried about the end of the TAGS program because "they'll find something." Few women shared this confidence that TAGS would be replaced in 1998, as NCARP was replaced in 1994.

There's still people who believe that TAGS will not run out. If they get cut off TAGS, they believe that they, government, will give them something. (Plum Point)

I always hear, they won't let me starve, they won't end TAGS, but they aren't going to do anything because they don't care. If you want something done, you have to do it yourself. (Isle aux Mortes)

Most women believed that the TAGS program would end. They did not see the fishery returning and did not see TAGS replaced with another program.

Welfare. Disappointment, especially for the youngsters. There will be vandalism and problems with the youth. It may happen when the money runs out and they turn elsewhere to find it. That's when the trouble is going to hit. We're not going to have it to give to them and things are going to break loose. (Great Brehat)

When TAGS ends in '99, what are we going to do? What are we faced with? Is it welfare? And it's the last resort. I don't think anyone wants to go to welfare, but it seems like that's what's facing [us] unless...there's no one going to let their children go hungry. I mean, rather than have nothing you just got to go to welfare. You just got to have food on the table. (Quirpon)

Some women saw the end of TAGS leading to action among fishery workers.

When you're getting a TAGS cheque, you're too comfortable. When the government tells them the cheque is gone, see them get a group together and get mad. (Harbour Breton)

During the time of the workshops in the fall of 1995, there was talk among union officials and the media of impending TAGS cuts. Then Federal Fisheries Minister Tobin announced several times that in two weeks there would be an important announcement regarding TAGS.

This put many women on edge. During the two weeks before the announcement, women at the workshops would ask the facilitators or non-fishery workers to predict what would happen. Many women said they lost sleep waiting for the announcement and, in most cases, they were convinced that the announcement would mean a cut in benefits. Women fear getting cut off the program before their time.

Although they send you a letter that tells you you're good until 1999, you don't know. (Great Brehat)

You don't know when you could be cut off, it could be next week. (Pilleys Island)

The fear of losing TAGS income is great and many women spoke of the stress of waiting to hear about possible cut backs in the program.

The biggest thing is the stress from the TAGS program. There's a lot of cut backs and everything else. (Harbour Breton)

Women said they fear going to the post office in case the cheque is not in the mail box this week. As soon as my cheque comes, I open it and I wonder is the form in it for the next two weeks? I'm always feeling...so insecure and afraid that I'm going to lose this income and then I got nothing. (West St. Modeste)

A lot of people are saying that they goes and picks up their cheque...and they don't know if the next week or so they could be cut off. You don't know one day to the next even though just about everyone had letters saying that they're going to be qualified to anywhere from '96 to '99. (Quirpon)

In one workshop exercise, quotes from women in the fishery crisis were placed on the walls of the workshop area. Women were asked to place a sticker on the three quotes that related most clearly to their lives.²² One of the most popular quotes in every workshop was:

²² See Appendix 3 for more details on the quotes exercise.

TAGS means stress and tension, a feeling of insecurity and no guarantees. I hate the thought of going to the post office each day. The dread is always at the back of my mind that today is the day I will receive notice of disqualification (Educational Planning and Design, 1994: 10).

The fear of being cut off TAGS and being left without an income was so real that many women were afraid to talk about the problem. In late fall 1995, these fears were compounded when TAGS cheques stopped coming every two weeks. Instead, the cheques were arriving sporadically and people in the same community would receive cheques at different times. The absence of a steady schedule led many women to worry that they were being cut of the program when actually their cheques were late arriving.

4.6 Women in the community and plans for future survival

Women have been instrumental in the development and maintenance of their communities through volunteer work, paid work and maintaining family life. Women argue, however, that since the fishery crisis and the beginning of the TAGS program, divisions have occurred in their communities and community support seems to be fading. Despite these obstacles, many still have a positive outlook for the future of their communities and suggested ways to develop the fishery of the future as well as ways to expand other sectors, such as tourism and the craft industry.

Divisions in the community and lack of community support

Divisions in rural communities affected by the cod moratorium are caused in part by differences in individual TAGS eligibility. Workshops were often held in communities

where one half of the community was reported to be receiving TAGS and the other half did not qualify. This was one source of division that could exist between the harvesting and processing sector and between workers from the inshore and offshore fisheries.

No one is working together. The plant workers and fishermen wouldn't help each other. We're cutting the fishermen's throats. (Flower's Cove)

One community identified a division between women who worked on the same processing line in the fish plant. Some women on the line had qualified for the program while others had not.

It's pretty bad when you worked alongside someone in the plant and you're not getting it and they are and they turn up their noses at you because they gets it and you don't. They're rubbing it in your face everyday. That's pretty bad too. (West St. Modeste)

Many felt that there was no support in their communities. The lack of understanding from workers in other sectors in the community did not help. Women from other sectors such as retired teachers, clergy and a restaurant owner attended the workshops but their numbers were low. Participants felt that although the crisis is affecting the entire community, many non-fishery workers did not see it affecting them individually.

They think that the fishery don't affect them or the ones that's getting TAGS. If everybody had to be cut off TAGS today, it would affect almost everyone...in Newfoundland. Teachers, clergy, the banks, anything. Almost anything here, and for sure, all the businesses. So I don't think any of them should look down their noses at us. They may end up in the same predicament one day. (Quirpon)

On the other hand, some non-fishery workers who attended the workshops saw themselves as affected by the fishery crisis. For example, a restaurant owner said her

business failed because there was no money spent in the community when the fish plant closed.

From November 1993, when the fish plant closed, to the summer of 1994, my business went down 85 per cent. That's how I'm affected by the moratorium. (Lark Harbour)

A farmer said that the fishery crisis had affected her mutton business. Consumers were travelling to the larger grocery store in the nearby larger community to buy their mutton. The mutton was cheaper there, but this woman felt that there was some resentment towards her as she was one of the few people working in the community. She felt that her community would rather drive out of the town to the larger center than spend their money in their own community on a struggling business. This woman said she felt that the community would rather see her business fail than actually make a profit.

Loss of cultural identity

For many, the cod fishery is a symbol of Newfoundland and Labrador culture. At one workshop, three high school students and one university student attended. Women in this age group did not usually attend the workshops and their views added an interesting perspective to discussions about the fishery crisis and the future of rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. A big issue among these women was the fear that Newfoundland and Labrador was losing its cultural heritage because of the collapse of the cod fishery. There was a fear that the oral stories and traditions would not be passed on to the younger generation.

We're losing our culture. I think that's the most important part. I remember

crabbing with my dad and I loved it. (Great Brehat)

There was also the fear that moving to the mainland or even the provincial university meant giving up the opportunity to learn this culture. A young woman in Great Brehat said about her fears of leaving rural Newfoundland, "If we do that, we give up our culture and heritage."

Visions of the Fishery of the Future

The future of the cod fishery in this province is uncertain. The lives of those who worked in this fishery and depended upon it for a livelihood are even more uncertain. At the time of these workshops, the federal and provincial governments had not announced what would happen in the fishery of the future. It was also unclear when the cod stocks would be available for harvesting and in what manner they would be harvested. These factors enhanced the stress and uncertainty experienced by fishery workers when making plans for the future.

In the workshops, women had many different visions of the fishery of the future. A lot of women talked about past mistakes in the fishery and saw the future fishery compensating for these errors. Most women believed that the cod fishery would return to their areas but there was considerable debate over whether the local fish plant would be open or if there would be work for women in the future fishery. Most women agreed that when the fishery returned it would not be "like it was in the past."

I think it's going to come back but not like it was. I think it will be a government fishery and they'll have the boats and they'll tell you when to go back to work. (Plum Point)

One woman was very idealistic in her view of the fishery of the future.

When the cod come back, everyone will be happy, everyone will be educated, there will be lots of money and all the broken hearts will be mended. (Port aux Basques)

Many women said that they saw the fishery of the future without an offshore fishery and trawlers. The inshore fishery would come back using hook and line technology.

To get our fishery back we got to stop poaching, stop draggers and seining and when we get it back, don't abuse it. (Lark Harbour)

[The fishery of the future] may be better because if it's only going to be hook and line there will be more restrictions and less fishermen and I hope our fish plant will be doing the finished product. (Lark Harbour)

Technological abuse was often blamed for the destruction of the cod fishery.

We mismanaged our technology. Our concerns were not heard. The fishermen were telling the people here before this that fish was going... When they brought in the winter fishery [and] those draggers... they destroyed the breeding grounds. (West St. Modeste)

Other fisheries such as lobster and caplin were often used as examples of mismanagement, waste and overfishing.

