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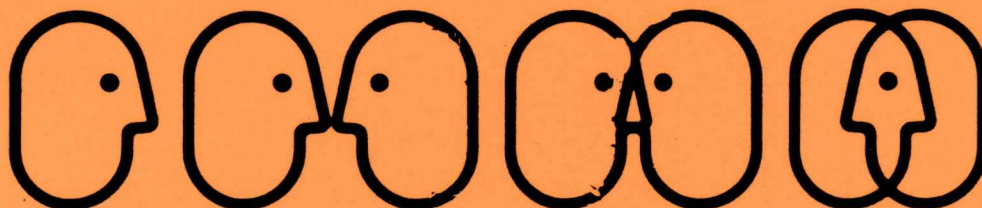
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**"AN EXAMINATION OF INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY
ADAPTATION TO ATLANTIC FISHING INDUSTRY REDUCTIONS
USING THE 'TAYLOR MODEL'"**

(Final Report & Synopsis)

Submitted by:

Dr. Marilyn Taylor & Dr. James Gavin



**centre for human relations
and community studies**

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Submitted by:
Dr. Marilyn Taylor & Dr. James Gavin

Submitted to:
Dr. Tom Wise,
Director of Economic Policy Research,
Federal Ministry of Fisheries and Oceans

March 31, 1984.

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SYNOPSIS

Individual Level of the Study

The individual level of the study was centered on fish plant workers affected by significant changes (declines) in employment patterns over the past 2-3 years. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with males and females, aged 18-56, from the targeted communities of South Dildo and Fermeuse based on an approximation to a random, stratified sampling procedure. Interviews conducted mostly in the home covered such topics as: family, work and health histories; life stressors; emotional and physical symptoms before and after the employment change; financial strain; coping activities; relationship (support) networks; organizational memberships; morale; and, a verbal chronology of the experience from before the change to the present.

Summary Table 1 provides an overview of our findings. In brief, life stresses other than employment problems were relatively minimal among our participants. Their health was also reasonably good. Family and work represented their top two life values, although Fermeuse participants placed religion significantly higher (3rd) than did South Dildo participants. (6th). To a slight degree, Fermeuse participants indicated more intrinsic (esteem achievement) values in work, but for the most part employment served extrinsic, economic purposes for both groups. Social support networks were relatively strong in both groups. There were some differences in coping patterns, suggesting that South Dildo participants engage in more socially isolated behaviors (watching T.V.) than do Fermeuse participants. This is consistent with our theory of response to a more severely disturbing life event, as well as having implications for constructive individual and community action.

Summary Table 1: REVIEW OF FINDINGS CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO REDUCTIONS IN EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH DILDO AND FERMEUSE

Issue	South Dildo	Fermeuse
Major Present Life Stressor	Problems of Unemployment (Chronic, gradual onset)	Problems of Unemployment (Acute, more recent onset)
Life Values (top 3)	Family, work, money	Family, work, religion
Health	Good health, few stressors	Good health, few stressors
Meaning of Work	Extrinsic Rewards, Economic and Social Needs, Structures Time	Extrinsic and Intrinsic Rewards, Economic, Social and Esteem Needs, Structures Time
Social Support	High Support, family-centered	High support, family-centered
Coping Activities	Social, passive media consumption (T.V., radio), home and outside work	Social, home and outside work, some passive media consumption (T.V., radio) prayer
Emotional Consequences of Employment Change	Increases in depression, confusion, anger, frustration, feeling useless, and loneliness	Increases in depression, confusion, anger frustration, and feeling useless
Physical Consequences of Employment Change	More headaches, palpitations, shortness of breath, trembling, sleep disturbances, and tension	More tension, fatigue, overeating, inability to relax, and sleep disturbances
Future Outlook	Bleak, Pessimistic (52%)	Bleak, pessimistic (36%)
Self-Doubt	Yes (40%)	Yes (14%)
What(who) has helped?	Family, friends	Family, friends
Role of Faith	Faith helped (44%)	Faith helped (75%)
What Needs to Change?	Fishery	Fishery
Who's responsible for change?	Government, plant mgmt.	Government, plant mgmt.
Would you ever relocate?	Yes, if had to (91%)	Yes, if had to (77%)
Phase of Adaptation (Taylor model)	Protracted Divergence - Disorientation	Divergence-Disorientation

The data argue for manifest declines in physical and emotional well-being. Again, South Dildo participants show more physical symptomology as would be expected in a more extended "crisis"; they also show increases in feelings of loneliness, in spite of their strong social support networks. Both groups have sizeable percentages expressing bleak and pessimistic views of the future (South Dildo, 52%, Fermeuse, 36%). Self-doubt occurred more often among South Dildo participants (40%), than among those from Fermeuse (14%). To a degree this may be related to the length of the crisis and the role of "faith" in one's life.

What helped most during these hard times was the social, and sometimes economic, support from family and friends. This was similar in both communities.

Both groups tend to look toward the fishery for future solutions, that is, they do not envision other industries as being viable for long-term employment opportunities. To achieve improvements in the fishery, participants believe government and the plant owners must take action. They do not see themselves as agents of change; they have not identified their own responsibility for action.

For the most part, they enjoy where they live, but most would relocate if they had to. To many, this is seen as a "last resort".

In terms of the Taylor model, we estimate that most of our participants are in the phase of "divergence-disorientation". Owing in large part to the extended nature of the employment problems in South Dildo and the failure of the community to constructively deal with this issue, we believe South Dildo participants may be experiencing a more debilitating protraction of the "divergence-disorientation" phase.

Community Level of the Study

The community level of the study was designed as a comparison of two communities in which a major portion of the adult population have experienced employment loss in the past 2 to 3 years due to fish plant reductions. Data collected for this portion of the study included existing records and documentation on aspects of the communities and collective behaviour. Also we conducted 80 interviews (between the two areas) with community and regional representatives. Persons interviewed in this portion of the study include: municipal and regional community leaders; professional and business people serving the areas; representatives of social organizations; and fishermen and union representatives. Some interviews were open-ended; others semi-structured using an interview guide.

Literature in the areas of community development, community mental health and social impact assessment was reviewed. This together with the field data enabled us to develop a conceptual framework for identifying dimensions of strength/vulnerability which may be critical in the way a community is able to deal with primary industry reductions and losses. We then applied the identified dimensions to a description of each community as an exploration of its usefulness.

We have discuss 38 dimensions of community strength/vulnerability in relation to three areas of community life distinguished by social impact theorists:

- .Social Vitality: dimensions which contribute to a physical and social quality of day to day living;

- .Economic Vitality: dimensions which contribute to providing for the material needs of its members;
- .Political Efficacy: dimensions which contribute to the community's capability to solve internal problems and represent its concerns in the larger context.

The dimensions in each of these areas are summarized in Summary Table 2.

We have made tentative estimates of each community's normative strength on each dimension in recent years and we have also made an assessment about which dimensions are affected by plant reductions. These estimates should be regarded as 'rough' and as tentative since they are based on incomplete data and criteria which are being developed. These estimates are depicted in Summary Table 2.

The salient themes from the community aspect of the study are:

- .Both communities are strongest along dimensions of social vitality.
- .It is these dimensions of social vitality, however, which are most affected in a negative direction by plant reductions.
- .Strength along many dimensions which contribute to economic viability fluctuates with the fortunes of the fishery.
- .Both communities are most vulnerable with respect to their capabilities to solve internal problems and represent themselves in the larger context (political efficacy).
- .The greatest difference between communities are along dimensions of political efficacy, where South Dildo is the most vulnerable of the two.

The two communities are dissimilar to each other in several other respects, including religion, normative availability of full time employment, the existence (or not) of local community decision-making structures (such as municipal government), and period of time in

Summary Table 2: DIMENSIONS OF STRENGTH/VULNERABILITY AND COMPARATIVE ESTIMATES OF STRENGTH AND AFFECTS OF PLANT REDUCTIONS

Dimension	South Dildo	Fermeuse
Social Vitality		
Social Structures...	***** (-)	***** (-)
Health and Social Services	*** (0)	*** (0)
Educational Resources	*** (0)	*** (0)
Protection Services	*** (0)	*** (0)
Housing and Utilities	***** (-)	***** (-)
Recreational Resources	** (-)	* (-)
Community Sources of Esteem	** (-)	**** (-)
Mutual Support	***** (0)	***** (0)
Social Participation	*** (-)	**** (-)
Physical Health	**** (0)	**** (0)
Mental Health	**** (-)	**** (-)
Mutual Problem-Solving	*** (0)	**** (0)
Cultural & Value Similarity	*** (0)	*** (0)
Demographic Composition	*** (0)	*** (0)
Economic Viability		
Natural Resources	(in good year) (-)	(in good year) (-)
Markets for Products	(") (-)	(") (-)
Autonomy	** (0)	* (0)
Employment Sources	** (0)	*** (-)
Commercial Enterprises	*** (0)	** (0)
Subsistence Resources	***** (0)	***** (0)
Occupational Structure	**** (0)	**** (0)
Non-Employment Income	*** (0)	*** (0)
Education and Skill	** (0)	** (0)
Work Values	**** (0)	**** (0)
Material Needs...	**** (0)	**** (0)
Political Efficacy		
Boundary Clarity	* (0)	** (0)
Community Confidence	*** (0)	**** (0)
Power Distribution	** (0)	** (0)
Sources of Leadership	* (+)	*** (0)
Decision-Making Capability	* (0)	*** (0)
Conflict Resolution ...	?	?
Mgt. of External Relations	* (0)	*** (0)
Intra-Comm'ty Communication	*** (0)	*** (0)
Community Commitment	*** (0)	**** (-)
Clarity of Sub-group Diff's	** (0)	*** (0)
Political Participation	* (0)	* (0)
Support for Leadership	* (0)	* (0)
Expression of Concerns	* (0)	* (0)

KEY: Strength: * low
 ** medium-low
 *** medium
 **** medium-high
 ***** high

Effect of Plant Reduction:
 (-) decreased
 (0) no change
 (+) increased

critical levels of unemployment. The possible relationships between these characteristics of the community and the differences between communities with respect to individual plant workers' reports of self-doubt, pessimism and loneliness are important concerns for further study. Vulnerability in these respects at the individual level and community level are both greatest for South Dildo in this study.

Intervention Recommendations

Our recommendations which derive from both the individual and community levels of the study have an educational emphasis. They are:

1. That every possible effort be made to reduce levels of uncertainty about the future of the fishery in these areas as soon as possible.
2. That knowledge and findings about individuals' and families' experience of employment loss such as the material generated here be offered to people in these and other fishing outports so that they might better understand and manage the difficulties being experienced.
3. That the community level findings be presented to people in the participating communities for their use. This would also serve as an occasion to investigate what communities and regions such as these need in **strengthening their problem-solving capabilities** and how what is needed might be offered. The results of this exploratory study suggest that **this is the area of critical difficulty.**
4. That a variety of ways of making long range support available to communities for the strengthening of their problem-solving capabilities be investigated in order to avert the prospect of dependency and resignation. For a variety of reasons this is a complex proposition. Ways of providing support must be found that do not paradoxically promote further dependence. One avenue that would permit the development of a refined understanding of the complexities is the possibility of a demonstration project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	
Part I: The Study of Individuals	
Chapter 1. Individual Adaptation to Employment Loss: A Review of Theory and Research	1
Introduction	1
The Unemployed: Outcomes and Mediating Influences	3
Consequences of Unemployment	3
Direct and Indirect Influences on Individual Adaptability	13
Individuals "At Risk"	27
Adaptation Processes: Models for Individual Adjustments to Employment Loss	29
Summary of the Taylor Model of Psycho-Social Change	33
Comparison of Adaptation Process Descriptions	37
Conclusion	70
Chapter 2. The Study of Individuals: Design and Methodology	72
Introduction	72
Design Plan and Implementation.....	73
Selection of Community Settings	73
Design and Methodology Related to Individual Adaptation	75
Interview Design	76
Characteristics of Participants	78
Demographics	78
Employment History	83
Membership in Community Organizations	86
Financial Impact	88

Table of Contents (cont'd)

	Page
Chapter 3: Individual Adaptation: Results and Discussion	90
Introduction	90
Results from the Structured Questionnaire.....	91
Health as an Antecedent Factor.....	91
Life Stresses.....	93
Changes in Physical Symptomology.....	95
Changes in Emotional Symptomology.....	97
Correlations of Variables with Financial Strain.....	98
Correlations of Variables with Physical and Emotional Symptomology.....	103
Coping Activities.....	105
Social Support Networks.....	109
Correlations of Variables with Coping Activities and Relationship Measures.....	111
Selected Themes from the Interviews.....	113
Value Priorities.....	114
The Meaning of Work.....	115
What Has to Change.....	115
The Agents of Change.....	119
Sources of Help.....	119
Faith and Doubt.....	119
The Community.....	123
Community Differences: Fermeuse vs. South Dildo.....	127
Integration: Implications for Individuals' Adaptation to Employment Loss in the Atlantic Fishery.....	129
An Integrative Overview.....	129

Table of Contents (cont'd)

	Page
Estimating Adaptive Progress.....	132
Implications and Intervention Considerations.....	136
PART II: THE STUDY OF COMMUNITIES	
Chapter 4. The Community in Change: A Conceptual Framework.....	140
An Exploratory Study: An Intervention Approach.....	140
Basic Definitions of Community.....	142
The Concept of Adaptation Process by Whole Communities...	143
The Concept of Community Competence.....	151
Dimensions of Community Strength/Vulnerability: A Tentative Inventory.....	156
Community Contributions to Social Vitality.....	157
Community Member Contributions to Social Vitality.....	158
Community Contributions to Economic Viability.....	160
Community Member Contributions to Economic Viability...	161
Community Contributions to Political Efficacy.....	162
Community Member Contributions to Political Efficacy...	163
Dimensions of Community Competence and Community Adaptation Process.....	165
Chapter 5. The Study of Communities: Design and Methodology.....	167
Research Objectives.....	167
Criteria for Selection of Communities.....	168
Data Collection	171
Analysis of Data.....	175
Chapter 6. The History of the Communities and Regions: A Résumé and Some Themes.....	177
Introduction	177

Table of Contents (cont'd)

	Page
Fermeuse and the Southern Shore.....	177
Settlement.....	177
The Economy.....	179
Education and Religion.....	180
Politics and Government.....	182
Transportation and Communication	183
The Fishery and Cultural-Social Patterns.....	184
South Dildo and Trinity South.....	187
Settlement.....	187
The Economy.....	188
Education and Religion.....	190
Legal and Political History.....	192
Transportation and Communication.....	192
Themes Relevant to Contemporary Realities, Perceptions and Resources for Dealing with Change.....	193
Chapter 7. Dimensions of Strength/Vulnerability: A Comparative Discussion of Fermeuse and South Dildo...	200
Social Vitality.....	201
Social Structures which Foster Social Contact, Interaction and Collaboration.....	202
Health and Social Services.....	205
Educational Resources.....	206
Protection Services.....	207
Housing and Utilities.....	208
Recreational Resources and Facilities.....	210
Community Sources of Self-Esteem and Social Worth.....	211
Mutual Support.....	213

Table of Contents (cont'd)

	Page
Social Participation.....	214
Physical Health.....	217
Mental Health.....	219
Mutual Problem-Solving.....	221
Cultural and Value Similarity.....	222
Demographic Composition.....	224
Salient Themes Related to Strengths along Dimensions of Social Vitality.....	
Economic Viability.....	229
Natural Resources.....	231
Markets for Products Generated by the Community.....	232
Autonomy.....	233
Employment Sources.....	233
Commercial Enterprises Serving the Community.....	235
Subsistence Resources.....	237
Occupational Structure.....	239
Education and Skill.....	240
Work Values.....	243
Material Needs and Aspirations.....	251
Salient Themes Related to Strengths Along Dimensions of Economic Viability.....	
Political Efficacy.....	255
Boundary Clarity.....	257
Community Confidence.....	259
Power Distribution.....	260
Sources of Competent Community Leadership.....	264
Decision-Making Capability.....	266
	269
	272

Table of Contents (cont'd)

	Page
Conflict Resolution Capability.....	275
Effective Management of Relations with the Larger Context.....	276
Effectiveness of Intra-Community Communication.....	278
Community Commitment.....	279
Clarity of Differences among Sub-Groups.....	280
Political Participation.....	281
Support for Community Leaders.....	283
Expression of Genuine Concerns.....	285
Salient Themes Related to Strengths Along Dimensions of Political Efficacy.....	286
Integration: Implications for Community Adaptation To Fish Plant Reductions.....	289
An Integrative Review.....	289
Adaptation Process as Applied to Communities.....	295
Implications for Intervention	301

References

Appendix I

INTRODUCTION

The Study

The research project has been an exploratory study of how individuals employed in fish plants and their communities have experienced and responded to radical reductions in fish plant operations and the resulting employment loss. The study was initiated in the context of widespread employment loss in the Atlantic fishery.