I've seen millions of caplin dumped and children hungry...could have got some but they were rotten when I saw them. And now we got no caplin. They're too small. (Lark Harbour)

[They] raped the resources. The female caplin and lump...once they destroyed the females, the spawn, it's not going to come back...When the spawn's gone, it's gone. There's nothing for them to reproduce. (Quirpon)

Many women feared that these fisheries were experiencing the same fate as the cod fishery.

Women in Plum Point and Isle aux Mortes saw their plants open in the future but feared that their jobs would be replaced through automation and advanced processing technology.

The fishery will be highly technical and you'll have to get an education to do it. We're seeing that already with the cutter who needed an education to do it. (Isle aux Mortes)

The streamlining that will be done will erase most of our positions. (La Scie)

Some women saw their jobs in the fish plant taken by unemployed men in their communities.

Women in Isle aux Mortes did not see the fishery of the future having a positive effect on women in the area. These women saw the local fish plant owner taking advantage of the economic situation to reduce wages.

It will not be on the scale that we were used to. Wages will be set back and it will be a long fight to get it the way it was. We see that now with the plant, wages are gone back four years. No benefits and we're getting \$11.70 an hour and they want us to cut back to eight.

You can't go on strike because it's only frozen products and they can put that in the freezer for two years if he wanted.

I don't want to go back to work for five dollars an hour but if he called me tomorrow, I'd go. (Isle aux Mortes)

At most workshops, some women did not see themselves as part of the fishery of the future. Many were uncertain about the fate of their community fish plants in the fishery of the future. Fish plant licenses are the responsibility of the provincial government. At the close of the workshops in October 1995, no concrete decisions had been made as to which plants would operate in the fishery of the future. Harvesting boards had been created to actively decide the criteria that would limit the participation in this sector in the fishery of the future. This added to women's insecurity.

Because of government lack of willingness to decide which plants will be open, it is hard for people to make decisions. Everyone asks, 'Will it open? Do you see it there?' But every person has that hope that they are going to

have their job because the government has not made decisions, people are not willing to move on with their lives. (La Scie)

Women who had fished often did not see themselves fishing in the future. Many women talked about being invisible in the fishing boat. One woman in Harbour Breton said, "When you are in the fishing boat, you're living in a man's world anyway." This woman also saw the models suggested by FFAW for the fishery of the future excluding women. The proposal suggested by the FFAW for the fishery of the future is based on a professional harvesting sector. The union suggests that all harvesters be certified through various stages of experience and education.

In the fishing boat, they're bringing in professionalization. Our husbands will work up to the grandfather stage. The women have to train to bring them up to the grandfather stage. Even the name - grandfather stage. (Harbour Breton)

"Grandfathering" refers to placing those who are already in the industry in the professional category based on "a combination of age and years of experience" (GTA Consultants, 1993: 84).

Plans for Future Community Survival Outside the Fishery

The second half of each workshop (either the second day or the afternoon of the one day workshops) focused on the search for solutions to the problems addressed in the first half. Women were asked to name ways their communities could survive in the future outside the fishing industry. A lot of women felt a need to plan their future in case the fishery did not return, forcing them to look for employment outside the fishery.

There needs to be a plan. If not, sad scenarios, social service programs and

realities. (Great Brehat)

In five years time, if things don't change, it will be a ghost town. But, if people pull together, things can change. (Pilley's Island)

Maybe the answer for rural Newfoundland is not to rely on one industry but to have many small industries. (Isle aux Mortes)

Tourism was often named as an industry that could help ensure the survival of rural communities. Women in the workshops identified many local stories, historical sites and natural landscapes that could be used to generate an income or create a new business in the tourism sector. For example, women in La Scie said there was a large tourist potential in their area because of important historical sites such as Cape John (the dividing line between the French and English settlements of nineteenth century Newfoundland) and an archaeological dig of a Dorset Eskimo settlement in near by Fleur de Lys. Mining and sealing were also named as an important part of the local history which could be used to promote tourism in the area. Women in other workshops had similar visions.

We have tourism potential like L'Anse aux Meadows. Quirpon Island would also have a great potential [especially] on Cape Bauld where you got the lighthouse if there was a road or some way to get there. It's the most northerly tip...in Newfoundland. (Quirpon)

The future is the tourists and their cameras and they will take pictures of the fishery when it comes back. We hope it will come back but we still have a long way to go... (Lark Harbour)

New uses for vacant fish plants and businesses were often identified as a means of ensuring community survival in the future. Women often had ideas on how to use these empty buildings for new businesses. Some did not see their fish plant as part of the fishery of the

future and felt that the plant and its machinery could be used in other ways. One woman in Pilley's Island suggested changing the vacant fish plant into a senior citizens' complex so local seniors would not have to leave their communities. Others had similar ideas.

If one of those general stores closes up, give it to me, I'll start a nursing center. I don't want the big start up [of a new business]. It's too expensive. I've retrained and I would take a nursing assistant course and I would gladly start one. Not a big nursing home but one with six or seven beds. (Pilley's Island)

For many women, this was their first opportunity to discuss plans for the future survival of their communities. Community Economic Development (CED) refers to the collective process that a community works towards to plan and achieve a successful economic future (Economic Recovery Commission, 1995: 14). Women were asked to describe their vision of a community. One woman in Great Brehat said, "Community is everybody and every community depends on each other for survival."

At many workshops, members of the ERC and various zonal boards discussed CED and the provincial government's plans for renewing the economy of rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Women continue to be absent from these provisional and zonal boards and these workshops were an opportunity for the ERC to discuss the need for more women to become involved in CED. Although many women understood the need to become more involved, many were intimidated by the entire ERC and zonal board process. Some women opposed the process because it meant an end to their local Rural Development Associations (RDAs).

4.7 Problems with the media

Some women saw the media as a tool they could use to increase attention on

important issues in the fishery. The media could be used to present a positive image of women in the fishery and could be used to voice some of the problems that women are experiencing. Some felt that women's groups did not take advantage of the media and that it should be used as a tool of action.

I went to school last winter for six weeks and we were told to stand up on our two feet and have our voices heard. We don't get the media involved and stuff like that and that's our problem. (Lark Harbour)

One woman felt that the media did not represent the concerns of those affected by the fishery crisis. She felt her voice was not heard and was overshadowed by men in the fishery. To this woman, there were no authorized knowers in the media who spoke for her concerns. The authorized knowers used by the media, in her view, represented men's voices in the fishery. She saw her concerns as different.

If you look at the media, the union, FFAW and McCurdy [FFAW union president], and they represent the men, the majority of voices that are heard are the men. (Isle aux Mortes)

Some women distrusted the media and saw it as urban centered.

The media lies to us and I don't know why. They don't stick their noses outside their studios in St. John's and Corner Brook. They lie to us. They manipulate everything. (Isle aux Mortes)

National media coverage was an issue with many women because of the negative image it presented of fishery workers in Newfoundland and Labrador. They challenged this image.

We have been set up by the media with a [particular] image and we are believing it. (La Scie)

They are trying to make Newfoundlanders look stupid. We know the difference and we have to convince the world otherwise. (La Scie)

4.8 Summary

This chapter has explored women's experiences since the closure of the cod fishery in 1992 as expressed in action research workshops held in 1995. Women have actively worked in the fishing industry but feel they do not receive recognition for the paid and unpaid work. Despite this lack of recognition, women were proud of the work they did in the household and in the paid sector, in fish plants and in the boats. Working in the fish plant added income to the fishing household but also helped women define themselves as individuals in the workforce. Women are mothers, wives and daughters struggling to ensure their own and their families' survival in rural Newfoundland and Labrador despite financial insecurity. The cod moratorium is causing stress and health problems for women and for their other families. This stress, in turn, is exacerbating problems in their families and marriages. The structure of the TAGS program is confusing as women are unsure about the criteria for qualifying for the program because the criteria often seem unfair and because the duration of TAGS benefits is uncertain. In the workshops, many women said that they had experienced discrimination in their communities and in training programs because they were TAGS recipients. They have received little information on the government plans for the fishery after the program ends and feel that women are being excluded from the process of deciding that future. However, many women do have plans for the future fishery and ideas concerning how to create work in other sectors, such as tourism and crafts in their rural communities. Women feel they are not receiving adequate coverage of their experiences in the media and that the provincial and national media are not portraying the fishery and

Newfoundlanders accurately or in a positive way.

In the previous chapter, I argued fishery women are outside the "circle" of the mainstream print media in this province. This is reflected in the lack of fishery women used as authorized knowers and by the small percentage of women writing news articles about the fishery crisis. In this chapter, I explored women's experiences of the fishery crisis from the perspective of their "everyday world." These experiences show a sharp contrast to the stories presented in the news media of The Evening Telegram. In the next chapter, these experiences will be compared to the construction of the fishery crisis in the mainstream media. This comparison reveals a "line of fault" between women's experiences in the fishery crisis and its construction in the print media of The Evening Telegram. The concluding chapter discusses this line of fault.

Chapter Five

Re-visioning²³ the Media and Constructing the Line of Fault

5.1 Introduction

This chapter compares women's experiences in the fishery crisis with the construction in print media coverage of the crisis. The mainstream print media has silenced women's voices and told a different story from the one offered by these women. As discussed earlier, a line of fault is the "disjuncture between experiences and the forms in which experiences are socially expressed" (Smith, 1987: 50). Chapter four explored women's experiences in the fishery crisis while chapter three examined the print media in Newfoundland and Labrador or the "form in which [the crisis is]...expressed" (Smith, 1987:50). The print media analysis of The Evening Telegram showed that women are under-represented as writers of news stories on the fishery crisis and are almost invisible as authorized knowers and in news photos. A qualitative analysis showed that women and issues important to women in fishing communities are erased from the coverage or framed from a male point of view. The emphasis on male authorities and male harvesters in the media has silenced women and their concerns. This silencing of women by the mainstream media is linked to a presentation of the fishery crisis based on male-centered interpretations.

²³ Lebowitz (n.d.) argues that there are several constellations that can be used within feminist literary criticism. Here, the first constellation is most useful. Constellation One is called the "constellation of difference from" and examines "the gap between male explanations and representations of female being...and women's perceptions of themselves" (Lebowitz, n.d.: 13). This constellation calls for a new way of seeing or *re-visioning* "how women are represented; what images of women are presented; what roles and possibilities are open to them" (Lebowitz, n.d.: 14).

The stories in the mainstream print media represent an interpretation of the fishery crisis through men's eyes and the eyes of male authorities. Women's stories, discussion and the alternative media challenge the stories and images of the mainstream media. In this chapter, I describe seven points at which a line of fault emerges between women's construction of the fishery crisis and the mainstream media's construction. The themes discussed came from the sample of news articles on the fishery crisis in The Evening Telegram. They include: family life in the fishery; the end of rural life and cultural identity in rural Newfoundland and Labrador; fish plant closures; training, community economic development; and fishery of the future models. Print media coverage of the Gathering Our Voices workshops is also investigated.

5.2 Coverage of Workshops

Women in the workshops expressed a strong need to unite and work for solutions to the fishery crisis. The workshops were the first time many women had the opportunity to come together in a women-only environment to discuss their concerns. Most women felt this type of forum should be more available in rural Newfoundland and Labrador and hoped that there would be more opportunities for them to meet. This issue was not discussed in the mainstream media.

The lack of fair coverage of women's issues and concerns in the media was the subject of some discussion in the workshops. The workshop in Quirpon was featured for a week on CBC Radio and a reporter and technician recorded the workshop proceedings.

There was also a feature interview of many of the participants and the facilitators in Quirpon. Many women were uncomfortable with media presence and it was decided that in later workshops the media would not be present during the workshop proceedings. Instead, interviews with journalists could be conducted during breaks or after the workshops and only with willing participants.

There was no coverage of the workshops in The Evening Telegram. This is partly because The Evening Telegram is an urban based paper and there were no Gathering Our Voices workshops on the Avalon peninsula. There was a FishNet sponsored workshop on the southern shore which was separate from the Gathering our Voices workshops²⁴ but that also received no coverage by The Evening Telegram. Local papers such as The Northern Pen, The Gulf News (serving the Port aux Basques and Isle aux Mortes area), and The Coaster (serving the Harbour Breton and Bay D'Espoir area) featured the workshops in various articles. One article in The Northern Pen announced the forthcoming workshops in West St. Modeste and Quirpon ("Workshops planned to...." 6 Jun. 1995). This article merely provided information on the workshops and was probably written from a press release. The remaining articles included quotes from facilitators and participants and focused on workshop proceedings. Most articles were positive about the workshop results and used

²⁴ This workshop was funded by the Atlantic Council for International Cooperation (ACIC) and sponsored by the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet. The workshop was conducted in Cape Broyle from August 4 to 5, 1995 and included women from the Southern Shore and the Lower Southern Shore of Newfoundland. The workshops followed a similar format to those held in Quirpon, Newfoundland and West St. Modeste, Labrador. Subsequent meetings have been held since this workshop resulting in the formation of the Southern Shore Women's FishNet. This workshop was not included in this thesis as it was not part of the Gathering Our Voices workshops. However, I did attend the workshop as a participant and FishNet member.

local women as authorized knowers. One article was negative about the workshop process and women's lives in the fishery crisis. The focus was on negative experiences expressed by women during the workshop.

"It's just like looking at a black wall right now," she said in a hushed tone. "What are we going to do? Where's the money going to come from?"...There was hurt in their words. There was betrayal in her voice. ("It's like looking...." 15 Aug. 1995)

Although this article did address many of the issues facing women in fishing communities today such as stress, unemployment and TAGS cutoffs, the article did not discuss any of the solutions women proposed for their problems. Other articles on the workshop discussed both problems created by the crisis and solutions instead of focusing on only the negative.

Alternative feminist media structures such as FishNet News ("Newfoundland and Labrador...." Summer/Fall 1995), Tapestry (a PACSW publication) ("Workshops forum for...." Fall 1995), and the Newfoundland and Labrador Women's FishNet newsletter (1995) emphasized the success of the workshops.

5.3 Family life in the Fishery

Although women in the workshops valued their roles in fishing households as mothers, wives and daughters, the mainstream media rarely used women as authorized knowers in addressing the theme of family life in fishing communities. Women were used as authorized knowers in only 14.3% of articles in this theme in domestic roles. Men were presented as authorized knowers in domestic roles in 21.4% of articles.²⁵

²⁵ For a table of authorized knowers used in this theme, see Appendix 8, theme 10.

Articles on the fishing crisis tended to focus on the lives of one family and to highlight the cultural significance of a particular family in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Two articles in The Evening Telegram in 1994 were framed in this manner. Both used women to establish the idea that the traditional model of husband, wife and children was the basis of the fishing industry and this type of family had to survive to ensure the future of the fishing industry.

"The Maloney's of Sweet Bay" (Whiffen, 11 Dec 1994b) focused on the lives of a fishing family in the Bonavista area. This family of mother, father, their nine children and their families relied on the local fish plant for their livelihood in the fishery prior to the cod moratorium. The story centered around the father and four of the children who worked in the plant, mainly the sons. This article implied that all the men in the family would return to the fishery of the future in the local fish plant. The men were unemployed and worried about their future in the fishery. They were also portrayed as the sole breadwinners of their families. There was no discussion of the work or concerns of the daughters or mother of the family. The impression given is that Mary Ellen and her daughters are being taken care of by the men in the family. However, the article implies that at least three of the daughters worked in the fish plant. These women were not included in the article's discussion of fish plant work, and hence, were virtually ignored as paid workers in the processing sector. There was also no discussion of women's work in the household.

A line of fault emerges when this article is contrasted to women's accounts of the pre-moratorium fishery. Women in the workshops spoke of the hardships of working in the fish

plant while trying to raise a family and maintain a household. Women rarely saw their husbands or male partners while working in the plant as partners usually worked alternating shifts in the plant or one harvested in the day while the other worked the night shift in the plant. In contrast to the coverage in The Evening Telegram, an article in The Union Advocate discussed life prior to the cod moratorium for some women who worked in fish plants:

The two women had young families and say they found it difficult juggling kids and work. Kean's husband also worked at the plant, although they usually met each other at the plant door, she on her way home and him on his way to work ("Changing Times: The...", Fall/Winter 1995).

Other articles are similar to "The Maloney's of Sweet Bay" (Whiffen, 1 May 1994b), in that they create the impression of the male as the breadwinner and sole authority in the family. Articles such as "Labrador fishermen struggling to put enough fish on the table" (Cleary, 26 Sep. 1992) give the impression that men are the sole breadwinners in the family and women's role is limited to getting food ready for meals. The focus in this article is on the end of the cod fishery and the probable reasons for its demise. All the authorized knowers in this article are male inshore harvesters. A similar article appeared in July 1994. The article "Man caught jigging cod for family" (Bailey, 21 Jul. 1994) discusses the first Newfoundlander to be charged with jigging cod out of season. In all of these articles, men are portrayed as sole providers for their families, while women are placed in the household, passive recipients of the products of their work.