There were two research objectives at both the individual and community "levels" of the study. They were: (a) to identify phases and critical points in the process of constructive adaptation, using the Taylor model (1979, 1981) as a guide; and (b) to identify dimensions of strength/vulnerability of individuals and communities in dealing with employment loss.

The project was designed as a comparative study of two communities and of a sample of individual plant workers who had experienced employment in each of the communities.

We believe that the strengths of the study are:

1. That it has attended to **both the individual and the community** with reciprocal effects between well-being on the two levels of consideration; and
2. That it introduces an attention to **change over time**, a feature that we believe goes beyond over-simple "problem-solution" thinking to the prospect of establishing a more refined sensitivity to the constructive "working out" of social problems.

The data for the study were gathered between June, 1983 and January, 1984. As such the data include only a short segment during

the period of employment loss. The study, then, provides only a "snapshot" of the experience of employment loss and its effects on individuals and communities. At the time of this report, individuals and communities appear to be in the initial stages of dealing with this problem. Therefore, our comments on the adaptation process are necessarily limited.

Additionally, the "cost" of maintaining a perspective on both the individual and community facing employment loss and doing so within a limited period of time has been that the study is not as thorough as eventually such a study needs to be. The findings for the most part are illustrative and the conclusions tentative.

The Problem

Throughout outports in Atlantic Canada thousands of people have been faced with the experience of declining employment in the fishery in recent years. This study was situated in two communities where this has been a serious problem. The selection of these communities is described in Chapter 5. They represent two types of fish plant problems - namely, decline in the inshore seasonal operation, and the decline in combination inshore-offshore operation (virtually year around). The qualities of the communities are described in detail in Part II. What follows is a summary description of the "problematic" fish plants.

The Inshore Operation The inshore community chosen has four fish plants within its boundaries of which individuals from the two largest plants were invited to participate in this study. One of the two was constructed and recently renovated as a pelagic fish plants owned (prior to restructuring) by inter-provincial interests. The

(iii)

plant's processing operation would normally include caplin (June-July), mackerel (July-September), herring (May and September-October) and squid (September-October). Due to the fact that there is no quota for herring at present, the fact that squid is in the "down-side" of its cycle and the fact that mackerel have been less plentiful, the plant's operation has been:

- . 1979: June to October (in excess of 20 weeks);
- . 1980: June to September (in excess of 16 weeks);
- . 1981: June to August (in excess of 12 weeks);
- . 1982: June to July (approximately 5 weeks);
- . 1983: June and July (approximately 5 weeks).

The plant has processed mainly caplin during the past two years.

This pelagic plant employs about 180 people of whom 75% are women. About 50% of the employees are between the ages of 30 and 40, and 25% under 30 and 25% over 40 years. The employees are residents in fourteen communities along the Trinity South region.

The second of the two largest plants in this same community is now internationally owned employing 240 persons of whom 65% are women. The employees reside in six different communities within a distance of 15 km. along the Trinity South shore. About 60% of the employees are between 35 and 50 years, 20% over 40, and 20% under 35 years. The pattern of operation in this plant is similar to the first.

The Inshore-Offshore Operation In the second community there is one large fish plant that has employed up to 300 people from six different communities on the Southern Shore. This plant processes caplin and cod only. It operates on raw material from the inshore

fishery in season and has received dragger fish during the winter months. This plant operated in recent years as follows:

- . 1979: mid-January to mid December;
- . 1980: February to mid December;
- . 1981: mid-January to mid-July; mid-August to mid-December;
- . 1982: January (exact date not known) to August 6;
- . 1983: June to October.

Of the 235 employees of the plant in 1983, 135 (47.7%) were men and 100 (42.3%) were women. About 50% of the employees were under 30, 24% between 30 and 40, and 26% over 40 years.

The study includes two communities, then, which face slightly different primary industry loss problems. In the first, the problem is gradual decline of an seasonal operation to a level which places its employees at risk of being ineligible for unemployment insurance benefits. For the high proportion of women employees this means for most, the loss of a second income. For others this means the risk of being "on welfare". In the second area, the problem is abrupt loss of virtually year around work to seasonal work. People in both areas are living with extraordinary levels of uncertainty about their future.

The Report

This report is divided into two major sections, the first representing the study of individuals, the second the study of communities. Included in each section is:

- a. a review of relevant literature and presentation of a conceptual frame of reference (Chapters 1 and 4)
- b. a description of research methodology (Chapters 2 and 5); and
- c. a presentation of findings (Chapters 3 and 7); and
- d. a discussion of implications for intervention (included in Chapters 3 and 7).

Also included in the report is a brief historical résumé of the two communities and their regions (Chapter 6).

Being an exploratory study, large portions of the report are qualitative descriptions. We have included considerable detail in the report to "sharpen" the description. As an aid to the reader we have included sectional and chapter summaries throughout. For a selective reading of this report, we recommend the use of these summaries in combination with the table of contents.

PART I

THE STUDY OF INDIVIDUALS

CHAPTER 1

INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO EMPLOYMENT LOSS: A REVIEW OF THEORY AND RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will review findings concerning the individual's responses to the experience of employment loss. Parts of this review will focus on specific outcomes of unemployment, along with a consideration of factors in the environment and those characterizing the "life space" and personality of the individual which tend to mediate the severity of response. People differ in their reactions to employment loss - for some, the "crisis" is easily managed, while for others the ensuing problems seem insurmountable. What distinguishes these individuals can provide insight into processes of ameliorative intervention.

Other parts of this review will concentrate more theoretically on a generic model for change processes precipitated by some personally meaningful event - such as employment loss. Relatively few investigators have considered the experience of unemployment as a process that occurs over time. We do not mean to imply by this that researchers are naive or oblivious to the fact that an individual's response pattern will vary as the days wear on and he or she "adapts" to this new way of being in the world. Rather, it seems that our models for understanding this adaptation process have been impeded by methodological constraints. How can one accurately assess a person in the midst of

change? When do we measure the individual's responses and with what tools? What are the likely effects of our intrusive measurements? These and other questions abound in considerations of the individual-in-change. While the practical limits of our study in the Atlantic fishery do not permit answers to these methodological matters, we have in a sense entered into these analyses with a perspective of the change process. This perspective was gained through extensive explorations of individuals immersed in meaningful change processes (Taylor, 1979, 1981). Awareness of the dimensions of this process adds depth to the interpretations of an individual's reactions, even though our own scientific base cautions us to be tentative in our conclusions regarding the change process. In this chapter we will review the Taylor model of individual adaptation so as to provide the reader a framework within which to understand some of our commentaries about individuals in our study.

In virtually all of the literature summarized in this chapter, the research base tends to be quite different from that of our study, that is, the rural outports of the Atlantic fishery. Legitimately, one might ask how much can we generalize from the urban unemployed to the population of rural Newfoundland? We believe that there are limits to the applicability of prior research to the employment problems of the Atlantic fishery, but the exact determination of these limits must be based on data generated within the population of concern, that is, the rural outports. On the other hand, behavioral science methodology imposes further limits on "how we know" and "how we assess", and thus prior research assists us by pointing out pitfalls of various approaches to the study of employment loss, along with illustrating

more productive avenues and methods.

With these notions in mind, we will begin our review by, first, summarizing the more "static" research on employment loss and, then, presenting the more "dynamic" and theoretical models of adaptation. The first section will attempt to delineate (a) the consequences of the unemployment experience and (b) factors in the individual and his/her "life space" which tend to influence the severity of responses. The second section will take as its major focus the Taylor model, and will attempt to integrate other perspectives of the change process within this framework.

THE UNEMPLOYED: OUTCOMES AND MEDIATING INFLUENCES

A. Consequences of Unemployment

The typical study of job satisfaction produces a rate of satisfaction with work of about 70-80% (cf. Katzell, 1979; Quinn, Staines, & McCullough, 1974; Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1969). That is, when asked, "All in all, how satisfied are you with your job?" about seventy to eighty percent of employees respond that they are either "very satisfied", "satisfied" or "somewhat satisfied". This may seem to be a rather inflated estimate and, in fact, experts believe that the question does not reflect so much a feeling of satisfaction as a need for the experience of work. Individuals who answer in the negative have been shown to have a high probability of imminent job termination. Looking somewhat closer at the world of work, a great deal of evidence

suggests that functional by-products such as social benefits of working, satisfaction of financial needs, etc. may tend to account for high percentages of "satisfied" workers (Rosow, 1979). In sum, research suggests that the work experience in current times is not all what it is cracked up to be. Even though individuals are socialized to look forward to life-long work involvement, the actuality is far less pleasant than the early life expectations conveyed to children and adolescents (Special Task Force, 1973).

So, if we realize that life at work is at best problematic and conflictual, then why should the experience of unemployment be so disruptive? Evidence clearly tells us that the unemployed individual is or will be in "tough shape". How tough depends on factors in the person's character and social/environmental context. It is nonetheless ironic that while at work people seem to complain about their jobs but when unemployed they tend to remember the good times or, at the very least, long for the life of a "working stiff". To understand this rather unusual situation you need not explore too deeply. Anyone who has held a job for a period of time knows that work provides a wide variety of need satisfactions, not to mention the monetary benefits of employment. There is a social network that is established through work. Time is structured so that people have some definable dimensions to their lives. There is a status component whereby an individual can identify himself or herself in the social order. There are opportunities for the application of skills and learnings. There are needs for esteem and belonging which are satisfied through work. In some situations there are even opportunities for the satisfaction of such higher order needs as growth and self actualization (cf. Bass & Barrett, 1981;

Warr, 1982).

When the individual is involuntarily taken out of the world of work, many carefully developed social structures and even personality functions begin to collapse. The individual is "at risk". Few studies point to positive or constructive outcomes of a period of unemployment. Clearly, it is possible that such eventualities may occur, but the ratio of growth to decline seems far more in favor of the latter. In the following section some of the dimensions of outcome from unemployment will be generally described.

Physical Health Consequences. While the causes may be subject to debate, studies have produced fairly reliable data suggesting that persons who are unemployed are subject to a higher incidence of physical illness. They have been found to be more susceptible to disease, to require more attention from medical personnel, to end up in hospitals more often, and to experience more common symptoms such as colds, viruses and minor injuries (Brenner, 1973; Fineman, 1979; Kasl, Gore & Cobb, 1975; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979). Tracing these health problems back to their origin may produce tentative links to such causative conditions as nutritional deficits of lower income diets, but more likely the etiological analysis will yield a rather common pattern of stress reaction and its concomitant psychosomatic byproducts. Hypertension, high blood pressure, ulcers, heart disease, and other stress-related illnesses increase among the unemployed (Kasl, Gore & Cobb, 1975). In fact, as Selye (1956, 1974) so effectively argued, the diseases of stress are all encompassing in that they are idiosyncratically determined according to the peculiar vulnerabilities of the affected individual. In this perspective, a search limited to generally

accepted stress disorders would result in an underestimate of health decline spawned by unemployment.

These kinds of physical symptoms do not include other medical problems which may be more a result of either self-inflicted injury or injuries inflicted by members of the family as a result of rising tensions in the family structure. This latter type of medical problem is also more characteristic of the unemployed, but represents a different dimension of the problem.

Mental Health. Research has generally informed us that the unemployed experience a number of emotional problems which vary in severity along a continuum from mild psychological strains to severe psychological disorders. A common finding is that unemployment frequently results in feelings of depression (Catalano & Dooley, 1979; Coyne, Aldwin & Lazarus, 1981; Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938; Feather & Davenport, 1981; Kasl et al., 1975). Depression can be more or less exacerbated by other concerns which the individual must confront. Along with feelings of depression come other kinds of emotional turbulence, including feelings of anxiety, increased vulnerability, and even aggressive responses. In the extreme this symptomology may result in the individual being classified as having a mental disorder (Brenner, 1973; Colledge, 1982; Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938; Marshall & Funch, 1979). It should be remembered, however, that according to many modern psychological theorists, mental illness represents little more than responses that people make to "problems in living" (Szasz, 1961; Vaillant, 1977). The unemployed individual encountering relatively severe issues in daily living is simply more prone as a result of these stresses to manifesting symptomology that has been classically inter-

preted as indicative of mental illness.

Aside from the more obvious kinds of emotional upset noted above, other deleterious consequences may occur. These include the lowering of self-esteem which in the extreme can be debilitating (Cohn, 1978; Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938; Hartley, 1980; Nelson, 1981). The person has such low self regard that he or she is unable to function in society. Another characteristic noted by some researchers is that the unemployed may tend to be more submissive or less assertive as a result of the experience of unemployment (Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938; Feather & Davenport, 1981). Thus, at a time when assertiveness and standing up for your rights become more critical, the unemployed individual may be less able to muster the energy or ego for such needed responses.

When we take to an extreme the kinds of emotions noted herein, we find that the unemployed individual also becomes a higher risk candidate for suicide (Brenner, 1973; Dooley & Catalano, 1977; Shepherd & Barraclough, 1980). The incidence of suicide among the unemployed tends to be higher than that for employed individuals. While there are many interpretations of the causes of suicide, one that has been discussed quite often is that of low self-esteem and feelings of extreme depression.

It is difficult to detail all the ways in which poor mental health symptomology may manifest itself among the unemployed. Partly this is a problem deriving from the fact that individuals respond to "problems in living" (Szasz, 1961) or stressful situations with symptomology that is more or less unique to their psychosocial histories (cf. Selye, 1956). A person who may have paranoid tendencies to begin with will probably develop the symptoms more strongly under stress. An

individual who under normal conditions shows mild, non-neurotic symptoms of anxiety and social awkwardness may under the pressures of unemployment become quite withdrawn and highly anxious. Persons who tend to have a mild degree of depressive reaction will tend to become more highly depressed and in the extreme psychotically depressed. In general, the stress of unemployment works away at the individual's weaknesses, exaggerating conditions that normally are within standard limits. What is clear through all of the research on mental illness and unemployment is that the probability of these kinds of mental symptoms increases during periods of unemployment (cf. Brenner, 1973).

The Family. Ramifications of the unemployment experience for the family include increased arguments, family tensions, physical violence, disruption, divorce, etc. (Angell, 1936; Bakke, 1940; Clark & Clissold, 1982; Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938; Komarovsky, 1940; Keniston, 1977; Marsden & Duff, 1975; Riegler, 1982; Steinberg, Catalano & Dooley, 1981). Given that the family may be one of the individual's most significant supports, the fact that unemployment takes such a high toll on family life is critically relevant to our society. During periods of unemployment, individuals tend to use the family environment as a "dumping ground" for emotional garbage resulting from feelings of rejection, depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem. Ensuing shock waves in the family can be expected to be felt for years if not generations to come. Children exposed to frightened or even violent parents do not easily forget. They may instead learn maladaptive patterns for their adult years. Individuals do not readily recover from prolonged, emotional battles in the home. Scars may be permanent. Even if the unemployed individual finds work, there may be a long period of recon-

structive effort required to bring the family back to its former level of functioning.

At a less traumatic level, the kinds of role adjustments that may be required for family survival under conditions of unemployment may also have long range implications. Families where unemployed fathers assume many of the mother's traditional duties may witness a character transformation in the father over time such that many of the adaptive skills that he needs to be successful in the world are diminished (cf. Clark & Clissold, 1982; Cohn, 1978). On the other hand, certain role changes may bring about positive consequences. There is the possibility that the individual will learn new values and more adaptive orientations to life. The focus of past research tends to have been more on deleterious results. However, if more positive benefits are to accrue, it is improbable that leaving such matters to chance will increase the likelihood of their occurrence.

Crime. The unemployed may become desperate or may feel so discouraged that nothing seems to matter (Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938). Certainly when an individual's self-esteem is low, the risk of ending up in jail carries with it far less significance than it might otherwise (Hart, 1982; Hopkins, 1982). Data on this issue come from studies of areas where unemployment is high and where one also finds high rates of crime and violence (Hartman, 1976; Lee, 1981; Lodge & Glass, 1982). Although causal connections may be hard to establish, the argument for a downward spiral of poverty, unemployment and crime is highly plausible.

Frustrations initially acted out in the family may spread. Certain types of individuals tend to project blame on others and be more

prone to engage in aggressive action. Needs for material goods, medication for a sick child and even food may propel the unemployed into acts of crime that otherwise would not be contemplated. Even if it is only a changing attitude toward the legality of certain behaviors, such shifts are highly relevant to societal functioning. Individuals who begin to define wrong doing as that for which you are apprehended, as opposed to that which by moral and legal precepts is defined as wrong may tend to become more sociopathic. Certainly when the unemployed see others not only surviving but living in extravagance, resentment and retaliative actions may seem entirely in order.

Even though social programs have been developed to stem such actions, individuals who experience themselves as victims and yet who are unwilling to sign onto the welfare roles might be more inclined to take risks of a criminal order than engage in what may be perceived as the ultimately degrading act, that is, registering for social assistance. As national rates of unemployment stabilize and as the expectation of full-time, life-long unemployment becomes yet another myth, it may be that people will be more willing to take their turn among the unemployed, recognizing this as another, legitimate role in society. However, this seems a long time off - that is, if it ever comes to pass. In the interim, preventive action at the earliest possible stage can provide critical blocking of these kinds of inclinations. What these interventions should be is not entirely clear, but we might surmise that some value and attitudinal shifts regarding work and its relation to one's social identity will constitute an important dimension of projected solutions. Of course, this is not to imply that social assistance offerings at present have adequately addressed much more

the most fundamental survival needs of the unemployed.

Welfare and Continued Unemployment. From an economic point of view another kind of outcome of the unemployment experience is the initiation of a life-long pattern. People may tend to feel hopeless as a result as being unemployed and at the same time may develop a helpless attitude. As this grows the individual is more and more likely to feel dependent upon others or upon society for assistance. To the degree that the individual is able to maintain some level of self dignity, the person may fend off these feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. However, if conditions are such that the individual has little choice but to go on the welfare roles, all semblance of dignity may be lost and the person may sink to the level of being another social statistic, permanently registered on the welfare roles (Glass, 1982; MacLean, 1977).

Research indicates that people who have been unemployed are more likely to experience further unemployment. In addition, the more times an individual has been unemployed, the longer the period of unemployment tends to be. All this suggests that a spiraling cycle of unemployment becomes more probable each time the individual is exposed to such life situations (Little, 1976).

Other Considerations. Studies of employment suggest that our experience at work may create certain "psychological sets" toward living that are more or less functional for the individual and for society (Special Task Force, 1973). Extrapolating from these investigations allows for the creation of hypotheses that the unemployed may be more politically apathetic, less concerned with important ecological issues, more prone toward nihilistic attitudes, and more superstitious (Padgett

& Jorgenson, 1982). To some degree reflections of these themes can be found in earlier studies during the Great Depression (cf. Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938). If a democratic society depends upon the active participation of its citizenry, then the prevalence of unemployment in these times holds profound significance for our national character. Feelings of helplessness and hopelessness spread into the political domain create fertile ground for anarchy and dictatorship.

People who are hurting and who come to regard themselves as worthless manifest behaviors and attitudes which undercut the fibre of our society. To the degree that the "mainstream" of Canadian society is exposed to conditions which result in feelings of self-degradation and futility, who will there be to shoulder the responsibilities of rebuilding societal structures in more favorable times? People can not be "put on hold" for a period of months or years while the nation turns itself around. The fallout becomes multiplicative over time, expanding into all possible arenas of human concern.

A more optimistic view is possible. We believe that the crises of unemployment also hold opportunities for learning and for the development of strengths and strategies for the management of crisis and change. Specifically with respect to unemployment, we must develop interventions not only for the recovery of self-esteem but also for discovering new possibilities for and potentials within the individuals affected by unemployment. It is to this end that our research is directed, even though our methods will at best provide a modest initiation of new ways of understanding employment loss.

B. Direct and Indirect Influences on Individual Adaptability

Studies of unemployment have suggested a number of factors which critically influence the individual's ability to adapt successfully to this kind of life crisis. These range from personality and demographic variables to wider considerations such as the individual's family and social support network. In fact, one may even take into consideration variables descriptive of the wider environmental context which impinge upon the individual's perceptual framework, values and belief system. For the present, however, the scope of our analysis of factors relevant to individual adaptability will be limited to those variables descriptive of the person and his/her immediate social context.

A distinction can be made on the basis of how an individual adaptability factor functions. Some indices show direct relationships to the outcomes of unemployment, so that the more (or less) of the characteristic the individual possesses, the more (or less) favorable the outcome. These are generally known as "antecedent" or "causal" variables. Others serve more to mediate between an antecedent condition and an outcome and are, therefore, known as "mediating" variables. As an example, a personality variable such as "internal versus external control" has been viewed as a "cause" of the degree of emotional disruption a person feels from unemployment. A person who believes she can control her life in most of its dimensions might tend to feel more personal responsibility for being unemployed. To the contrary, an individual who believes that her fate is controlled by external forces might feel less upset about being unemployed, believing that it is the consequence of factors beyond her control.

It would be misleading to imply that causal variables can only

function as antecedents. Depending on the design of the study, a variable identified by some other research as a predictor of the outcomes of unemployment may function as a mediating variable. Consider the following relationship which helps to describe how a mediator operates. People may be distinguished according to the degree of felt involvement with their work and careers. This is analogous to adherence to a Protestant or work ethic. Take two individuals who are highly committed to their careers. Let us say that both of them have worked for about fifteen years in an organization and are suddenly terminated as a result of a plant closing. From previous research one would predict that people who are highly "job involved" might tend to suffer more emotionally and even physically as a result of unemployment. This is where the mediating influence of other variables can be considered. Using once again the internal versus external control variable, let us imagine that one of these career involved ex-employees happens to rate high on external control, indicating that she believes her fate to be largely controlled by external factors and that she influences her fate very little. With this additional light on the individual, we might now predict that this highly involved employee will not suffer quite as much because she tends to attribute the change in occupational status to external factors instead of blaming herself. The other employee who has similarly high job involvement but tends to rate high on internal control would in all likelihood be more subject to the strain of unemployment because not only is she very involved with her career but she also tends to blame herself for failures.

The thing to keep in mind in reviewing the section below is that

these antecedent conditions may function in a direct relationship with the outcomes of unemployment (causal) or they may tend to interact with other variables (mediating), including processes, in determining outcomes. Let us now look at some of the variables which would be pertinent to an understanding of the individual's experience of unemployment and his/her ability to cope constructively during this period.

Personality. Personality is a wide ranging and ambiguous construct and not nearly as concrete as certain biographical considerations. In a sense, personality may be seen as a generalized assessment of the products of a person's developmental history. Since it is difficult to ask all of the pertinent questions that one might want to about an individual's past, personality tests have been developed to summarize in terms of present beliefs and statements about oneself who the individual is. In considering how a person will respond to unemployment or whether an individual might successfully master the developmental tasks with which he or she is confronted, personality constructs become important. Past research has yielded only a few suggestions as to relevant personality constructs. These include the variables of self-esteem (Cohn, 1978; Hartley, 1980; Nelson, 1981), internal versus external control (Cohn, 1978; Fineman, 1979), fear of failure (Frankl, 1963; Fineman, 1979), cognitive complexity (Fineman, 1979), a sense of coherence (Dimsdale, 1976), existential meaning (Frankl, 1963), optimism, and behavioral flexibility (Fineman, 1979; Caplan et al, 1975).

One must bear in mind when considering personality the problem of assessing causality. Take, for example, the variable of self-esteem. It has been demonstrated that low self-esteem may adversely affect an

individual's chances of coping successfully with unemployment. However, it is also true that the experience of unemployment tends to adversely effect self-esteem (cf. Nelson, 1981; Cohn, 1978; Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938). An individual who enters a period of unemployment with low self-esteem is likely to experience even lower self-regard during this time. Yet, an individual with high self-esteem will also be negatively impacted. Thus, if one compares unemployed and employed individuals, the findings should indicate a difference in self-esteem with the unemployed having lower levels. This does not mean that the unemployed become so as a result of having had lower self-esteem, but rather that the experience itself creates conditions by which individuals feel lower self-regard. Not to lose the point, when considered as an antecedent variable, self-esteem is important in that an individual with a low level at the onset of unemployment may be very much at risk of psychological and physical deterioration.

Work Attitudes. There are a number of constructs in the area of work attitudes that are pertinent to the study of the unemployed. These constructs are of relatively recent origin and therefore cannot be found in earlier (e.g., Great Depression) studies of unemployment. Simplistically, the way that an individual feels about work, the degree to which he or she is involved or invested in a career, and the extent to which the person adheres to what has traditionally been known as the Protestant work ethic will determine to some degree how the person feels about being unemployed (Jans, 1982; Warr, Cook & Wall, 1979). Recent studies have identified a construct of work-or job involvement which is essentially an index of how much the person identifies with or gains intrinsic satisfaction from his or her work. This

construct can be further subdivided into involvement with a specific job versus involvement with a career. In this way one can distinguish between an individual's feelings about a specific job which may be more or less positive versus his or her feelings about the long-term investment of a career. The more an individual feels invested in a job or career, the more disrupted he or she will feel as a result of a sudden displacement. The variable also has implications for how the individual will respond to unemployment. If, for example, an individual is highly committed to a particular career and that career is available only in certain locales, adaptation to unemployment may lack flexibility. That is, he may be less willing to consider other options. More specific feelings about involvement in one's job also have relevance. If a person has gained very few intrinsic rewards from a job, he or she may not feel terribly upset about being unemployed. In fact, this may create the occasion for a more meaningful search for and exploration of other job possibilities (Little, 1976).

When work or career involvement is construed as more of a personality variable, that is, a stable trait of the individual as opposed to something that is situationally influenced, we have greater possibilities for prediction of outcomes and adaptations. It has been suggested for instance, that males derive much of their self-definition or self-esteem from their identity with jobs and careers. Removal of the worker role from the repertoire of roles that the individual has can have serious consequences in that such an action attacks the very core of the male's identity. In this we can see a possible connection between self-esteem and work involvement through the processes of unemployment.

The dilemma for many individuals is that they have been socialized in such a way as to expect life-long, full-time employment. Indeed, they have been conditioned to equate their personal meaning in the world with their occupational identity and even though they may be employed at a very low occupational level with relatively little status, the fact is that such employment is infinitely better than the status of the unemployed - assuming the individual has bought into the predominant belief system.

The Protestant work ethic and adherence to it adds another dimension to this problem. The interaction of socio-religious values in this ethic have deep implications for an individual's well-being. For if one must work hard and be committed to industrious involvements in order to gain salvation, what happens to that person's sense of psychological and spiritual safety when he is removed from the job market and finds himself without the possibility of other gainful involvement? This may not occur so much in the fishing outports where people can invest themselves in subsistence activities, but in more urban environments or even in rural environments that are more restricted in terms of their possibilities, the sense of failure and inadequacy in meeting ones' standard for life may be perceived as "damning".

Work History. Another consideration which plays into the experience of unemployment is the person's job history (McNabb & Woodward, 1982). This includes not only how long the person has been working but also such factors as: 1) number of jobs, 2) types of jobs, 3) tenure at different jobs, 4) periods of unemployment, 5) satisfaction with jobs, 6) reasons for leaving previous jobs, 7) career progressions

in work experience, and 8) conditions of termination in the person's last job.

While these and other factors may be important, the relative significance of such work experiences can vary from person to person. Previous research has generally found that the frequency and extent of unemployment in a person's background tends to have prognostic implications for the person's adaptation in unemployment. In part, this means that a person who has spent a large amount of time in unemployment may have developed coping skills to handle the emotional turmoil of unemployment, but on the other hand may be at risk of becoming a permanent listing on the welfare roles.

As noted earlier another factor which has been singled out has to do with satisfaction with one's work (Little, 1976). To the degree that a person did not enjoy previous work experiences, a period of unemployment may be viewed more positively - as an opportunity for the person to retrain or to rethink career paths.

Level of occupation also has implications in that managerial and professional level employees seem to have different options as well as issues in adaptation. Partly this seems to overlap with the variable of job involvement since professional and managerial employees tend to have higher degrees of commitment to job and career. Also, a person who has worked as an unskilled laborer may have, in a poor employment market, numerically greater options than does a person who is highly specialized. In the Atlantic fishery much of an individual's employment history may be dictated by prevailing local or provincial conditions. There are comparatively few occupational outlets in the Atlan-

tic provinces and particularly in the fishing outports people seem to make career choices which are largely contingent upon one industry. As such, an individual's work pattern may be substantially dictated by external factors which, in turn, create certain internal psychological expectations about work, its place in life and future prospects. As an example, people who are unwilling to move to other provinces or even to other regions of the same province due to family or other reasons may tend to see themselves as "victims" of declining prospects in the fishing industry.

Role Structure. Running through the above characteristics of the individual is a construct which we will label role structure (Biddle & Thomas, 1966). This refers to the types and number of roles that an individual fills in life. Other aspects of the role structure would include the degree of flexibility of roles, the relationship of an individual's role to others' roles, the complexity of roles, the degree to which the person perceives these roles to be part of his or her identity (i.e., the degree to which a person can easily give up these roles or conversely feel strongly identified with them), and such other characteristics as age/stage/gender appropriateness of the roles (i.e., some roles may be more or less appropriate based on the individual's age, stage of life, career, or gender).

Not a great deal of unemployment research has been devoted to this particular topic. What little research exists seems to suggest that if an individual has alternate roles available during a period of unemployment, he or she may tend to adjust better (Cohn, 1978). As an example, it has been indicated that individuals with higher levels of

education who presumably have a richer and more complex role structure tend to adapt better to problems in unemployment.