Women in the workshops desired recognition for the paid work roles they had in the

fishery - as processors and harvesters. The print media have chosen to either ignore these roles or consider them less important than those of men who work in these sectors. Women in the workshops saw themselves as vital to the running of the fishing industry whether in the household, the processing sector or the harvesting sector.

5.4 End of Rural Life / Loss of Cultural Identity

Women in the workshops worried about the end of their cultural identity as rural Newfoundlanders. Many women associated the end of the cod fishery with the end of Newfoundland and Labrador culture. However, The Evening Telegram rarely used women as authorized knowers within this theme (4.5%). When women were used, it was as plant workers (2.3%) or in domestic roles (2.3%).²⁶

A common trend in the mainstream print media was to identify the history of the fishery as the defining feature of the culture of the province. Many articles focused on the dynamics of the fishery before the cod moratorium and how the end of the cod fishery meant the end of a way of life for Newfoundlanders. As noted in chapter three, cultural symbols such as fishing boats and wharves were often used to represent this threat in news photos. Women are rarely seen in these photos and their cultural symbols are not included. In two special editions on the fishery, some articles established a link between men's work in the fishery and their cultural identity as a Newfoundlander. One article discussed a musician who wrote songs about his father's life before the cod moratorium. The journalist described the father's life as a part of the history and culture of the fishing industry.

²⁶ For a table of authorized knowers in this theme, see Appendix 8, theme 5.

Ed McCann has fond memories of growing up on Gull Island, where as a boy he often challenged the fierce Conception Bay waves in a small dory. It was a dangerous game, he admits, but he never feared the ocean. Without it, his father would have been unemployed and his family without food...But the fishery has always been especially dear to him. He was introduced to it more than 35 years ago, when he began helping his father fish cod during the summer (Stokes Sullivan, 1 May 1994).

The fishery is presented as a masculine world and fishery work as a source of masculinity. Men's links to the fishery are confirmed through discussions of their forefathers' lives. Women are rarely defined in this way. No article in the sample describes a young girl's experience growing up in a fishing community or her mother's life in the fishery. The media creates the impression that women did not play an active role in the fishery of the past.

Many women in the workshops spoke of their mothers and grandmothers who worked in the fishery, in the processing sector or on the shore on the flakes drying salt fish. Young women who attended the workshops were worried about a loss of their cultural identity as they moved to the mainland and larger urban centers to attend university and/or find work. They worried about the loss of fishing knowledge formally passed between generations. A new round of resettlement was also an issue of concern for many women and there was a fear that it would become a necessity as rural Newfoundland and Labrador slowly died.

Alternative print media did introduce some of these issues. The Union Advocate discussed the fear many women in rural Newfoundland have of resettlement in an article entitled "Fighting the forces of resettlement" (Spring/Summer 1995). This article used a

female fish plant worker as an authorized knower and included women in the discussion of the fishing history in the community. The article focused on a women's group called the Innovators and the work they are doing to avoid resettlement and desperation in their community. Women's culture in Newfoundland and Labrador is also portrayed in plays on the fishery crisis, such as A Tidy Package by Amy House and Berni Stapleton, films such as An Untidy Package: Women and the Cod Moratorium currently under production by the National Film Board, and collections of women's stories such as Strong as the Ocean: Women's Work in the Newfoundland and Labrador Fisheries (Ennis and Woodrow, 1996).

5.5 Fish plant closures

Since most women worked in the fishery as fish plant workers, plant closures are one of the most important issues facing women in fishing communities. There is an apparent class bias in the coverage of this theme of fish plant closures as plant workers are rarely used as authorized knowers. Male fish plant workers are used in only 8.1% while female fish plant workers are not used at all. Articles tend to use politicians or plant owners to discuss the effects of fish plant closures on fishery workers and fishing communities. When women appear in articles on plant closures, they usually appear in a family setting in domestic roles such as wives or mothers (1.6%) or as a mayor or town councillor (6.5%). Men are used most often (91.9%) in articles on fish plant closures in the role of fisheries minister (29%) or plant owner (20.9%).²⁷ In an article about the closure of the Trepassey plant in 1990, the focus was on the husband as the authorized knower in a couple where both worked in the

²⁷ For a table on authorized knowers in this theme, see Appendix 8, theme 4.

plant. His wife was not quoted.

Aloysius Corcoran and his wife Elizabeth, who have three daughters, are both employed at the plant. He is a supervisor in the trimming department and his wife works in the office. Both are natives of Trepassey (Walsh, 9 Jan. 1990).

One of the key issues identified by women in the workshops was the importance of paid work in the fishery, especially in the processing sector. Women in the workshops said it was not the actual work in the processing sector that they missed, but the companionship of those they worked alongside. Yet, women also spoke of the pride they felt in their paid work and how their work in the plants helped define who they were as individuals. Paid work in the fish plant meant that a lot of women saw themselves as more than just a wife and mother in the household fishery. They saw themselves as workers on the processing line who made their own income and contributions to the household economy. In the mainstream print media, women's work in the fish plant is seen as a secondary income in a household where the man's/husband's income is primary and it is assumed all women have husbands to care for them and their children.

Women also identified fish plants as the focal point of their communities. A lack of work in the plant meant that women did not know if they would be able to remain in rural Newfoundland. Discussions of fish plant closures by the media identified the fish plant as the main means of survival for the community, but they did not usually include women in the discussion.

5.6 Training

Women represented 40% of those enrolled in training programs under TAGS

(Williams, 1996). Overall in The Evening Telegram coverage of this theme, women appeared as students (17.1%), principals or teachers (9.8%), plant workers (9.8%), in domestic roles (4.9%) and as harvesters (2.4%). Men and women were given fairly equal coverage as authorized knowers (men 56.1%; women 43.9%).²⁸ One article on retraining that appeared in late 1995 focused on the positive experiences of two female fishery workers. However, this article was the only news story in the sample to focus solely on women's positive experiences in retraining. Two women, Mildred Dohey and Genevieve English, attended an ABE course in St. Bride's.

...they say that completing their ABE has placed a seed in their minds - for the future. Genevieve says upgrading her education has given her a new outlook. (Tobin, 14 Oct. 1995).

This article focused on these women and the changes in their lives caused by their retraining. However, it should be noted that this article appeared at the bottom of page thirteen in the newspaper. It was set in a different font, with smaller print than other articles in the newspaper and was boxed by a thick black line. The headline was not in the standard newspaper font and was indented and partly italicized. In short, the article appeared in the same format as advertisements. Unless the general reader was thorough and in the habit of reading every section of the newspaper, the article would have been missed.

Articles in the alternative print media tended to be positive towards the retraining experience. One article in The Union Advocate highlighted one man's struggle to overcome his negative experiences in grade school and graduate from high school after the moratorium

²⁸ For a table on authorized knowers in this theme, see Appendix 8, theme 9.

("The power of...." Fall/Winter 1995). Another focused on a group of trawler workers who retrained in a cable laying course and all later found work ("Trawlermen retrain...." Spring/Summer 1995). One article focused on three sisters who participated in a retraining program and enjoyed the learning process together. It discusses how the women worked together to achieve their common goal "a high school diploma" ("Sisters Make Learning...." Summer 1993). It also mentioned the positive features the women identified in the retraining process.

Betty Randell, Judy Burt and Maxine Mesher have found that learning can be shared and enjoyed...It wasn't long, Betty says, and they were hooked on learning. The sisters were supportive of each other and when one gets down the other two are quick to pick her up...Maxine says that upgrading her educational level has meant that she can now help her daughter, who is in Grade 9, with her homework. "I couldn't do that before" ("Sister Make Learning...." Summer 1993).

This article mirrors some of the issues women raise in the workshops on the issue of training.

Some articles in The Evening Telegram within this theme questioned the value of retraining for those who were "too old" to enter a job market where there are so few jobs. The impression left on the general reader was that government funded training was a waste of time even for younger women as there were no jobs available after training programs. In one article, a community mayor said that training was a waste of money because most of the students were too old to find work after training outside the fishery.

Woodford said it's a complete waste of time and money to have some of the people on TAGS going to school. "We have men and women up to 50 years of age going to school. What's the point? It's not doing them any good. What are they going to do afterwards?" Woodford said school is fine for people 30 or 35 years of age because they can do something with their lives.

(Bennett, 15 Oct. 1995).

This article focuses on the community of Triton and related that many of the students in this area were "unwilling" to take training. Instead, they would be happier if they were "involved in work that would be beneficial to the community" (Bennett, 15 Oct. 1995).