Research which examines the changes in role structure as a result of unemployment tends to be more abundant. However, these studies have more to do with the consequences of unemployment than with antecedent factors. It should be evident that unemployment necessarily produces opportunities for changes in roles (Cohn, 1978; Fineman, 1979; Gore, 1978; Moen, 1980; Schlossberg, 1982). The extent to which an individual actually takes on new roles or shifts the distribution of his or her time to various roles has important implications for the experience of unemployment. As an example, unemployed men who took on more "household roles" felt more negatively about themselves, i.e., had lower self-esteem. On the other hand, we might see in the Atlantic fishery possibilities for changes whereby individuals move from being employed in a fishing plant to being self-employed entrepreneurs making and marketing products in a cottage industry.

Coping Styles. In the area of stress research an interesting new development has been the notion of coping styles or the ways in which individuals approach stressful situations (Brammer & Abrego, 1982; Schlossberg, 1982; Lowenthal, Thurnher & Chiriboga, 1975; Vaillant, 1977). If one considers the habitual nature of human behavior, it can readily be appreciated that people have stylistic ways of dealing with problems. Some people withdraw, others aggress, others diverge into creative new actions. Very little of this research has been, to our knowledge, applied to the area of unemployment. -However, the application of this work can be derived from an analysis of an

individual's prior history of coping with crisis, whether the crisis is one of unemployment or some other major developmental task or personal dilemma. If an individual continually waits to be rescued and has a history of having been rescued, then one would predict that in a current crisis of unemployment the person would do very little in terms of initiating responses. Interestingly, this construct can be looked upon at a community level as well in terms of how a community historically has adapted to crisis. Did it typically wait until it was rescued by outside forces or agents? Did it proactively sponsor initiatives for change? Did it respond in a bellicose manner?

To some extent this particular construct offers much promise for intervention strategies. Individuals who have not been exposed to a wide variety of behavioral styles may not conceive of certain options in responding. Through educational interventions the possibility of acting in different ways may be imparted to individuals so that the response repertoire is enhanced. In all probability, by having a wider range of choices in coping styles, individuals can reflectively consider a list of constructive alternatives for dealing with present dilemmas.

Financial Status. Some studies have implicitly taken into account the financial well being of individuals effected by unemployment. Others have more directly addressed the question of the financial resources available to the unemployed person (Little, 1976; Moen, 1980). It is obvious that a person who has financial resources whether they be his/her own or available through other sources such as family and friends will have a slightly greater degree of freedom for viewing

options or adapting during the early part of an unemployment experience. Persons who have no financial resources may be forced immediately into rather difficult situations including having to move out of their homes, selling their cars, going into bankruptcy, etc. Ultimately, such individuals run a greater risk of ending up on the welfare rolls if other employment possibilities do not emerge. One might also surmise that under severe economic conditions highly dysfunctional actions including crime and violence may result.

There is no way of guaranteeing that people will have financial resources available to them when plants close down or industries run into trouble. As will be discussed in greater detail, interviews in the Atlantic fishery suggest that many individuals have been coping for many years on marginal incomes which provide little surplus to be stored away for harder times. Thus, educational initiatives about the values of saving or investing may not be very appropriate in areas where chronic underemployment has prevailed.

Social Support. Of all the variables mentioned thus far, the one that stands out as being most critical for contending with crisis is that of social support (Caplan et al., 1975; Gore, 1978; Schlossberg, 1982; Brammer & Abrego, 1982). Social support may be construed quite generally as the network of relationships that an individual has available. Network analysis would focus on types of relationships, their history, the functions they serve, their duration, the valence of these relationships (i.e., positive or negative), resources provided by the relationships, etc. The value of a well constructed and maintained social support network can be seen not only in terms of the emotional

bolstering that is available to the individual, but also in terms of the opportunities that might be created through these relationships.

One can extend the notion of a social support network to include membership in clubs and organizations. In this way the interaction between individual well-being and community well-being might be more clearly envisioned. As an example, a community that has few organized groups, few religious centers, few clubs, etc. provides limited emotional and material support resources for the individual. To the extent that such groups or organizations exist, the likelihood that people will use them is enhanced. Certainly informal groupings may develop in crisis situations, but these do not have the historical balast that extant organizations can offer.

Certain kinds of social structures such as churches and religious affiliations deserve special attention. These kinds of organizations not only serve social and humanitarian functions, but they also cater to the individual's spiritual needs. In particularly hard times and when affected by severe crisis, individuals may have little resort other than to look after their spiritual well-being.

The Family. The family may be viewed as a subset of the individual's social support system (Cohn, 1976; Fineman, 1979; Schlossberg, 1982; Brammer & Abrego, 1982). The advantage of considering the family separately is that we can gain deeper insights from an understanding of the family system and its dynamics. Also, the family stands to be impacted immediately and extensively by unemployment. Further, there have been a number of studies pointing to the historical roots of unemployment in the person's family history. Children of

Children of unemployed fathers have a greater chance of becoming unemployed themselves, for example. Families are relevant in other aspects as well. The individual's aspirations, perceived mobility and financial needs will be largely contingent upon the family. One may also consider family roots as another dimension of the issue. In the Atlantic fishery extended family networks dating back for generations predominant. Such family systems may mandate requisite conditions for support (e.g., once a person leaves the province, he is on his own), as well as implying boundaries for occupational choices. Viewed more straightforwardly, people may be less willing to move to another area if their family roots are extensively entrenched in one area.

Family traditions can also have a bearing on individual coping strategies for unemployment (Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1938; Stafford, Jackson & Banks, 1980; MacLean, 1977). In the family lore there may be plentiful examples of how family members coped with situations like this. Further, if the family tradition is one whereby an individual comes to expect that he or she will live a certain type of life, e.g., as a fisherman, then aspirations towards upward mobility or other kinds of careers may not be reinforced. So, if the fishing industry is adversely affected in the long term, the coping potential of an individual may be severely hampered if he or she is unwilling to consider alternate career paths.

It is essential to bear in mind the circularity of family dynamics. The construct of family system is relevant not only as an antecedent but also as a consequence. Episodes of family violence, changes of roles, disruptions in functioning, deterioration and breakup may all be seen as outgrowths of dysfunctional adaptations. One needs to con-

sider the family "in transition" over the period of unemployment. Just as we can examine individual adaptation and change, so too we can entertain analysis of how the family adapts during this period along with long term implications.

Demographic and Biographical Considerations. This last category includes such obvious factors as the individual's age, sex, level of education, social status, etc. These variables can have a strong bearing on unemployment processes, yet in themselves represent indirect assessments of underlying dynamics (Brammer & Abrego, 1982; Fineman, 1979; Schlossberg, 1982; Stafford, Jackson & Banks, 1980). For example, gender has been examined for its relevance to unemployment in that males and females are expected to have different values about work. Of course, the validity of this assertion is highly contingent upon the degree to which the individual fits the stereotype. The same can be said for age, where age refers to such composite considerations as: number of jobs a person has had, the individual's stage of life, the physical and mental capacities of the person, available resources, etc.

While these kinds of variables are of interest, they are perhaps most valuable in suggesting underlying dynamics. Essentially, if we are concerned with change or assisting people to adapt, demographic considerations such as age and gender are largely relevant in contextualizing interventions or identifying resources and adaptation skills that are more or less likely to exist for a particular age or gender group. However, we cannot change these factors. We cannot alter an individual's age or gender. Realistically, the fact that a community may be made up of mostly older individuals or have a predominately fe-

male work force may aid our understanding and our approach to the problem, but is not in itself the target of intervention or change.

C. Individuals "At Risk"

Based on previous research and our informed assumptions about human adaptation, we are proposing certain dimensions or characteristics of individuals who, upon entering a period of unemployment, are more likely to experience "negative" outcomes. Such consequences may tend to occur in one domain (e.g., health) rather than in others (e.g., financial, social), or may spread out in such a fashion as to influence all domains of the person's well-being.

We have not attempted to order these dimensions in a hierarchy of significance since this would strain the plausibility of our argument. Instead, they are listed in categories which allow a rough analysis of how the variables might be linked to outcome measures. In essence, we are predicting that the more of the following characteristics that apply to a person affected by unemployment, the more "at risk" that individual will be to psychological, physiological, social, and economic decline:

The "at risk" person can be characterized as having:

Personality

- low behavioral flexibility
- low cognitive complexity
- a pessimistic outlook
- tendency to "project" responsibility
- high anxiety
- high "external control" or high "internal control"
- a passive behavioral action pattern
- a lack of "existential meaning"; absence of a "sense of coherence"
- high behavioral dependency

- a tendency toward depression ("learned helplessness")
- history of mental disorder, self and family
- inadequate coping response patterns
- tendency toward aggressive, hostile acting-out

Work History

- a history of unemployment
- low skill variety
- career rigidity
- overidentification with work and career
- pattern of downward mobility
- low average job tenure
- high rate of job grievances
- habitual dissatisfaction with work experience

Physical Health

- poor health, including history of injury
- poor nutritional habits
- substance abuse, including alcohol and drugs
- few physical outlets, including exercise
- tendency toward stress disorders, including high blood pressure, hypertension, ulcers, coronary heart disease

Life Changes

- high number of life changes in past 2 years for self and family
- valence (positive or negative) of changes is mostly negative

Social and Family

- low social support in community
- low social support in family
- few friends
- history of social avoidance
- few professional supports, including doctors, clergy, social service personnel
- feelings of isolation and alienation
- geographical distance from important supports
- social context - urban setting rather than rural

Economic

- low cash reserves or "liquid" assets
- few economic resources in support system
- renting home or having mortgage payments
- few opportunities for subsistence activities
- limited opportunities for barter arrangements
- history of indebtedness
- low skill proficiency in budgeting

Religious

- little or no support from religious affiliation
- lack of "spiritual" orientation, including "existential" meaningfulness of life

Keep in mind that the above list has been developed with specific reference to the Atlantic fishery and may be less appropriate to other environments. Also, we have looked at issues through the individual's perspective so that the delineation of potential remedial or preventive interventions may be less evident than if we analyzed these same concerns from the community level. As an example, a community analysis might lead us to examine the number of recreational outlets, organized clubs, or social facilities in a community; the history of economic crises successfully or unsuccessfully encountered; religious communities and the effectiveness of their leadership; natural resources available for the initiation of other industries; human resources available for industrial development; climactic and geographical features; etc. These community level variables are pertinent to the individual, but are represented in the above list through a different "frame of reference".

**ADAPTATION PROCESSES:
MODELS FOR INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENTS
TO EMPLOYMENT LOSS**

Moving from a "static" analysis of the unemployed individual to a "dynamic" modeling of the experience over time, we begin with a review of descriptions of change processes which have been observed and documented in the lives of individual adults. Though the descriptions have

TABLE 1.1 Synopsis of change models in alphabetical order

AUTHOR	TYPE OF CHANGE	SOURCE OF DATA
° Amundson & Borgen (1982)	employment loss & unemployment	°counselling literature and employment counsellors in Canada.
° Bakke (1940)	employment loss & prolonged unemployment	°interviews with several hundred unemployed workers & their families over 8 yrs. in New Haven, Connecticut documentation, & professional sources.
° Briar (1977)	employment loss & unemployment	°interviews with workers and their families in England.
° Eisenberg & Lazarfeld (1938)	employment loss & unemployment	°review of extant social research on the unemployment
° Harrison (1976)	employment loss & unemployment	°synthesis of outcomes from five studies: Sinfield (1970); Jones (1972); Herron (1975); Gould and Kenyon (1972); Marsden & Duff (1975), all studies of unemployment and poverty in England.
° Hayes & Nutman (1981)	employment loss & unemployment	°adoption of Hopson and Adams (1976) model of adaptation to change.
° Hill, J. (1978)	employment loss & unemployment	°British study of the unemployed.
° Hill, R. (1965)	families in a variety crisis including death, hospitalization, adoptions, alcoholism, divorce, reunions, etc.	°Summary of findings in family crisis research by family sociologists.
° Hopson & Adams (1976)	general model of transitions	°based on interview study with graduate students on the nature of their professional change process.

TABLE 1.1: Synopsis of Change Models (continued)

AUTHOR	TYPE OF CHANGE	SOURCE OF DATA
◦ Jackson (1956)	family adaptation to alcoholism in the family.	
◦ Kaplan & Mason (1965)	maternal reactions and premature birth.	◦ interviews with 60 families over a period of 2 months following birth.
◦ Levine (1976)	adaptation process of U.S. draft evaders to Canada.	◦ interviews with 60 American military expatriates.
◦ Lindemann (1965)	bereavement for a lost relative	◦ observations and series of interviews with 101 patients who lost relatives through illness and disaster.
◦ Marris (1974)	bereavement; rehousing, where new house implies new way of life; graduation into an educated elite; etc.	◦ bereavement among widows in England, slum clearance in Nigeria and U.S., students' experience of university
◦ Moos & Tsu (1976)	general description of stages coping with transitions and crisis.	◦ review of crisis theory literature with roots in Lindemann's work (above) other settings such as concentration camp survival
◦ Rapaport, L. (1965)	general description of stages in coping with crisis.	◦ review of crisis theory frameworks in psychiatry
◦ Taylor (1979)	development of self-direction in a formal educational setting.	◦ a series of intensive interviews with 12 graduate students during a graduate course.
◦ Tyhurst (1957)	response pattern to disasters	

been drawn from a wide range of contexts of experience there is remarkable similarity in how change evolves. Generic features can be identified which might be expected in personal change in general. From this a-basis can be found for developing hypotheses and questions about what changes may occur for fish plant communities in outport communities.

In Table 1.1 studies pertaining to individual change processes have been listed. Of these studies, only three are panel studies, that is, the data were collected **over time** from the same study participants. Research by Bakke, Lindemann, and Taylor, therefore, offer the most detailed accounts of the process of change which, as a phenomenon, is constituted by a time dimension.

The Taylor model of psycho-social change was chosen as the template with which to interpret data in the study of adaptation to employment loss in the Atlantic fishery (specifically fish plant operations) for two reasons. First, **it includes the dimension of social relationship events as integral, specifically timed events** in the process of constructive change. While the literature is replete with reference to the importance of social resources in the effective management of change, few of the other models include, in as much detail, the type and timing of social events in the description of the process per se. We believe that this social dimension may be one of the important connections between the individual and community levels of this study. Second, the Taylor model was derived from a context of experience which might be considered ideal for maximizing personal initiative and self-direction.

Keeping in mind the environmental constraints of an outport

(factors beyond the individual's control) the Taylor model poses a frame of reference which searches for the conditions and range of possibility for initiatives which support personal well-being and self interests. "Adaptation" is not seen here as simply "fitting in" or "surviving" for the moment. Rather it is assumed that an adaptive outcome of adult change contributes maximally to a sense of competence in managing one's life and a capability for personal autonomy (Argyal, 1941; Moos, 1976). Employment loss poses a tremendous threat to an individual's level of autonomy. Nevertheless, it would seem that a frame of reference (template) for the data which describes a decremental process (e.g., Hill, 1978; Amundson & Borgen, 1982; Eisenberg & Lazarfeld, 1978; Harrison, 1976; Briar, 1977) offers little in terms of a guide for intervention which makes a difference for the better. The Taylor model focuses attention on questions of "how to" rather than "how not to".

Since the Taylor model will be used as the template for interpreting data collected in this study, it will be used here as the model against which other descriptions of the change process are compared. The comparison discussion which follows is organized in relation to the phases and phase transitions of the Taylor model. Prior to this detailed comparison, it will be summarized below.

A. Summary of the Taylor Model of Psycho-Social Change

A psycho-social transition involves both psychological and environmental reorganization. Parkes (1971) has distinguished the former as one's "assumptive world" (interpretations, expectations, plans,

etc.) and the latter as one's "life space" (a term borrowed from Kurt Lewin signifying people, events, roles, material objects, etc.). Changes in the life space are believed to provoke reorganization of the assumptive world and vice versa. The conceptual representation of personal change process which follows describes how the restructuring of the assumptive world occurs in the experience of a person over time. It also provides a basis for exploring the relationship between aspects of this process and change in salient features of a person's life space such as employment, family relationships, community and the like.

The process pattern consists of four qualitatively different phases or seasons occurring in a consistent order and in relation to a precipitating problem or pivotal concern. These phases are as follows:

- °Divergence-Disorientation: A period of intensive disorientation and confusion accompanied by a crisis of confidence and withdrawal from other persons associated with the source of confusion.
- °Engagement-Exploration: Beginning with relaxation with the unresolved issue, an intuitively-guided, collaborative, open-ended exploration and gathering of insights, confidence and satisfaction.
- °Convergence-Re-orientation: Out of a reflective review of experience in solitude, a major insight or synthesis experience simultaneous with a new approach or activity.
- °Detachment-Equilibrium: Following an occasion to share one's major synthesis with relevant other persons, a period of equilibrium in which the new perspective is elaborated, applied, and refined.

The sequence is most adequately represented as a cycle or helix since the disorientation phase (divergence) arises out of an experience of equilibrium (detachment) similar to the final phase described here. The sequence can be visually represented as shown in Figure 1.1

The process begins when a constellation of expectations (aspects on one's assumptive world) is contradicted or disconfirmed by an un-

familiar yet relevant experience (e.g., employment loss, changes in important relationships). A sense of psychological equilibrium is lost and one is thrown into a state of confusion, disorientation, and ambivalence which characterizes the divergence phase. There is a tendency to withdraw from other people, particularly those related to the source of confusion. This phase can be drawn out by denial of the confusion. It is at this point that we might expect psycho-physical stress to be maximal and psychological defenses to be most prominent.

The shift out of the divergence phase occurs when the person is able to name the source of the confusion in a way that blames neither self nor others. This event is associated with an affirmation from a respected, credible other person relevant to the source of disruption. This phase transition marks the shift from the **recovery** portion of the sequence to the **discovery** portion. The person is now able to relax without resolution of the issue and enter into an intuitively-guided exploration (engagement) through which (s)he gathers insights, satisfaction and confidence. The social pattern here places one in collaboration with others who have similar or complementary concerns.

The third phase, convergence, bursts out of a reflective period at the close of the engagement phase. This phase constitutes a major synthesis or new personal understanding of what provoked the crisis or disruption in the first place. This re-orientation of one's perspective is simultaneous with acting on the basis of the new point of view. The phase begins in solitude and through it there is a tremendous surge of confidence. It closes with the sharing of this new perspective or discovery with relevant other persons.

Figure 1.1: Four-phased Personal Development Change Process

The fourth phase is a return to equilibrium where there are applications of the new discovery. Relationships with others related to the change theme are more instrumental, that is, initiated in the light of preconceived purposes. Figure 1.2 summarizes ten points which appear critical in the sense that their occurrence is essential to the occurrence of subsequent points.

B. Comparison of Adaptation Process Descriptions

Throughout this comparison of conceptual formulations of individual change process will be interspersed impressions of how this may be reflected in the experience of fish plant workers in Newfoundland out-ports.

First Phase Transition: From Equilibrium (Detachment) to Disorientation (Divergence)

The first critical point in the change sequence occurs when a person's expectations and assumptions are contradicted or disconfirmed by an unfamiliar experience (Taylor, 1979). The term "divergence" was chosen to represent the definitive psychological quality of the phase as a person's experienced reality diverging away from his/her preconceptions or conceptual "map" of that reality. Four of the six change process formulations in the literature where employment loss was the precipitating event describe the first event in the series as "shock" (Eisenberg and Lazarfeld, 1938; Briar, 1977; Harrison, 1976). Hill (1977) identifies an "initial response" phase of which the first of two descriptors is "traumatic". Hopson and Adams (1976) observe a quality of "immobilization" with the period of "shock". Hayes and Nutman (1981), using the Hopson and Adams formulation, state:

The person is overwhelmed by the event and is unable to reason, plan or understand what is happening. They are in a state of shock which is experienced as a feeling of numbness towards reality. (p. 11)

Tyhurst (1957) in his general description of crises calls this a "period of impact". Lindemann's (1965) classic study of persons bereaved by the deaths of relatives reports somatic symptoms such as "complaint about lack of strength and exhaustion" and "digestive symptoms" to accompany the initial shock.

An important question at this point is the identification of the specific event or experience which precipitates the change sequence. **An environmental event (change in one's life space) in combination with the individual's meaning of the event** originates the change which is experienced at this point as a disruption (Parkes, 1971; Adams, Hayes & Hopson, 1976). Employment loss will be experienced by different individuals and sectors of the population in different ways according to the psychological investment one has in employment and how dependent one is on the income derived. As observed in earlier, the meaning and place of work in people's lives varies considerably. We might expect that an urban executive with high career aspirations and, therefore, intensive job involvement would experience receiving a "pink slip" as a powerful and instantaneous disruption. Descriptions of processes of adaptation to employment loss have been focused on urban-industrial populations and not on the experience of people who live and work in small communities and rural areas. While employment for most people is vital as a source of income, we expect to find differences between rural and urban populations with respect to the extent that employment is the primary source of self-identity and fulfillment (Hayes & Nutman, 1981). It is possible that precipitating events in

this study, then, will centre as much or more so on events that mark changes in family and community which accrue from employment rather than receipt of a "pink slip" per se.

Phase One: Divergence-Disorientation

The experience of having one's expectations disconfirmed or contradicted and the loss of an expected ongoing state of affairs (equilibrium) is followed, in every change process sequence extant in the literature, by a period of stress, vulnerability and socio-emotional disruption. Remarkably, this seems to be the case whether the precipitating change was self-initiated or involuntary. Change of any noticeable magnitude seems to imply the experience of crisis whether it has an initially favorable meaning or not, since any change of any kind implies loss of something in which we had previously been personally invested (Marris, 1976).

It is in this phase of a change process that psychological defenses or self-protective behavior come into play to deal with the stress, embarrassment, fear, anxiety, and/or pain which is experienced. Tyhurst (1957) describes a "period of recoil" which follows the "period of impact". The timing and quality of psychologically defensive behavior varies in the literature describing change processes. In general, forms of denial where reported tend to occur prior to the characteristic confusion and disorganization of this phase. Forms of "escape" and anti-social behavior where reported tend to occur after at least an initial period of confusion. The sequencing of these various aspects of the phase as presented here is suggestive rather than definitive.

Denial All of the formulations pertaining directly to employment loss report some form of denial as an initial response to the experience. Eisenberg and Lazarfeld (1938) state that the individual "is still optimistic and unresigned; he still maintains an unbroken attitude" (p. 378). Others (Harrison, 1976; Hill, 1977; Briar, 1977; Adams & Hopson, 1976; Amundson & Borgen, 1982) mention "optimism", "denial" or "minimization". Amundson and Borgen (1982) have imported Kübler-Ross' death and dying sequence as the initial stages of employment loss, of which the first, "denial", is the initial response. R. Hill (1965) refers to stages of family adjustment to a member's alcoholism (cf. Jacobson, 1956), noting that the first two stages are typically: (1) attempts to deny the problem and (2) attempts to eliminate the problem.

The characteristic behavior of unemployed persons at this denial point is to initiate job search activities with the expectation that the period of unemployment will be short. Bakke's study (1940) observed that workers expected to be reemployed at the same plant initially.

No new employment plans are made. The future of the problem situation is considered short. The imminence of a return of good fortune inhibits any unusual long-range planning. (p. 157)

This perspective remains the same essentially in Bakke's first two stages, "momentum stability" and "unstable equilibrium", until, at the end of the latter, "chances of re-employment in the same industry or in a similar occupation fade and customary channels of search are unsuccessful" (p. 159).

Anger: Using the Kübler-Ross sequence, Amundson and Borgen

(1982) postulate a period of anger which "can be directed both inward and outward".

A person can be angry at him-herself for not taking action earlier and angry at the company for the termination order (p. 562).

Briar (1977) makes reference to a point in the process of blame directed toward "the system" which, presumably, would be manifested as anger. The Taylor (1979) study observed a dimension of hostility and blame toward self and others, including authority figures, when people were in protracted "divergence-disorientation". In the Taylor study, this behavior typically followed rather than preceded a period of confusion and disorientation. Other change process descriptions, presented below, also place expressions of anger later in the sequence of divergence phase events.

Bargaining Amundson and Borgen (1982) are the only writers to mention "bargaining" as a distinct step in this process, again, ostensibly derived from the Kübler-Ross frame of reference. Taylor observed at least one participant in a pilot study on employment loss among executive personnel who exemplified this step in his experience. Sporadic evidence of the occurrence of bargaining in the process suggests that its occurrence is associated with special rather than common circumstances.

Confusion, Disorganization, Withdrawal, Depression: The profoundly characteristic experience of this phase is vulnerability which inevitably involves confusion and disorientation as well as social isolation and some form of assault to the self which can range from shaken self confidence to serious depression.

(i) Confusion and Disorientation

Understandably, any considerable change presents us with a set of circumstances with which we are unfamiliar. We are without relevant interpretations, approaches and tools with which to deal with it. One participant in the Taylor (1979) study exclaimed:

Since I didn't come armed with any knowledge, presuppositions, or any assumptions, I was just sort of there on my own, not knowing what's going on. (p. 144)

Another observed,

I wasn't even at the point where I could...articulate what my difficulty was.

As observed above, Adams and Hopson (1976) hint at this experience in their designation of the "immobilization" stage. They see "immobilization" as synonymous with:

...a sense of being overwhelmed; of being unable to make plans, unable to reason, and unable to understand.

Levine (1976) who observed American draft evaders in the 60's in Toronto noticed that, following an initial relief at getting over the border, they were "confused, unprepared and floundering." Lindemann noted in the bereaved:

The sensorium is generally somewhat altered. There is commonly a sense of unreality, a feeling of increased emotional distance from other people...

Kaplan and Mason (1965) have described the phases of adaptation of a mother to a premature delivery. They report:

There is a rise of tension which may push to a peak. There is also a general feeling of helplessness. In part, this may be a state of confusion wherein the individual literally does not know how to think of his problem, how to evaluate reality, and how to formulate and evaluate possibilities for problem solving. In extreme states, there may be perceptual confusion such as in the temporal or spatial sense. (p. 28)

They go on to note a dimension of disorganization in activity, a quality which is also observed by Bakke's (1940) study of the experience of

the unemployed:

Practical problems of 'getting by' absorb most of the family's energy and, together with confusion and dismay, inhibit attention to rationalization. (p. 166)

Confusion which results from the absence of a workable frame of reference can be experienced as ambivalence or inner conflict reported by Marris (1974) specifically in relation to describing the behavior of the bereaved:

...they may be desperately lonely, yet shun company; they might try to escape reminders of their loss, yet cultivate memories of the dead...The ambivalence seems to express a complex conflict between the claims of the past and the future, which makes the present almost unbearably painful. (p. 28)

(ii) Loss of Confidence and/or Depression

It appears that change of any magnitude makes an assault on the person's sense of self to some degree. In the Taylor study this occurred in the form of erosion of individual's sense of competence, self-confidence and self esteem. Self-deprecating comments during this period were evident. In life situations such as loss of employment the assault is more severe and leads to some degree of hopelessness. Harrison (1976) calls the third stage in his sequence "pessimism" which is coincident with "boredom" and "declining self respect". Eisenberg and Lazarfeld (1938) report:

...where all efforts fail, the individual becomes pessimistic, anxious and suffers active distress; this is the most crucial state of all." (p. 378)

J. Hill (1978) found a similar tenor to his "intermediate phase" noting:

...they develop a kind of inertia that is psychologically debilitating. They feel insufficiently stimulated and undervalued. They describe their condition in terms of "depression", "boredom" and "laziness". They feel increasingly that they are becoming not only occupationally, but psychologi-

cally deskilled (p. 118).

Briar (1977) as presented by Hayes & Nutman (1981) adds similar observations:

Characteristic of this phase is the shifting of blame for the individual's predicament from the system to the self...and the onset of depression. (p. 16)

Hopson and Adams (1976) also designate a stage (the third in their schema) "depression", and speculate that the reason for it is...

...because they are just beginning to face up to the fact that there has been a change. Even if they have voluntarily created this change themselves, there is likely to be this dip in feelings (p. 11).

Levine's (1976) draft evaders were observed to experience this erosion as "feelings of ambivalence and guilt...and (sometimes) suicidal impulses" (p.216).

(iii) Withdrawal and Social Isolation

Simultaneous with the pain of this phase is the remarkably consistent pattern of withdrawal from other people. Levine (1976) observed "a sense of isolation, loneliness and psychic pain". The Taylor (1979) study found that people in this state of disorientation and disruption withdrew from others who were perceived to be significant and associated with the source of confusion (e.g., knowledgeable students and the instructor). The confused person's willingness and/or ability to communicate is considerably reduced.

I just sat there like a lump with a dissatisfied expression on my face and ...I just couldn't participate in the group and couldn't talk. That's not like me (p. 201).

Amundson and Borgen (1982) suggest that in the "depression" stage, "the person is lethargic and simply wants to be left alone" (p. 562). Isolation can be increased by hampered perceptual and social interaction abilities. One participant in the Taylor study stated:

I realize than when I'm in a bad mood I totally misinterpret what people are feeling and totally misinterpret what is going on in the class (p. 201).

There are, then, psychological origins of isolation which seem to be inherent in confused and depressive states. In life change instances such as employment loss, social contact is reduced significantly by altered patterns of activity. Several writers on employment loss observe that a significant loss of social contact occurs by being absent from the workplace itself (Bakke, 1940; Hill, 1978; Nelson, 1981). Bakke (1940) documents a pattern of gradual reduction in work colleague contacts shifting into "new contacts with other job seekers" which, in turn, are not sustained since they "have nothing to share but failure" (p. 160).

A serious source of reduction in social contact which effects not only the worker but his/her family as well is the radical financial limitations associated with unemployment (Hill, 1978). Bakke (1940) reports:

All recreational contacts involving expenditure are cancelled. Even family visiting and inexpensive social contacts are practically stopped because of lack of proper clothes, deterioration of home surroundings, etc. (p. 164)

He adds another potential negative financial effect on relationship patterns:

Pressure for assistance on friends who have been retained is increasingly resented by them and hence association is avoided by both parties. (p. 164)

Finally, Bakke (1940) observes that unemployment is a social embarrassment; it is unacceptable to self and is expected to be unacceptable to others. The initial pattern in the Bakke study was to put up "a social front". However, when this becomes too expensive as funds and credit run out, the tendency of unemployed families is to withdraw.

Another serious social phenomenon in employment loss literature is the strain which is placed on family relationships. Again, Bakke (1940) provides the most narrative detail presenting the experience:

Unemployment may damage the satisfaction involved in mutual association, may decrease the mutual respect, regard, and affection of members and substitute negative attitudes and reactions, thus removing incentives and lubricants for adjustment. (p. 179)

In the Bakke study "the routine of family life is disorganized" (p. 191) in ways that further eroded male workers' self-respect. He states that the conflict and frustration which can be generated in the home cannot be endured for long. "If the period does not end quickly the likelihood is that the family will be destroyed as a unit" (p. 201).