Women's experiences with training differed from the experiences described in the print media. Several women from the training program in Triton attended the workshop in Pilley's Island. In contrast to the suggestions in The Evening Telegram of all the workshop participants, the women in this area seemed to enjoy the retraining process the most. Outside the larger group and in face to face discussions, many women in this area spoke of the enjoyment they found doing upgrading and ABE and how they hoped to continue their education in a post-secondary program. The news article gave the opposite impression, implying that many women in the area were forced to participate in retraining and did not find it worthwhile.

One important issue among women involving retraining was the lack of available courses in rural areas of the province. Many in the workshops expressed an interest in continuing their education in post-secondary courses but were unable to do so because they would have to move to larger centers on the island. This issue was not covered in The Evening Telegram articles examined.

Women also raised many concerns about training that were not covered in either the mainstream or alternative print media. Barriers to education such as young children at home, lack of adequate child care, elderly parents and finances were not considered as reasons why

women were unable to take training under TAGS or were negative about their experiences. Many were negative about their training experiences because of the feeling that they were forced into school to keep their TAGS cheques, because they felt they were too old and they feared school after being away for so long or because they felt that money spent on training programs was diverted from their TAGS benefits.

5.7 Community Economic Development (CED) and Plans for Future Survival

News articles did not discuss CED but did suggest ways to diversify the communities of the future. One suggestion was remodeling fish plants for industries other than fish processing. One article suggested vegetable processing in former fish plants (Cleary, 5 Oct. 1994). This article was based on a press release by former provincial fisheries minister Bud Hulan. It consisted of quotes from the former minister. A second article discussed the potential of multi-species processing in a fish plant in Isle aux Mortes. However, the focus of the article was the risk associated with trying to diversify processing during the fishery crisis (Murphy, 5 Jul. 1995). A third article focused on the possibility of selling the vacant fish plant in Ramea to process "underutilized species such as skate, sea urchins and mussels" ("Anything goes in...." 5 Oct. 1994). An editorial also cited aquaculture as the way of the future in Newfoundland and Labrador and urged the government to get organized "about this industry that seems to have much to offer in terms of employment and new wealth" ("The future is...." 9 Jan. 1994). A fifth article focused on a sewing cooperative started by the Fogo Island Workers Alternative Co-operative to sell cloth shopping bags. A group of 11 women and one man planned their TAGS training and received financing from TAGS green projects

to do the work (Bennett, 5 Oct. 1994). This article was very positive about people looking for ways to stay in their rural communities and to create work outside the fishery.

Women in the workshops had many ideas about what could be done with vacant fish plants in their communities. However, they were rarely used as authorized knowers in this theme (6.9%). When women did appear, it was as a MP (1.7%), plant worker (1.7%) or as business owners (3.4%).²⁹ Despite their absence from the mainstream media, women in the workshops had such ideas for CED as multi-species processing, nursing homes, jam factories and secondary processing. Some of these ideas were rarely mentioned in news articles. Women also had ideas for tourism in their areas based on historical sites and oral histories that were not discussed in news articles. In fact, tourism was not discussed in The Evening Telegram as an industry for the future in the sample of articles except to say that it is not a "panacea" to replace the cod fishery in rural Newfoundland (Perlin, 11 Dec. 1994). There were also no articles focusing on the perceptions of fishery workers about future community survival or on the views of women in the fishery. Women's experiences and visions for the future were ignored in the print media.

The Union Advocate often discussed alternative fisheries such as crab, lobster, shrimp, mussels, caplin, scallops and redfish, but mostly in relation to regulations (Baker et al., Fall 1993; "What's up with...." Fall/Winter 1995), conservation ("Taking Too Many...." Fall/Winter 1995), aquaculture ("Learning the Mussel...." Summer 1993) and quotas and prices ("Tentative Caplin Deal...." Summer 1993).

²⁹ For a table of authorized knowers in this theme, see Appendix 8, theme 6.

5.8 Fishery of the Future Models

The mainstream print media rarely focused attention on the processing sector of the fishery of the future. One editorial highlighted the negative of the processing sector in the fishery of the future and claimed that the government was being unrealistic when it would not formally decide which plants would be participating in the future fishery. The argument was that leaving the survival of many plants to "market forces" was not a wise one as there are other factors in rural areas which will determine the survival of a community fish plant. The editorial claimed that there was no room in The Task Force on Incomes and Adjustments in the Fishery (1993) or the Cashin Report for reducing fish plants in the province and this was a major shortcoming.

Newfoundland and Ottawa should reach the best deal possible for the province and put aside political self-interest. The people in the groundfish fishery and their families need to get on and plan their futures. Now they may not be able to ("Fishing industry renewal..." 13 Oct. 1994).

This criticism of the lack of a stable plan for the processing sector of the future fishery was similar to one made by many women who attended the workshops. The threat of having to move their families from their communities because of a lack of work was felt by many women, and governments' inability to make concrete decisions on the fishery of the future was affecting many lives in the province.

Women in the workshops had clear views and concerns about how the processing sector of the future fishery should look even though they did not appear as authorized

knowers in this theme in The Evening Telegram.³⁰ Many women saw multi-species plants throughout the province and a processing sector that consisted of highly educated workers using advanced technology.

News stories on the harvesting sector of the future centered mostly on who would qualify as "professional fishermen." Models such as that proposed in The Cashin Report (1993) were usually supported in editorials. The common thesis was that the fishery must have a fewer participants in the future ("The 'package' of...." 17 Mar. 1994) and that setting tighter regulations on access to the fishery of the future would ensure such a reduction.

What is certain is that NCARP II [TAGS] will be structured to move large numbers of people out of the fishery. Cashin, former president of the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers union, suggested in his report that the provincial industry is able to support no more than 20,000 fishermen and plant workers, a 50 per cent drop from pre-cod [moratorium] fishery levels...Cashin's criteria for a professional fisherman makes good sense and it should serve as a model for governments and their agencies ("The compact future...." 18 Apr. 1994).

Policies, such as the transfer of fishing licenses among generations were not supported, as they would increase the number of those eligible to participate in the fishery of the future ("Transferring fishing licenses...." 29 Nov. 1994). The primary purpose of planning for the fishery of the future, according to the editor, was to remove as many people from the fishing industry as possible.

Women in the workshops had their own ideas and concerns about the future structure of the harvesting sector. Some suggested that technological abuse must be avoided and if

³⁰ For a table of authorized knowers in this theme, see Appendix 8, theme 3.

possible, there must be a return to hook and line technology. Women in the workshops were also concerned about the effects of poor management and the environmental effects of overfishing depleted stocks. Neither of these concerns were mentioned in the print medias. Others felt that models suggested for the fishery of the future, such as the professionalization model and the Cashin Report, must also incorporate women. Their fears and concerns about the reorganization of harvesting sector did not appear in the print media's coverage of the fishery of the future and were not discussed in any editorials.

Both The Union Advocate and FishNet News dealt with the fishery of the future. In both, however, the focus was also on the harvesting sector. An article in the FishNet News questioned the value of Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs) in the fishery of the future (Loucks, Summer 1996). The Union Advocate articles focused on the HABS or Harvesting Adjustment Boards ("HABS Tackle Harvesting...." Fall/Winter 1994) and the Special Eligibility Criteria (SEC) and professionalization ("SEC Must be...." Spring/Summer 1995; "Professionalization to become....." Spring/Summer 1995). There was a focus on female harvesters in the alternative media structures that did not appear in The Evening Telegram. Articles in the mainstream media do not discuss female harvesters in terms of their work in the harvesting sector (Bailey, 22 Feb. 1993). Articles in The Union Advocate credited women as active workers in the harvesting sector ("The Fisherwomen of...." Fall/Winter 1994; "The Marches of...." Spring/Summer 1995). Female harvesters were also used as authorized knowers in The Union Advocate (2.2%) more frequently than in The Evening Telegram (0.7%).

5.9 The Line of Fault

This thesis has woven together a comparison of women's experiences in the fishery crisis to the construction of the fishery crisis in the mainstream print media of Newfoundland and Labrador. The line of fault, as defined by Dorothy Smith (1987: 50) is the "disjuncture between experiences and the form in which these experiences are socially expressed." For a line of fault to exist, women must first be able to criticize the institutions in society, such as the media, that exclude them. Through the workshops, women's experiences and voices in the fishery crisis were recorded. The record of these experiences has been used to generate a critique of the media coverage of The Evening Telegram.