Whatever the situational dynamics, withdrawal and isolation is a feature of this phase. While in this sense the reaction is normative, it is also a dangerous trend since the individual's resources both within and outside him/herself are simultaneously at low ebb. As discussed more fully earlier, a consistent observation by researchers is the centrality of social support in mediating stress and facilitating constructive adaptation (e.g., Liem and Liem, 1978; Brown and Harris, 1978; Caplan, 1974). Reduction in social contact and deterioration in interpersonal relationships seem to occur at the very time that these qualities of life are most needed. Restoration of nourishing social contact is one of the ingredients in reversing the 'downward' trend.

Potentially Destructive Psychologically Defensive Behavior: In some circumstances, researchers and observers of individual behavior in this period of the change process have reported a range of psychological defenses which are manifest in response to the tremendous stress of

this phase. We understand psychological defenses to be neither constructive nor destructive in themselves (Vaillant, 1977) but rather to be assessed in the light of practical consequences for the individual in the long term. Some of the most dramatic forms of behavior have the potential for providing temporary relief from apparently unbearable stress and disruption. Such a reprieve may have restorative effects. All of them, however, have the potential for worsening the individuals' situation along social, physical and mental health dimensions.

(i) Social Patterns Which May Increase Isolation

The pattern of social isolation and withdrawal along with continued pressure on the individual described above can deteriorate into hostility and aggressivity toward others and other forms of anti-social behavior which in turn further isolates the individual. Levine (1976) noted a pattern of "exploitive and parasitic ...inter-personal relationships" and "superficiality and non-involvement" among draft evaders following the "isolation" and "pain" of the initial period of disorganization (p. 216). It was at this point also that "anti-social" and anti-conventional behavior, including such behavior as violence and theft, occurred.

Lindemann (1965) found the following extreme social reactions among the bereaved at this point: (1) "furious hostility against specific persons"; and (2) "hiding feelings ...(and becoming) wooden and formal, with affectivity and conduct resembling schizophrenic symptoms" (p. 15).

The Taylor (1979) study noted the development of competitiveness and aggressivity as the divergence-disorientation phase wore on. Frus-

tration and anxiety became directed outward, as one participant described himself:

When I compared myself to where other people were, I got a little aggravated at times 'cause for a second it hit me that other people ...seem to be pulling it together better than I am. (p. 203)

(ii) Modes of "Escape" Behavior

As the distress of the individual becomes more acute forms of escape may become manifest. Psychological "flights of fantasy", distortion of reality, and excessive use of alcohol and drugs would exemplify these. For instance, Levine's (1976) draft dodgers were observed to be more likely at this stage than at others to "indulge relatively heavily in drugs" (p. 216).

Lindemann's study (1965) of persons bereaved by the death of relatives reports such flight behavior as "morbid distorted reactions" in the form of "over-activity without [feeling] a sense of loss" and "acquisition of symptoms belonging to the deceased" (p. 14). Wiseman's (1976) account of the bereavement process includes mention of "traces of delusions, depersonalizations and hallucinations" (p. 267).

A defensive response which is reported in association with change and crisis in several different circumstances (Lindemann, 1965; Kaplan & Mason, 1965) is psychosomatic illness. Lindemann observed that the bereaved may develop a "medically recognized disease" (p. 14).

Another form of flight from the problem at this point is attempts to physically leave the problematic situation, as reported in the Jacobson (1956) stages of adjustment to alcoholism within the family.

With respect to this phase of change experience in the lives of fish plant workers in the face of employment loss, we are concerned to identify how individuals cope with this experience, what special

strengths and vulnerabilities they have, what resources they need, and what needed resources are available (an aspect of the community level of the study). The size of the communities would suggest that social isolation might be minimized, yet this might be offset by norms which offset by norms which inhibit acceptance and discussion of one's feelings of depression and disturbance. Additionally, social proximity might make some of the means of coping (such as hostile and angry behavior, escape behavior, etc.) less allowable. While the condition of being surrounded by others who are "in the same boat" might reduce the self-blame and the like, it might also make living with conditions which are destructive to one's well-being more acceptable.

Second Phase Transition: Shift out of Divergence-Disorientation

This is a most critical point in the sequence for two reasons. The first is that emergence from the pain, vulnerability and/or some of the defensive behavior which can be associated with the divergence phase is not a foregone conclusion. In the Taylor (1979) model, an instance of simply suspending an experienced problem occurred. The problem was limited to one specific setting in an individual's life and it was possible for him to avoid situations which would provoke aggravation and discomfort from the unresolved issue. The loss of employment, the death of a relative or a geographical move pervades one's life. In relation to such problems, avoidance may take more serious forms. For example, Levine (1976) and Lindemann (1965) both mention some manifestation of suicidal impulses. Also, Levine estimates that some, though less than five per cent, of the draft evaders "persist" in forms of "acting out" (such as anti-social behavior and

"relatively heavy use of drugs"). Psychological defense patterns which tend to emerge in the divergence-disorientation phase are generally destructive to one's well-being if they become a way of life.

In each of the descriptions of transition or change processes which have been referred to so far, there has been at least one if not a number of stages in the process which constitute what Tyhurst (1957) has called "the post-traumatic period". It is in this portion of the sequence that the descriptions of change begin to vary the most, ranging all the way from "fatalism" (Harris, 1976) to a series of steps in "reconstruction of a social reality" (Hopson & Adams, 1976) through which the individual is able to maximize his/her margin for meaningful and personally constructive initiatives (1979). The second reason that this point is crucial, then, is that beginning here, the individual is setting the groundwork for the interpretation (s)he will make of the transition experience. The importance of this resulting interpretation is that it will be carried forward in the form of expectations and assumptions of and predispositions toward future experiences and events. Conclusions that one is most likely helpless and that the future is to a great extent hopeless tend to persist as guides to behavior and self-fulfilling prophecies. Presumably, this interpretation is what Eisenberg and Lazarfeld (1938) have called "a broken attitude".

An important note at this point is our assumption that the outcome of a crisis or transition experience for an individual is a composite of: (1) the nature and magnitude of the transition circumstance with which the person is confronted; and (2) the resources within and around the individual to deal with it. Schlossberg (1982) has identified a number of characteristics of the nature of the transition which

which is likely to affect adaptation including whether it involves role changes which are a gain or loss, has primarily positive or negative emotional consequences, originates voluntarily or involuntarily, etc. A comparison of the outcomes of transitions described in change process formulations reviewed here reveals the consequences of prolonged unemployment in the experience of adults to be qualitatively among the most devastating with respect to demoralization and a sense of defeat. Harrison (1976) describes a sequence which ends in a stage he calls "fatalism", the sequence being visually depicted in Figure 1.3.

Eisenberg and Lazarfeld (1938), describing the 'end point' in their sequence of adaptation to unemployment, state:

...the individual becomes fatalistic and adapts himself to his new state but with a narrower scope. He has a broken attitude. (p. 378)

Hill (1978) describes the final phase as "settling down to unemployment":

Anxiety, struggle and hope all decline and the individual and his family adjust to the standard and lifestyle implied by living off benefit and being out of work (p. 119).

Briar (1977) describes the last phase of her transition-to-unemployment description as "inertia".

While several formulations on the transition to prolonged unemployment refer to some amelioration of the distress of unemployment simply with the passage of time (e.g., Hill, 1978), the experience is presented as one of ultimate helplessness and defeat. Hayes and Nutman (1981) and Bakke (1940) represent the post-traumatic period in a more complex and somewhat less devastating fashion, at least psychologically:

The onset of this stage is characterized by an acceptance that there has been a change and by "letting go" of the past and during this second stage the individual gradually begins to search for and test out new relationships between self and situation. If unemployment is prolonged and if re-call to the lost job fails to materialize then the individual must find and internalize a new identity. This process of readjustment is characterized by the third and final broad stage irrespective of whether the individual successfully re-enters the world of work in a new work role or continues in a state of unemployment.

Bakke (1940) notes that an important prerequisite of readjustment is

acceptance of the fact that achievements of the past can no longer be made standards for the satisfaction of achievements in the present. It is as though the period of disorganization and crisis unfreezes both the individual and his or her family and helps them to search for and find new values and standards better suited to the present (Hayes & Nutman, 1981, p. 18-19).

The differences in the degree of psychological devastation communicated among these descriptions of adaptations to being unemployed is the focus of the following discussion of this phase transition point. However, it is important to keep in mind while we turn to the question of what the literature suggests about what is involved in constructive individual adaptation to change, that all of these narratives on the experience of unemployment are consistent in their representation of this adaptive challenge as one of the most difficult.

The nature of the transition might, for the moment, be considered to set the range within which individual adaptation may vary from destructive to constructive (as defined above). Even within circumstances which are objectively major loss experiences (e.g. the death of a loved one), there are a range of subjective reactions which have been documented. Lindemann (1965) reports, on one hand, a variety of distorted and delayed grief reactions which may persist in the reactions of bereaved relatives. On the other hand, others are able to resolve the loss and ultimately "find an acceptable formulation of his future

relationship to the deceased" (p. 19). Jackson (1956) describes eventual "reorganization of the family without the spouse" where one parent is an alcoholic. R. Hill's observations (1965) of bereaved families describes an ultimate "recovery" and "renewal of routines".

The task for this phase transition point in a **constructive** adaptation sequence is described by Marris (1974) as follows:

When a pattern of relationships is disrupted in any way for which we are not fully prepared, the thread of continuity in the interpretation of life becomes attenuated or altogether lost. The loss may fundamentally threaten the integrity of the structure of meanings on which this continuity rests, and cannot be acknowledged without distress. But if life is to go on, the continuity must somehow be restored. When the loss is irretrievable **there must be a reinterpretation of what we have learned about our purposes and attachments** --the principles which underlie the regularity of experience-- radical enough to trace out the thread again. **To do this the loss must be accepted as something we have to understand** --not just an event that happened... [emphases added] (p. 21)

The concept of acceptance as an essential element of **constructive** change is common in many of the process descriptions which have been reviewed here (e.g. Lindemann, 1965; Hayes & Nutman, 1981, as derived from Hopson & Adams, 1976; Bakke, 1940; Amundson & Borgen, 1981 as derived from Kübler-Ross, 1969). It should be contrasted with the observation of "fatalism" in formulations of change process where the individual's experience is ultimately one of defeat. Constructive acceptance is presented as a matter of "letting go" of the past (Amundson & Borgen, 1981; Bakke, 1940) and involving "correct cognitive perception, which is furthered by seeking new knowledge and keeping the problem in consciousness" (Rapaport, 1965, p. 29). Lindemann (1965)

speaks of the necessity of the bereaved to "emancipate self from bondage to the deceased". "Letting go" in the sense of acknowledging changed circumstances in the present does not imply "giving up" hope and pursuit of a worthwhile future. Indeed, the former would seem instrumental to the latter. An additional distinction may be also what Taylor (1979) identified at this point in her study. That is, "naming the source of confusion [or disruption]" so that one proceeds with the next phase of the sequence involves: (1) including one's own relation to the problem in the way that it is named; and (2) doing so without the debilitating element of self-blame. With respect to the first of these two, Levine (1976) observed at this point in the process that among the draft evaders, "the individual begins to take stock of himself" (p. 217). There is an **identification of one's own margin for initiative** to seek the most constructive possible outcome and represent one's own best interests. Lending support to the second qualification of "constructive naming", Briar's (1977) stage description of unemployment which concludes with "inertia" observes that "the jobless way of life" which precedes this undesirable conclusion is characterized by "self blame". Also in support of the significance of getting beyond self blame is Bakke's (1940) reference to the opposite disposition toward self as an indicator that the "disorganization" stage was coming to a close:

The terminus [of the disorganization phase] is approached as a decision on the line of attack on problems breaks through the daze, and as the need for making the facts of the present consistent with renewed interest in self-respect becomes prominent (p. 166-7).

Taylor (1979) observed that an event concurrent with the ability of individuals to name the issue in a way which accomplishes a transition out of the divergence-disorientation phase was that of experiencing affirmation by a person who was perceived significant or credible by him/her in relation to the issue in question. This "boost" to one's self esteem and confidence seemed to be critical in enabling the individual to open him/herself to a dimension of self assessment as well as to the taxing uncertainty of a search for resolution.

How far we are able to trace individuals' experiences through a change process within the time frame of this study is likely to be limited by such factors as the plant workers' awareness that, in fact, things have changed and that the present experience is not simply the "normal ups and downs" of the fishery. Further, our findings will also depend on the pattern of fish plants in the respective communities. It is estimated that the disruption felt by fish plant workers could be resolved by a return to patterns of employment which existed prior to 1982. Whether or not we find examples of this phase shift (out of divergence-disorientation) in the experience of outport fish plant workers in this particular study, we will be looking for indications of what constitutes the vital change-over from being over-come by a problem to setting about overcoming the problem. In particular we will be attentive to possible sources of self-affirmation, hopefulness and visions of possibility. We may find that this comes from particular individuals within the community or region. It may be associated with a particular community event or personal activity, or with religious convictions. Perhaps, there are a number of these things involved, rather than one. Since this aspect of experiencing change is only

sparsely represented in the literature, it is difficult to formulate expectations.

Second Phase: Engagement-Exploration

The Taylor (1979) model marks the beginning of this phase with the ability to relax "with the unresolved issue". The learning or discovery portion of the sequence begins with the capability to tolerate an unanswered question. Other change process descriptions, that conclude constructively report a similar trend. As quoted above, Hayes and Nutman (1981) state that people begin to "search for and test out new relationships between self and situation". Levine (1976) calls this third phase "searching" where a draft evader tended to "explore himself and his relationships looks for meaning in life and pursues his interests" (p. 217). Amundson and Borgen (1982) postulate a "job search phase" which follows the grieving process stages. "The individual at this point is challenged to evaluate career goals and establish a comprehensive job-seeking strategy" (p.563). The Amundson and Borgen model represents the only constructive outcome of a period of unemployment as regaining full time employment and, therefore, the only exploration which is described is specifically job-related. Hayes and Nutman (1981) in adopting Hopson and Adams' schema (1976) point to "testing" and "search for meaning" activities which are accompanied by a steady rise of self esteem.

(i) Present-Oriented Task Activity

Bakke (1940) reports an "experimental readjustment" period in which "analysis now focuses on individual responsibility for decisions

and for making the best of a bad situation" (p. 169). He states that, with prolonged unemployment:

The frustration involved in readjustment becomes less acute as the passage of time dulls the sharpness of its comparison of former and present possibilities, and as the need for **an active attack on present problems** centers the interest and attention on today's opportunities rather than yesterday's achievements [emphasis added]. (p. 175).

Whether in incremental or decremental circumstances, outcomes which maximize the individual's well being seem to involve **present-oriented activity** at this post-recovery point. Taylor (1979) reports a "direct involvement" in activity, that "is not...mediated by detailed preconceptions about the nature of the outcomes". There is a focus on particulars and discrete activities (Taylor, 1979). Rapaport (1965) states that "task-oriented activity" and "the problem...broken down into component parts with efforts made to solve each aspect of it" are adaptive responses to a crisis". Bakke's representation of the activity of this period (1940) is as follows:

The sources of job opportunity considered vary from independent work and turning of hobbies to account, through co-operative work-seeking ventures...[etc.]. The routine search for jobs may be resumed and even made more systematic during free time. The search is less hectic and the intensity varies with the probable chance of success and with the degree of reinforcement of that hope. Increased use is made of political connections. ...The inventive experiment with new methods. ...Satisfaction is felt in work because it is work.

In addition to substantive gains being established through the activities undertaken, the individual may also derive considerable confidence and satisfaction from his/her accomplishments (Taylor, 1979).

"Mobilizing new combinations of skill" and "using assets to test new images of growth potential" were among elements of "maintaining self esteem and managing anxiety" identified by Coelho, Hamburg and Murphy (1976) in the transition of youth to college life.

In the context of prolonged unemployment, adaptive achievements in managing the difficulties of minimal income are helpful to morale which is beginning to be reconstituted. As Bakke (1940) states, "Confidence in planning returns to the degree that plans and decisions are successful, but easily destroyed by failure" (p. 170).

(ii) Collaboration with Others

The engagement-exploration (and its equivalent stages in other models) is characterized by a sense of relaxation (Taylor, 1979), "less frenetic, less impulsive and more considered activity" (Levine, 1976), in spite of the fact that the outcomes and sense of resolution of the transition are not known. Associated with this more adaptive management of uncertainty is a pattern of involvement with other people, a pattern which contrasts sharply with the isolation quality of the divergence-disorientation phase (and its equivalents in other models). A dominant and consistent feature of the engagement-exploration phase in the Taylor study (1979) was the collaborative inquiry activities reported by study participants. Activities which were often the most satisfying were those conducted in cooperation with other people. Rapaport reports "developmental patterns of seeking and using help with actual tasks and feelings by using interpersonal and institutional resources "as an adaptive, healthy response to crisis" (p.29). She notes that:

The individual... may seek out new models for identi-

fication and for the development of new interpersonal skills as part of problem solving, particularly in crisis of role transition (p.29). Lindemann (1965) observed that the bereaved "will have to find persons around him he can use as "primers" for the acquisition of new patterns of conduct" (p.19).

Rapaport notes that "social resources" critical to adaptation may include one's "social network", "formal institutions and agencies, caretakers in the community", and "rites of passage" in the culture. Coelho, Hamburg and Murphy (1976) have noted six different ways that friendship was important in a college transition though without relating them to phases or stages of the transition:

- (1) "Clarifying new self-definitions and career possibilities";
- (2) "Intellectual stimulation";
- (3) "Learning through pooling information and coping skills";
- (4) "Learning through role complementarity";
- (5) "Support in time of crisis"...[specifically] reassurance about one's self-worth";
- (6) "Sounding board for other possible points of view" (p. 134-5).

These aspects of transition-related friendship resonate with relationship patterns at the end of the Divergence phase and throughout the Engagement phases in the Taylor study. Specifically, the modelling and affirmation relationships occurred at the end of the Divergence phase and the collaborative activity-related, problem-solving learning and discovery were Engagement phase qualities. Bakke (1940) reports a similar social relationship pattern in his "experimental readjustment" stage (comparable to the Taylor Engagement phase):

New self-maintenance activities (cooperative work-seeking, relief work, hobby exploration, independent self-employment, etc.) involve new associations and arouse the interest of all in contacts with new acquaint-

tances. ...Much association tends to be with equally unfortunate people, but the stage of dwelling on "hard luck" has passed and makes contacts more welcome and appreciated. Self-improvement activities may be resumed and result in [other] new acquaintances. (p. 169)

- Whether or not this phase of dealing with change is represented in the experiences of study participants within the time frame we have available, we will be looking for the resources, norms and social structures which exist in the communities under study which may be helpful in facilitating individuals in this aspect of change. Again, we might expect that the size of the communities (in comparison to urban milieux) and the fact that one is among many others who have the same problem offers possibilities for collaborative learning and problem-solving activity which are advantages to individual adaptation. At this point, it seems likely that the needs of individuals 'overlap' with community-wide concerns, especially in outports where community members' futures are, in an immediate and obvious sense, more interdependent than urban dwellers. We will be attentive to existing social structures (clubs, organizations, etc.) which provide social contact for individual community members, patterns and customs which facilitate social contact, and organizations and associations which are or may specifically initiate relevant educational, learning and problem-solving activity.

Third Phase Transition: From Engagement-Exploration to Convergence - Re-orientation

The process of individual change is a multi-dimensional phenomenon in that it involves, as we have seen, emotional, behavioral, social, physical, and cognitive aspects of the person. A simplistic observa-

tion is that the change moves through these dimensions somewhat like a wave. That is, while all dimensions are "in play" throughout, the process focalizes in different dimensions at different times.

The noticeable aspect initially is the emotional aspect. There is then, potentially, a movement to the behavioral-activity and social dimension. Finally, through this next phase transition, the noticeable events are cognitive, that is, making sense out of the experience as a whole. The individual develops an interpretation of the experienced reality which provides a more "true to life" set of assumptions and expectations than the one which collapsed at the beginning of the change sequence. In C. Murray Parkes' terms (1971) the individual evolves changes in his/her "assumptive world" so as to maximize its coherence with the "life space" which has been significantly altered.

All of the schema which go beyond the possible "giving up" point at the end of the divergence phase (or its equivalent in other models) have represented the conclusion of the process as a coherent formation of some kind: "integration" (Levine, 1976), "internalization" (Hayes & Nutman, 1981; Hopson and Adams, 1976), "reorganization" (Moos & Tsu, 1976; Jackson, 1956), formation of new patterns (Lindemann, 1965), and "convergence", "synthesis", "re-orientation" (Taylor, 1979). The Taylor model suggests that the "searching" or "exploring" draws to a close at some point, becoming a reflection review. The individual shifts his/her attention from external involvements with activity and collaborations to thoughtful activity about the experience. This reflective moment in relative solitude marks the shift into the concluding phase and the formation of perspective which ensues. Only one other change process schema refers to this reflective dimension, namely,

Lindemann's (1965) where there is "a review of [the bereaved's] relationship to the deceased". It may be that since the change process under study in the Taylor model was in relation to an approach to learning, the reflection element would be a more prominent feature. However, to the extent that individuals work out a different reality perspective and altered meaning structure, the time to mentally process the experience would seem at least logically, essential. The reflective component is considerably subtle and, without close attention to the experience of the individual, could be overlooked. This last possibility seems reasonable, especially in that the Taylor and Lindemann models are among the most detailed. Another source of variation is that the populations of individuals involved may differ in the extent to which they render their reorganization verbal or consider it as an important aspect of their experience to report as such.

Again, it seems unlikely that individuals in our study would have yet had occasion to reach a point of approaching integration of their experience in a way that constitutes a new personal perspective and understanding in relation to the problem of their work. Nevertheless, we will be looking for conditions and patterns of life that might facilitate personal sense-making and reflective activity.

Third Phase: Convergence - Re-orientation

The descriptions of the convergence-reorientation phase or its equivalent in other models include or imply changes in some combination of the following: (1) patterns of behavior (Lindemann, 1965) or "approaches to action" (Taylor, 1979); (2) meaning or interpretation of

reality (Hopson & Adams, 1976; Marris, 1974), perspective (Taylor, 1979) and "raison d'être" (Levine, 1976); and (3) relationships with others and ways of relating (Lindemann, 1965; Wiserman, 1976; Taylor, 1979). The changes "are interpreted into the individual's life and self-image" (Moos & Tsu, 1976), new meanings are incorporated into behavior (Hopson & Adams, 1976). The Taylor model offers a very detailed description of the individual's synthesis of the change process experience into a new perspective, a major insight. One quality of this concluding phase experience was a simultaneity in coming to name a new way of seeing things and acting on it. In the experiences of the learners in the Taylor study there was a dramatic, intense quality which involved a surge of self confidence. All of this "inner activity" occurred in relative solitude and over a short period of time (several days). As observed earlier, other change process formulations note the accomplishment of the convergence phase or its equivalent as reorganization and internalization, but more of them describe **how** this is achieved by individuals.

Fourth Phase Transition: Convergence - Re-orientation Phase to Detachment-Equilibrium

The Taylor model marks the transition out of the convergence phase by the act of the individual sharing his/her new perspective with others significant to him/her in the light of the issue. While the individual has confidence in his/her viewpoint as being tenable, the affirmation by others of the intelligibility of the perspective to them was essential. While it was important for the individual to evolve his/her own interpretation, it was equally important to find

others who had enough similarity in their viewpoints that they could understand the individual's new way of seeing things.

This aspect of the change sequence was not noted in other change process formulations. Again, it seems possible that such events may have occurred without having been documented. Levine (1976) reported that a quality of his draft evader's final phase of change involved establishing "a sense of belonging". One has to feel part of the world with the change. It is notable also that Bakke's description of adaptation to prolonged unemployment (1940) includes reference to a dimension of perspective and interpretive activity in his final stage, "permanent readjustment":

The scope of foresight and planning is broadened to include consideration of recurring factors met on new situations. Renewed interest is displayed in the operation of impersonal factors beyond the control of the individual. Those who have stayed with radical groups make use of the slogans and phrases of those groups. Others tend to revert to tools and premises of analysis customary among all workers with increased emphasis (for them) on impersonal social and economic factors (p.172-173).

This last critical feature of the individual adaptation or change sequence suggests that if we were to find this experience in our study it might well be at some point prior to an individual giving his/her full attention to community-wide problem-solving activity. We might expect, again, that the size of the community and the fact that others are known to be experiencing similar difficulties might facilitate this aspect of the process.

Phase Four: Detachment - Equilibrium

When the change is stabilized the individual experiences a sense of equilibrium as reported in most of the formulations reviewed here.

In the case of the Taylor model, the new perspective derived through the change period is consolidated and refined through this period of equilibrium but no major reworking of the interpretation occurs. Instead, it becomes a guide for action, initiating and related sense-making about what the individual experiences. In reporting observations of the bereavement process, Weisman (1976) states that a "resolution, relief, and restoration of a corrective equilibrium between reality sense and reality testing" (p. 267) occurs.

Specifically, in relation to long term unemployment, Bakke (1940) reports that this is the "permanent readjustment" phase, "the family contemplates no impending changes" (p. 173) and that...

new standards of conduct are reinforced by habit; and older standards, particularly among those who have maintained their religious affiliations, reassert themselves. (p. 174)

Both the Taylor model and the process framework of Hopson and Adams (1976) note a dimension of "instrumentality" in such a period of equilibrium in contrast to the "involvement" of the engagement-exploration phase or its equivalent. "Detachment" in the Taylor model does not imply lack of interest but rather that the individual has a frame of reference **through which** (s)he operates to interpret events and experience. In the engagement-exploration phase is a period of direct involvement during which this frame of reference is being constructed. Activity, therefore, cannot be planned ahead as it can in the Detachment phase.

The assumption inherent in the circular or helical construction of the Taylor model is that one might expect that one's perspectives and

frames of reference are constantly subject to being reworked as they cease to represent elements of our "life spaces" to which they refer. Equilibrium, then, is not a perpetual state, but rather another season in the life of an individual. Indeed, the most "true to life" description would probably include changes around different issues occurring constantly and simultaneously on a scale ranging in magnitude. Hopefully, major changes such as job losses, deaths of family members, geographical moves and the like do not occur all at the same time. We might expect, however, to find some persons who will have this experience.

A final note which is important is the reminder to the reader that this adaptation process model comparison has considered possible **generic features** of change process experienced by individuals. (Strictly speaking, Bakke represents the experience of individuals and families simultaneously, and reference here has been made to family change by Hill, 1965, and Jackson, 1956.) One particularly important distinction between maximally constructive adaptation in decremental and incremental environmental circumstances (i.e. changes in the "life space") can be made by contrasting descriptions of the conclusions in the Bakke narrative on long term unemployment and the Taylor description of learners' change process. Bakke (1940) states:

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the primary factors involved in the striking of a new balance are the willingness and ability of the workers and their families to readapt their standards, devise new practices, and adjust their relationships and activities to the necessities imposed upon them (p. 175).

The Taylor model, particularly in its final phases, reflects "enrichment" process, that is an augmentation of personal functioning which includes greater range for personal expression and creative capability.

One learner spoke of an outcome of the process being more effective, self-managed effort:

I could grab hold of the concept and realize that was what I was struggling towards and apply it better, because I could see that that's what it was all about. And when I could start doing that, and watching myself function in other situations and getting more of a hold on myself and learning more, and trying to grab onto myself literally. I could see myself standing and grabbing myself by the back of the neck and saying, "Don't do that... that's dysfunctional". And once I realized that that's what was going on and how it connected with a lot of other ideas and readings that I had done and people that I had talked to, then I could feel this sort of wholeness come [learner's emphasis] (p. 180-181).

While the considerable accomplishment of Bakke's workers was to achieve a stable life with self-respect in decremental environmental circumstances as distinct from the learner's development of broader and more satisfying responsibilities within a facilitative environment, the people in both studies experienced fear, anxiety and disruption, the challenge of renewing self confidence and hope, and investment of themselves is reconstructing stability in the midst of uncertainty.

It is impossible to imagine what new "stable state" would occur for individuals in outport Newfoundland should they experience a full perspective change with respect to decremental change in the fish plant operations in their communities. Indeed, as stated earlier, the operation of the fish plants is uncertain in both communities. This being the case, plant workers have neither had the need nor the time duration to have resolved what is, at present, a threat which has existed for one or two years. Nevertheless, we would be looking for a reorientation of personal perspective which is characterized by a greater sense of awareness of one's personal possibilities for initiative and parti-

icipation and a behaviourally expressed competence at dealing with practical matters within the range of one's personal responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter has been to review relevant theory and research pertinent to the experience of employment loss. Much of the literature derives from urban settings or at least from environments substantially different from the rural outports of the Atlantic fishery. It is for this reason that (a) prior investigations can, at best, provide crude guidance to our understanding of Atlantic fishery workers, and (b) a solid empirical base must be established within the population of interest.

Our review highlights certain likely outcome of unemployment. In the main, these consequences may be seen as negative. While we believe that individuals can learn and profit from the experience of employment loss, we would also hypothesize that such learnings may have great personal cost. We also determined that certain characteristics of the individual and his/her life space may serve to moderate the impact of employment loss. Perhaps the most salient of these include social support networks, attribution of self-responsibility for the loss and work involvement. To a large degree, a superficial view of the outport communities suggests that unemployed residents may have more effective buffers against employment loss than urban residents. Since our study does not include an urban-rural comparison, we will only be able to speculate about this presumed "advantage" in the Atlantic fishery.

Further exploration of its existence seems warranted.

As we turned to a consideration of process models, we found that while some helpful frameworks exist, there is not a great deal of data on the actual process of adaptation to unemployment. We have proposed the Taylor (1979) model as a heuristic guide to our understanding of this process, and have accounted for all other relevant models within the Taylor perspective. In so doing, it is evident that the Taylor paradigm offers the most complete and relevant framework for this investigation, and that other models can be more than adequately accounted for by constructs and processes which Taylor has advanced.

Based on our experience in the Atlantic fishery and particularly with reference to the two communities which we have studied, our main concern regarding a process understanding is that few individuals will have progressed further than the first transition and phase of the four phase model by the time our study is completed. This means that it will be impossible to validate the entire process model. On the other hand, a rough assessment of where individuals are in their process adjustments should allow some estimates of what is needed to facilitate a more constructive adjustment to the crisis. Indeed, of all the potentials of the study to be described, this issue of facilitative interventions may be seen as most critical.

CHAPTER 2
THE STUDY OF INDIVIDUALS:
DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The study to be described took place in two fishing outports of rural Newfoundland. This chapter will describe how these communities were selected, how participants in the study were found, methods of our approach, and the kinds of measurements we obtained. Also, the characteristics of study participants will be provided.