In this chapter the "truth telling" of women in the Gathering Our Voices workshops is used to challenge the images and news stories presented in the mainstream print media. Women in fishing communities are worried about themselves, their families and their futures in rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Their issues include: financial insecurity; a lack of acknowledgment for their work in the fishing industry; and the uncertainty about their role in the future fishery. Through these workshops, women were given the "authority to speak" on their "everyday experiences" (Smith, 1987).

Houston and Kramarae (1991) argue that silencing by the male-controlled media is one of the key ways women have been silenced in society. Truth telling is one means of breaking out of this silence, as women challenge the mainstream media and create new arenas for their voices and stories.

Women who write or talk publicly about their lives are courageous since

these accounts often counter men's records of women's lives; the account and their tellers are considered troublesome or subversive (Houston and Kramarae, 1991: 395).

Truth telling is part of the recovery and reappraisal approach to studying gender and the media. Women realize they are ignored by the mainstream media and as a result, search for ways to challenge this ignorance.

The media analysis of The Evening Telegram articles showed that women's issues and women in the fishery are largely absent from print media coverage of the fishery crisis. An analysis of the content of the news articles has shown that women's issues and women's point of view have been overshadowed by a tendency to focus on the fishery crisis from a male centered point of view. The print media in Newfoundland and Labrador can be referred to as a "circle" within which men in various roles hold privilege. This thesis has shown that women's voices and concerns about the fishery crisis are silenced or framed from a male point of view in the mainstream media. Women have been absent from the "circle" of these media sources and as a result, are "strangers" to both the structure of the media and the images portrayed in these media. Two different stories are being told. Women's voices are valuable in media coverage as they offer a different point of view and a unique understanding to the crisis in the fishery. Their life stories and their experiences as mothers, wives, daughters, fish plant workers and harvesters should not be ignored. Credit should be given to women's contributions to the fishing industry both historically and in understanding the problems of the present day crisis. Women also have solutions to offer to the problems confronting their families and their communities. Media coverage of women's solutions

could offer news insights on how to improve life in rural Newfoundland and Labrador and create a fishery of the future that employs both women and men.

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Appendix 1**Map of Fishing Zones Around Newfoundland and Labrador**

Source: Kirby (1982)

Appendix 2

Ethical Considerations

Information gathered as part of the action research workshops was only used with the consent of the women present. At each workshop, an announcement was made pertaining to the content of this thesis and how the information would be used. As well, many women approached the researcher to talk about the research. Although the names and addresses of women participating in the workshop were collected, confidentiality, privacy and anonymity were ensured. No individual names or aliases were used. Any quotes and information used were marked by community only.

Although there was no consent form in this action research project, participants were fully aware of the research objectives and the possible ways it might be used in the future. Verbal consent was given by the participants and they were fully aware that they might ask to have certain issues excluded from the thesis research.

The action research has been conducted without any risk to the participants. At most workshops, there were resource people and community activists present to deal with any problems or concerns individuals might experience as a result of workshop exercises. As well, a trained facilitator was present to discuss and handle any difficult issues that might arise.

It should also be noted that two reports were written on these workshops. For both reports, the researcher was active in the collection and analysis of the data as well as in the writing process. Research for this thesis used information published in these reports as well as data gathered in the process of writing these reports. Workshop participants were aware of this report writing process and both reports were made available to anyone who attended and participated in the workshops (see Roberts and Robbins, 1995; Robbins, 1995).

Appendix 3

Exercises and Activities in Workshops

Reading Circles - Women were divided into small groups of five or six women each and given stories from Women of the Fishery: Interviews with 87 Women across Newfoundland and Labrador (Educational Planning and Design, 1994). Women were asked to discuss their feelings towards each of the stories and how the stories related to their personal lives. They were then asked to present their small group discussion to the larger plenary. This exercise allowed women a chance to feel comfortable in the workshop and to discuss their problems with other women.

Three dots and quotes - Various quotes from Women of the Fishery: Interviews with 87 Women across Newfoundland and Labrador (Educational Planning and Design, 1994) were placed on the walls of the workshop area. Women were asked to place three stickers on the three quotes that represented how they were feeling. This exercise allowed women to see that other women were having similar experiences.

Past and Present - Women were divided into small groups and asked to discuss what was both positive and negative about the fishery prior to the cod moratorium and what was positive about the present. Participants were encouraged to look at the positive features of the lives and communities in order to search for solutions to their present day problems.

SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) - Women again divided into small groups and were asked to list the strengths and weaknesses of their communities as well as the opportunities and threats to future development. The aim of this exercise was to look at community economic development and to allow women to see the potential of their communities in areas besides the fishery.

Futures Exercise - In this exercise women drew on large pieces of paper how they envisioned their communities in five years. It was an opportunity for women to look at their futures after the end of the TAGS program and discuss what action they would take to survive in their communities in the future.

Postcard Exercise - This was the concluding exercise in all the workshops where a question was placed on a postcard, cut up in small pieces and divided among the group. Women had to find those with the matching postcard pieces and answer the question on the back. The question varied depending on the outcome of the previous exercises.

Appendix 4

Description of Communities and Participants in Workshops

First Set of Workshops

West St. Modeste - West St. Modeste is a small community on the Labrador Straits. Most women attending this workshop worked in the larger co-operative fish plant in L'Anse au Loup or the smaller fish plants in West St. Modeste, Red Bay and Forteau. Some women from the harvesting sector as well as the local TAGS counsellor attended.

Quirpon - Quirpon is on the tip of the Northern Peninsula. Approximately 35 women attended this workshop. Most women had worked at the Fishery Products International (FPI) plant in nearby St. Anthony. At the peak of the fishery, this plant had about 700 employees and most came from surrounding communities such as Quirpon. Groundfish was the main product processed in St. Anthony. All women attending this workshop worked in the fishery in the processing or harvesting sectors at some time in their lives. The exception was a TAGS counsellor who travelled from the Labrador Straits with a group of women who had attended the previous workshop.

Second set of workshops:

Great Brehat - This community is located on the tip of the Northern Peninsula just outside St. Anthony. Like the women in Quirpon, most women worked at the FPI plant in St. Anthony. Most women were from the processing sector and one woman was a harvester currently working in the sentinel fishery with her husband. This workshop was different from the others in that there were three participants who were under the age of 20. One woman was attending Memorial University and two were still in high school. These women added a different perspective to the issues that were being discussed. As well, a farmer attended this workshop. In total, thirteen women participated in the two-day workshop.

Flower's Cove - Flower's Cove is located on the Northern Peninsula. Most women who attended worked at smaller fish plants in Anchor Point, Flower's Cove, Sandy Cove and Savage Cove. Some women worked in the harvesting sector and on shore and were involved in filing a Human Rights Complaint against DFO at the time of the workshop. This group of women had been cut off TAGS while the men who worked alongside them were still receiving benefits. This workshop was only one day as there was some misunderstanding between the workshop organizers and the participants on the question of why funding for the workshops was from HRD.

Plum Point - Plum Point is located midway on the Northern Peninsula and is a hub for many of the smaller communities in the area. A small number of women attended this workshop and all worked at the fish plant in nearby Brig Bay. Three women from the original

workshop in West St. Modeste attended this workshop and came to tell their stories to the women in Plum Point.

Trout River - Trout River is located within the boundaries of Gros Morne National Park at the foot of the Northern Peninsula. The scheduled workshop did not go ahead in this area because many people in the community were involved in a protest against their town council concerning water and sewer at the time of the scheduled workshop.

La Scie - Women from La Scie, Baie Verte, Snook's Arm, Brent's Arm and Shoe Cove attended this workshop on the Baie Verte peninsula. A few women worked in the harvesting sector but most of the women worked in the large National Sea Products (NatSea) plant in La Scie and the smaller plant in Baie Verte. Women from the local FFAW learning center attended along with the TAGS literacy coordinator. A retired teacher was also in attendance.

Pilley's Island - Over thirty women from the Pilley's Island, Triton and Brighton area attended this one day workshop. The majority of the women were fish plant workers attending an ABE class in Triton. All worked in the large fish plant in Triton. The workshop in this community was only one day because of a low turnout on the first day. More women were contacted and there was a higher number for the second day.

Head of Bay D'Espoir - The workshop in Head of Bay D'Espoir did not focus solely on the fishery crisis. The aim was to discuss community economic development as the area is not as directly affected by the fishery crisis as are other communities. This area experiences high unemployment because of the closure of the Newfoundland Hydro plant and cutbacks at the local hospitals. Aquaculture seems to be the only viable option for economic development at present and this sector employs mostly men. This workshop was not included in this thesis as it did not focus on the fishery crisis in the first day as did previous workshops.

Harbour Breton - Harbour Breton is located on the south coast of Newfoundland and is the hub of the entire south coast. Unlike most areas, the cod fishery in this community was year round and the local FPI fish plant was operating for the majority of the year. Most women who attended were enrolled in an ABE course at the local community college. Most worked in the processing sector and a few were employed in the harvesting sector.

Lark Harbour - This community is located on the west coast in the Bay of Islands area near Corner Brook. Participants were from Lark Harbour and York Harbour and most worked in the NatSea fish plant in Lark Harbour. A minister and a restaurant owner attended this workshop and added to the discussions.

Pollard's Point - Pollard's Point is located on the eastern side of the Northern Peninsula. The workshop did not go ahead in this area due to a lack of interest by local women.

Port aux Basques - Port aux Basques is located on the west side of the province and is the point of departure by ferry from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia. This was a one day workshop and many women had worked at the FPI plant in Port aux Basques or the smaller plant in nearby Margaree. The majority of these women were from local ABE classes and various TAGS related projects in the community. A hospital psychologist and the coordinator of the local women's center also attended.

Isle aux Mortes -Isle aux Mortes is found on the south coast near Port aux Basques. Forty-one women from Isle aux Mortes and Rose Blanche attended this workshop. The majority were in some stage of an ABE program or post-secondary program and had previously worked in the fish plants in Port aux Basques, Isle aux Mortes and Rose Blanche. A representative from HRD and a local Regional Economic Development board member also attended.

Appendix 5

Sex of Writer

The Evening Telegram

Total number of articles = 216

men	women	no author
151 articles or 69.9%	21 articles or 9.7%	44 articles or 20.4%

The Union Advocate

Total number of articles = 220

men	women	no author
2 articles or 0.9%	7 articles or 3.2%	211 articles or 95.9%

FishNet News

Total number of articles = 49

men	women	no author
0 articles	34 articles or 69.4%	15 articles or 30.6%

Appendix 6

Sex of Writer by Placement in Newspaper

The Evening Telegram

section of paper	men	women	no author
front page	55 articles	6 articles	6 articles
provincial and metro news	82 articles	12 articles	35 articles
business	6 articles	1 article	2 articles
lifestyle	3 articles	2 articles	1 article
entertainment	2 articles	0 articles	0 articles
sports	3 articles	0 articles	0 articles
total	151 articles or 69.9%	21 articles or 9.7%	44 articles or 20.4%

Appendix 7

Authorized Knowers in Overall Sample

The Evening Telegram

The first number represents the number of times men or women appeared in these roles as authorized knowers in the overall sample. Of 216 articles in the sample, 573 authorized knowers were used.

	men	women
MP	10 or 1.7%	1 or 0.2%
MHA	57 or 9.9%	1 or 0.2%
Fisheries Minister	92 or 16.1%	0
Plant Worker	23 or 4.0%	11 or 1.9%
Business Owner	24 or 4.2%	3 or 0.5%
Harvester	60 or 10.5%	4 or 0.7%
Mayor / Town Councillor	32 or 5.6%	6 or 1%
Union President	27 or 4.7%	0
Activist / Advocate	7 or 1.2%	15 or 2.6%
FANL Representative	14 or 2.4%	0
Premier	10 or 1.7%	0
Plant Owner	48 or 8.4%	0
Union Representative	24 or 4.2%	4 or 0.7%
Domestic Roles	12 or 2.1%	11 or 1.9%
HRD Representative	9 or 1.6%	0
Musician / Entertainer	8 or 1.4%	4 or 0.7%
Student	11 or 1.9%	7 or 1.2%
Teacher / Principal	2 or 0.3%	4 or 0.7%

DFO Representative	30 or 5.2%	0
Police Officer	1 or 0.2%	1 or 0.2%
Total	501 or 87.4%	72 or 12.6%

The Union Advocate

There were 413 authorized knowers in 220 articles.

	men	women
MP	9 or 2.2%	0
MHA	1 or 0.2%	0
Fisheries Minister	15 or 3.6%	0
FFAW President	42 or 10.2%	0
FFAW Secretary/Treasurer	14 or 3.4%	0
FFAW Member/Representative	64 or 15.5%	11 or 2.7%
Fisheries Committee/Labour Group Member	25 or 6.1%	2 or 0.5%
HABs Member	4 or 1%	0
Harvester	88 or 21.3%	9 or 2.2%
Plant Worker	25 or 6.1%	17 or 4.1%
DFO Representative	6 or 1.5%	0
Police Officer	1 or 0.2%	0
Business Owner	2 or 0.5%	0
Plant Owner	14 or 3.4%	0
TAGS Counsellor	2 or 0.5%	0

Domestic Roles	10 or 2.4%	6 or 1.5%
Student	2 or 0.5%	3 or 0.7%
Principal / Teacher	3 or 0.7%	1 or 0.2%
CAW President	7 or 1.7%	1 or 0.2%
Musician / Entertainer	19 or 4.6%	3 or 0.7%
Mayor / Town Councillor	2 or 0.5%	1 or 0.2%
HRD Representative	1 or 0.2%	0
Premier	3 or 0.7%	0
Total	359 or 87%	54 or 13%

FishNet News

There are 25 authorized knowers in 49 articles.

	men	women
MP	1 or 4%	1 or 4%
MHA/MLA	1 or 4%	0
Fisheries Minister	1 or 4%	0
Harvester	0	2 or 8%
Activist / Advocate	0	4 or 16%
FishNet Member	0	6 or 24%
Domestic Roles	0	2 or 8%
DFO Representative	0	2 or 8%
Researcher	0	4 or 16%
Musician / Entertainer	0	1 or 4%
Total	3 or 12%	22 or 88%

Appendix 8

Authorized Knowers in Sample by Theme

The Evening Telegram

Themes were identified in the qualitative content analysis.

Authorized knowers were also counted within particular themes. Numbers represent the number of times men or women appeared as authorized knowers in the particular theme and percentages represent the percentage of authorized knowers within a particular theme, **not the overall sample**. Note that percentages have been rounded causing a slight discrepancy of one tenth of one per cent in some of the tables below.

Theme 1: General Articles on the Fishery Crisis - men and women did not appear as musicians / entertainers, students or teachers / principals in this theme.

	men	women
MP	4 or 2.7%	0
MHA	11 or 7.5%	0
Fisheries Minister	27 or 18.5%	0
Plant Worker	7 or 4.8%	0
Business Owner	6 or 4.1%	0
Harvester	19 or 13%	0
Mayor / Town Councillor	7 or 4.8%	0
Union President	9 or 6.2%	0
Activist / Advocate	3 or 2.1%	1 or 0.7%
FANL Representative	6 or 4.1%	0
Premier	2 or 1.4%	0
Plant Owner	9 or 6.2%	0
Union Representative	13 or 8.9%	2 or 1.4%
Domestic Roles	3 or 2.1%	2 or 1.4%

HRD Representative	1 or 0.7%	0
DFO Representative	13 or 8.9%	0
Police Officer	1 or 0.7%	0
Total	141 or 96.6%	5 or 3.4%

Theme 2: The TAGS program - men and women did not appear as FANL representatives, musicians / entertainers, students, principals / teachers or DFO representatives in this theme.

	men	women
MP	4 or 5.1%	0
MHA	18 or 23.1%	0
Fisheries Minister	11 or 7.5%	0
Plant Worker	3 or 3.8%	2 or 2.6%
Business Owner	1 or 1.3%	0
Harvester	11 or 7.5%	0
Mayor / Town Councillor	1 or 1.3%	0
Union President	8 or 10.3%	0
Activist / Advocate	2 or 2.6%	6 or 7.7%
Premier	3 or 3.8%	0
Plant Owner	2 or 2.6%	0
Union Representative	2 or 2.6%	0
Domestic Roles	0	1 or 1.3%
HRD Representative	2 or 2.6%	0
Police Officer	0	1 or 1.3%
Total	68 or 87.2%	10 or 12.8%

Theme 3: Fishery of the future models - men and women did not appear as business owners, activists / advocates, union representatives, HRD representatives, students, principals / teachers or police officers in this theme.

	men	women
MP	1 or 1.4%	0
MHA	4 or 5.4%	0
Fisheries Minister	19 or 25.7%	0
Plant Worker	2 or 2.7%	0
Harvester	7 or 9.5%	0
Mayor / Town Councillor	5 or 6.8%	0
Union President	2 or 2.7%	0
FANL Representative	6 or 8.1%	0
Premier	4 or 5.4%	0
Plant Owner	12 or 16.2%	0
Domestic Roles	3 or 4.1%	0
DFO Representative	9 or 12.1%	0
Total	74 or 100%	0

Theme 4: Fish plant closures - men and women did not appear as MPs, harvester, activists / advocates, FANL representatives, premiers, HRD representatives, musicians / entertainers, students, principals / teachers, DFO representatives or police officers in this theme.

	men	women
MHA	3 or 4.8%	0
Fisheries Minister	18 or 29%	0
Plant Worker	5 or 8.1%	0
Business Owner	1 or 1.6%	0

Mayor / Town Councillor	9 or 14.5%	4 or 6.5%
Union President	1 or 1.6%	0
Plant Owner	13 or 20.9%	0
Union Representative	7 or 11.1%	0
Domestic Roles	0	1 or 1.6%
Total	57 or 91.9%	5 or 8.1%

Theme 5: End of rural life / cultural identity in Newfoundland and Labrador - men and women did not appear as MPs, union presidents, activists / advocates, FANL representatives, premiers, principals / teachers or police officers in this theme.

	men	women
MHA	3 or 6.8%	0
Fisheries Minister	2 or 4.5%	0
Plant Worker	3 or 6.8%	1 or 2.3%
Business Owner	3 or 6.8%	0
Harvester	9 or 20.1%	0
Mayor / Town Councillor	4 or 9.1%	0
Plant Owner	3 or 6.8%	0
Union Representative	2 or 4.5%	0
Domestic Roles	2 or 4.5%	1 or 2.3%
HRD Representative	1 or 2.3%	0
Musician / Entertainer	8 or 18.2%	0
Students	1 or 2.3%	0
DFO Representative	1 or 2.3%	0
Total	42 or 95.5%	2 or 4.5%

Theme 6: Community Economic Development - men and women did not appear as activists / advocates, premiers, union representatives, in domestic roles, musicians / entertainers, students, principals / teachers or police officers in this theme.

	men	women
MP	0	1 or 1.7%
MHA	7 or 12.1%	0
Fisheries Minister	7 or 12.1%	0
Plant Worker	1 or 1.7%	1 or 1.7%
Business Owner	12 or 20.7%	2 or 3.4%
Harvester	3 or 5.2%	0
Mayor / Town Councillor	5 or 8.6%	0
Union President	3 or 5.2%	0
FANL Representative	1 or 1.7%	0
Plant Owner	8 or 13.8%	0
HRD Representative	1 or 1.7%	0
DFO Representative	6 or 10.3%	0
Total	54 or 93.1%	4 or 6.9%

Theme 7: Women's Issues - men and women did not appear as MPs, fisheries ministers, business owners, mayors / town councillors, FANL representatives, premiers, plant owners, students, principals / teachers, DFO representatives or police officers in this theme.

	men	women
MHA	2 or 8.3%	1 or 4.2%
Plant Worker	0	2 or 8.3%
Harvester	0	3 or 12.5%
Union President	1 or 4.2%	0

Activist / Advocate	0	6 or 25%
Union Representative	0	2 or 8.3%
Domestic Roles	0	2 or 8.3%
HRD Representative	1 or 4.2%	0
Musician / Entertainer	0	4 or 1.7%
Total	4 or 16.7%	20 or 83.3%

Theme 8: NCARP and compensation programs other than TAGS - men and women did not appear as MPs, union presidents, premiers, union representatives, domestic roles, HRD representatives, musicians / entertainers, students, principals / teachers, DFO representatives or police officers.

	men	women
MHA	3 or 15%	0
Fisheries Minister	5 or 25%	0
Plant Worker	1 or 5%	0
Business Owner	1 or 5%	1 or 5%
Harvester	2 or 10%	0
Mayor / Town Councillor	0	2 or 10%
Activist / Advocate	2 or 10%	1 or 5%
FANL representative	1 or 5%	0
Plant Owner	1 or 5%	0
Total	16 or 80%	4 or 20%

Theme 9: Training - men and women did not appear as business owners, union presidents, activist / advocates, FANL representatives, premiers, plant owners, union representative, musicians / entertainers, DFO representatives or police officers in this theme.

	men	women
MP	1 or 2.4%	0
MHA	1 or 2.4%	0
Fisheries Minister	1 or 2.4%	0
Plant Worker	0	4 or 9.8%
Harvester	5 or 12.2%	1 or 2.4%
Mayor / Town Councillor	1 or 2.4%	0
Domestic Roles	1 or 2.4%	2 or 4.9%
HRD Representative	1 or 2.4%	0
Student	10 or 24.4%	7 or 17.1%
Principal / Teacher	2 or 4.9%	4 or 9.8%
Total	23 or 56.1%	18 or 43.9%

Theme 10: Family life in the fishery - men and women did not appear as MPs, MHAs, business owners, mayors / town councillors, union presidents, activists / advocates, FANL representatives, plant owners, union representatives, HRD representatives, musicians / entertainers, students, principals / teachers or police officers.

	men	women
Fisheries Minister	1 or 7.1%	0
Plant Worker	1 or 7.1%	1 or 7.1%
Harvester	4 or 28.6%	0
Premier	1 or 7.1%	0
Domestic Roles	3 or 21.4%	2 or 14.3%
DFO Representative	1 or 7.1%	0

Total	11 or 78.6%	3 or 21.4%
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Theme 11: TAGS Discrimination - men and women did not appear as MPs, plant workers, business owners, harvesters, mayors / town councillors, union presidents, activists / advocates, FANL representatives, premiers, plant owners, union representatives, domestic roles, HRD representatives, musicians / entertainers, students, principals / teachers, DFO representatives, police officers.

	men	women
MHA	5 or 83.3%	0
Fisheries Minister	1 or 16.7%	0
Total	6 or 100%	0

Theme 12: Changes to Social Programs - men and women did not appear as MPs, MHAs, fisheries ministers, plant workers, business owners, harvesters, mayors, FANL representatives, premiers, plant owners, union representatives, domestic roles, musicians / entertainers, students, teachers / principals, DFO representatives or police officers.

	men	women
Union President	3 or 50%	0
Activist / Advocate	0	1 or 16.7%
HRD Representative	2 or 33.3%	0
Total	5 or 83.3%	1 or 16.7%

Appendix 9

Representation in News Photos

The Evening Telegram

The total number of representations were 175.

	men	women
MHA	11 or 6.3%	0
Fisheries Minister	17 or 9.7%	0
MP	2 or 1.1%	0
Plant Worker	6 or 3.4%	0
Harvester	14 or 8.0%	1 or 0.6%
Mayor / Town Councillor	2 or 1.1%	0
Union President	4 or 2.8%	0
Activist / Advocate	20 or 11.4%	24 or 13.7%
Premier	4 or 2.8%	0
Plant Owner	4 or 2.8%	0
Domestic Roles	10 or 5.7%	6 or 3.4%
Student	7 or 4%	9 or 5.1%
Principal / Teacher	0	2 or 1.1%
DFO Representative	6 or 3.4%	0
Citizen	1 or 0.6%	0
FANL Representative	3 or 1.7%	0
Business Owner	1 or 0.6%	0
Police Officer	13 or 7.4%	0

Other (Minister, Doctor, Patient, Musician, Actor, etc.)	6 or 3.4%	2 or 1.1%
Total	131 or 75%	44 or 25%

The Union Advocate

There were 623 representations in 195 photos.

	men	women
FFAW President	15 or 2.4%	0
CAW President	4 or 0.6%	0
FFAW Secretary/Treasurer	6 or 0.9%	0
FFAW Member	23 or 3.7%	10 or 1.6%
Activist / Advocate	75 or 12%	28 or 4.5%
Fish Plant Worker	32 or 5.1%	56 or 9%
Harvester	123 or 19.7%	9 or 1.4%
Mayor / Town Councillor	1 or 0.2%	0
Business Owner	2 or 0.3%	0
Fisheries Minister	1 or 0.2%	0
Fisheries Organization/ Labour Group Member	55 or 8.8%	0
Student	84 or 13.5%	9 or 1.4%
Musician / Entertainer	52 or 8.3%	14 or 2.2%
Media Personnel	2 or 0.3%	1 or 0.2%
Principal / Teacher	9 or 1.4%	6 or 0.9%
Domestic Roles	3 or 0.5%	3 or 0.5%
Total	487 or 78.2%	136 or 21.8%

FishNet News

There are 23 representations in 8 photos.

	men	women
FishNet Member	0	15 or 65.2%
Musician / Entertainer	2 or 8.7%	6 or 26.1%
Total	2 or 8.7%	21 or 91.3%