We caution the reader to keep in mind the modest nature of this investigation. We set out to understand the "unemployment problem" at two levels - individual responses and community reactions. Our methodology for the individual level of the study called for an intensive face-to-face interview coupled with the administration of a lengthy paper-and-pencil questionnaire. In some cases this data collection took over six hours to complete. So, although our sample size was small (a total of 42 complete interviews from both communities), we feel that the information we obtained was of good quality. Even so, we must urge restraint in generalizing from this study.

The community level of the study will be discussed in Chapters 4-7, but it should be noted that community data collection procedures produced a number of informal bases for better understanding community members' adaptation to employment loss. That is, as we talked to selected individuals about the community qua community, it was inevi-

table that they would also describe how particular community members were adjusting to their declining work opportunities. In this perspective, one needs to appreciate both sides of the study - individual and community - in order to fully appreciate our learnings about either the individual or the community. The material in the remainder of this chapter should then be considered as the major strategy for understanding the individual, with supplemental information deriving from the community approach as addressed in Chapter 5.

DESIGN PLAN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Selection of Community Settings

Access to communities for this study had been facilitated by personnel of Memorial University's Extension Service, and more specifically the Community Development section. A liaison with the Extension Service has been established not only for the benefit of assistance such as this, but also so that findings from this study which may be of value to participating and other communities can be applied.

Outport communities in Newfoundland typically exist within regions, configurations of communities 'strung' along the coastline for thirty to fifty miles. Our first step taken in May 1983 was to select probable regions in consultation with the community workers in May 1983. The Trinity South region and the Southern Shore area between Cape Broyle and Cappahayden were chosen, having met the following criteria:

.The region has at least one fish plant which was unexpectedly closed down for economic reasons to the extent that workers experienced employment loss for an unusual period of time.

.There was a reasonable probability that communities in the region would accept the study and be willing to co-operate.

.The Extension worker in the region agreed to the presence of the project and assessed that it would not disrupt his/her own project work.

.The regions were within reasonable driving distance of one another.

.There were no other major research projects being conducted in the region at that time.

During the first two weeks of a field trip from mid-June to mid-July, the principal investigators travelled throughout these regions and met with leaders and members of a number of communities for the purpose of gaining acceptance for this project in the regions. The conversations were also oriented to learning about the communities so as to select one community in each region in which to work. While workers in a particular fish plant typically come from a number of communities in a region, the time and resources available to this study limit attention to one community in each region. It was decided that we would locate in the community which had the largest fish plant in each region and which had been closed down for an unusual length of time since the summer of 1982. Fermeuse which has a Lake Group plant was chosen from the Southern Shore area. In this case, it was decided that residents of Kingman's Cove (within several kilometers of Fermeuse) would be included in the study since they tend to include themselves within the Fermeuse community. South Dildo which has one major plant (North Atlantic Fisheries) and three smaller plants (Quick Freeze,

Carino and a co-operative) was selected from the Trinity South area.

The selection of these communities affords several contrasts. Fermeuse is an incorporated municipality and South Dildo is not. Of Fermeuse's 584 residents 495 are Catholic, and South Dildo's 291 residents are primarily Protestant (figures taken from the 1981 census). The Fermeuse plant has been a full year operation with winter fish from draggers, and all South Dildo's plants are inshore and, therefore, seasonal, typically operating twenty to thirty-two weeks of the year.

B. Design and Methodology Related to Individual Adaptation

Data Collection: As evident from the review of existing knowledge on individual adaptation, there are previously identified dimensions of the experience of employment loss which we felt would be important in this study. There were other aspects of the phenomenon which could not be anticipated since there have been few comparable studies involving this particular population of people, namely, workers from small fishing communities (cf. Hill, 1983). We therefore chose to conduct interviews which had both structured and exploratory portions. The interviews were in-depth and lengthy, ranging from 2 to 6 hours long. This included the administration of a structured questionnaire.

Sample: Our original goal was to obtain between twenty and thirty fish plant workers from each of the two communities for the interview process. In Fermeuse where 62 of its 584 residents are employees of the Lake Group fish plant, study participants were selected by means of a stratified random sampling process to represent a cross-section of age and sex: persons under 30; persons between 30

and 40; persons over 40; male and female. In South Dildo a large percentage of the residents who work in the North Atlantic and Quick Freeze plants were to be interviewed since in total they number approximately 30. Of course, participation in the study was voluntary. Only four in South Dildo refused to participate, while in Fermeuse participation was declined by nine fish plant workers.

C. Interview Design: The interview was organized in six parts:

1. **Background:** Work history and resumé of financial circumstances (tape-recorded).
2. **Chronological Account of Experience:** A verbal report of experiences during a period from two months prior to the lay-off to the time of the interview (tape-recorded).
3. **Morale Graph:** A paper instrument devised to reflect the individual's view of his/her morale during the period of unemployment.
4. **General Question Set:** Interview responses on matters such as: meaning of work, value priorities, outlook on the future, etc. (tape-recorded);
5. **Relationship Chart:** A paper instrument devised to assess the number and quality of relationships with others that the person has in his/her life (written recording by interviewer).
6. **The Structured Questionnaire:** A set of questions covering work history, residence history, family statistics, health history, stress history, activity patterns, emotional symptoms, and physical symptoms (written recording on standard form by interviewer).

The Structured Questionnaire and instruction guide for interviewers can be found in Appendix I.

Conduct of the Interviews: The interview design was established on the basis of the literature review and a number of pilot interviews conducted in Fermeuse, Blakestown, Heart's Delight and South Dildo by the principal investigators in June and July. A field team of four interviewers, all residents of St. John's, was recruited and

trained in July. Data collection was completed in February 1984. Full interviews with a total of 42 people have been conducted. A number of additional interviews had been conducted in part or whole, but had to be discarded because the participant did not fit the criteria of the study or, in two cases, the participant did not wish to continue. ' homes,

The interviews took place primarily in the participants' homes, though one interviewer in Fermeuse was given access to an unoccupied room in the fish plant for some of the interviews. d patience in

People responded generously with their time and patience in participating in these long and rather difficult sessions. There was significant variability in study participants' ability to reconstruct their experience over the past year or so. This represents an inherent limitation of a retrospective study. There has also been variability in participants' ability to identify aspects of their experience, particularly along the emotional dimensions. This in itself is data for the study in that awareness of one's emotions is a prominent aspect of experiencing change and, to an extent, a condition for managing change periods. tempted to interview individuals when they were alone since

We attempted to interview individuals when they were alone since we did not know how the presence of others might affect their willingness to be candid. In a few cases, this was not possible and, in many cases, children came and went during the interview. iews was to accomplish as

Our concern in carrying out these interviews was to accomplish as much of the task as possible without creating discomfort or aggravation for study participants. Therefore, in some cases, it was impossible to manage a complete interview as outlined above. otwithstanding, we have

The interview limitations mentioned here notwithstanding, we have have been impressed with the willingness of these fish plant workers to

let us into their world. Our ethical considerations in this regard are represented by the approval of our research plan by Concordia University's Ethics Committee and by the voluntary request for informed consent from participants.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

At the end of February 1984 we had relatively complete data sets from 42 fish plant workers. In each case there might have been some aspect of the information which we could not obtain or, due to the peculiarity of the response, we could not code. There were 20 participants from South Dildo and 22 participants from Fermeuse. The following section will detail characteristics of our study sample.

A. Demographics

As noted above 22 participants were from Fermeuse and 20 from South Dildo. Table 2.1 shows the age distribution according to age categories. It is evident here that relatively similar numbers of 18-30 aged participants were involved, but that the Fermeuse sample had

Table 2.1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Age	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
18-30	9	10	19
31-40	8	4	12
41-56	3	8	11
	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>42</u>

only 4 in the 31-40 age category. This is partly accounted for by the unexplained refusals by five (5) 30-40 year old female plant workers in Fermeuse. South Dildo, on the other hand, had only three over 40 participants.

In South Dildo 11 (55%) of 20 were female, while 9 (45%) were male. In Fermeuse, fourteen (63.9%) were male; the remaining eight were female.

Educational levels of the participants is described in Table 2.2, where the number at the left refers to the number of years of educa-

Table 2.2: EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Grade Level	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
8 or less	10	5	15
9	3	5	8
10	4	0	4
11	2	5	7
13	1	4	5
16	0	1	1
(No Response = 2)	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>40</u>

tion. Statistically, there is a significant difference ($p = .08$) in the patterns between communities. South Dildo had more participants who did not progress beyond grade school, and Fermeuse had a larger number who went beyond high school, including one college graduate.

Marital status was found to differ slightly (non-significantly) between communities. There were 4 single and 16 married participants from South Dildo, and 8 single and 14 married from Fermeuse.

Religion varied as indicated in Table 2.3. As expected virtually all of the participants in Fermeuse were Roman Catholic, while none of

Table 2.3: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Religion	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
Anglican	6	1	7
United	4	0	4
Salvation Army	7	0	7
Catholic	0	19	19
Other	1	0	1
No Affiliation	$\frac{0}{18}$	$\frac{1}{21}$ (No Response = 2)	$\frac{1}{39}$

the South Dildo participants was Catholic. Instead, virtually all identified South Dildo participants were affiliated with Anglican, United or Salvation Army congregations.

Number of dependents (other than oneself) reported by participants can be found in Table 2.4. It is peculiar that given the percentage of "single" participants in the study (20% South Dildo; 36.4% Fermeuse) such a low percentage of the South Dildo participants would report having "no dependents". In Fermeuse the results seen more predictable in that 11 (50%) reported no dependents. Partly, this difference may be accounted for by the fact that South Dildo participants more often reported having dependents over the age of 18, suggesting that they were supporting parents, grandparents, or siblings. Overall, family

Table 2.4: NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS OF PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Number of Dependents	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	1	1	12
1	1	3	4
2	9	4	13
3	7	2	9
4	1	1	2
5	0	1	1
	<u>19</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>41</u>

size seemed moderate with the median number of dependents for participants from both communities being two (2). The profiles for the two communities are statistically distinct, however, owing largely to the number of Fermeuse participants who claim "0" dependents.

Considering the length of time participants had lived in Newfoundland, the pattern described in Table 2.5 suggests long-term residence for most. Of course, this variable is correlated with the age of the participants so that the utility of this information is simply to inform us that virtually all of the participants originated in Newfoundland and lived most of their lives in their native province.

Length of time in one's present community also tended to be lengthy. Only one participant had been in her community for less than two years. All others had greater lengths of residence as is depicted

Table 2.5: PARTICIPANTS' LENGTH OF TIME IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Years	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
25 or less	2	8	10
26-30	7	2	9
31-40	8	4	12
41 or more	<u>3</u> 20	<u>8</u> 22	<u>11</u> 42

in Table 2.6. However, it is noteworthy that five (5) participants in Fermeuse had only been in their community for less than 10 years, compared to only one person from South Dildo.

Interestingly, of the participants in South Dildo 16 of the 18 for whom data was available (89%) had never lived outside of Newfoundland, whereas in Fermeuse 14 of the 20 (70%) for whom data were available had never lived outside Newfoundland.

Table 2.6: PARTICIPANTS' LENGTH OF TIME IN PRESENT COMMUNITY

Years	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
10 or less	1	5	6
11-20	4	0	4
21-30	10	8	18
31-40	4	5	9
41 or more	<u>1</u> 20	<u>4</u> 22	<u>5</u> 42

Employment History

We asked participants to list all of their jobs, part-time and full-time. Table 2.7 describes the findings regarding full-time employment. Surprisingly, five from South Dildo and one from Fermeuse list "0" full-time jobs. The median for both communities is "one"

Table 2.7: NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS FOR PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Number of FT Jobs	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	5	1	6
1	6	8	14
2	1	2	3
4	2	6	8
5	0	0	0
6	3	1	4
7	0	1	1
8	0	1	1
	20	21	41

(No Response = 41)

full-time job. Two factors must be taken into consideration here: First, the age of the participant has implications for one's work history. More importantly, how an individual defined "full-time employment" is a critical issue. If a person has been employed full-time, but seasonally, he or she might report this as either a full or part-time job.

Regarding part-time employment, different patterns (which are statistically significant) emerge for the two communities. Nine participants from Fermeuse indicated they had never had a part-time job, whereas only two from South Dildo answered this way. Otherwise the pattern is remarkable only in the sense that South Dildo participants

seem to have held more part-time jobs as indicated by the fact that no participant from Fermeuse described holding more than three part-time jobs, whereas 9 (45%) of 20 from Dildo South held 4 or more part-time jobs (see Table 2.8).

Table 2.8: NUMBER OF PART-TIME JOBS FOR PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Number of PT Jobs	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	2	9	11
1	4	6	10
2	3	5	8
3	2	1	3
4	1	0	1
5	5	0	5
6	1	0	1
8	2	0	2
	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>41</u>

(No Response = 41)

We asked how many jobs individuals had held in fishing or fish-processing. For the most part, there was little relevant difference between participants from the two communities. Since South Dildo participants tended to have held more jobs in general, they also tended (non-significantly) to have held more (not equated with more long-tenured) fishing-related jobs. Similarly, when evaluating their experiences in jobs unrelated to fishing, Dildo South participants had a slight edge over Fermeuse participants. Interestingly, 40% of the Dildo South group and 55% of those from Fermeuse had never held a job unrelated to fishing. This finding holds much significance for the future, especially with the possibility of further declines in the Newfoundland fish industry.

An interesting comparison can be found in the analysis of the par-

ticipants' longest tenured job. Table 2.9 shows that for 56% of the South Dildo sample the longest tenure in a job was one year or less. In contrast, only one from Fermeuse had less than one year of tenure in

Table 2.9: TENURE OF LONGEST JOB FOR PARTICIPANTS BY COMMUNITY

Years of Tenure	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
1 or less	10	1	11
1-3	2	1	3
3-5	1	2	3
5-10	4	4	8
10 or more	$\frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{6}{14}$	$\frac{7}{32}$
		(No Response = 10)	

their highest tenure job. Also, we can see that far more of the Fermeuse participants had high tenure (10 or more years) positions. Specifically, 44 per cent from Fermeuse and 5 per cent from South Dildo held jobs with tenure greater than 10 years. Clearly, these findings reflect the employment opportunities in the respective regions. Even so, the effects of such employment patterns on one's relationship to work will no doubt be significant.

A final consideration regarding the work histories of our study participants has to do with their prior experiences with job terminations. Table 2.10 indicates a significant difference ($p = .01$) in the pattern between communities. Most notably, we find that 50% of Fermeuse participants had never before experienced layoff. Further, we can see that the majority (60%) of Dildo South's participants have experienced

Table 2.10: PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES WITH PRIOR LAY OFFS

Number of Times Laid Off	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	4	10	14
1	0	6	6
2	3	2	5
3	1	1	2
4	1	0	1
5	3	0	3
6	1	1	2
7	3	0	3
8	4	0	4
	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>40</u>
		(No Response = 2)	

4 or more layoffs, while only one (15%) of Fermeuse's participants has been subjected to this level of work layoffs. Again, the employment opportunities in the respective regions play a major role in these statistics.

As a relevant insight to the employment histories of our participants, we also assessed whether they had ever been fired from a job. No one in either community reported having been fired from a job.

C. Membership in Community Organizations

Membership in community organizations may be seen as both a descriptor of the extant patterns of involvement in community affairs and a potential result of the local employment opportunities. In comparing the two communities, we note some suggestive trends. Table 2.11 indicates that the majority in both communities do not belong to any community organizations. While it is true that there may be relatively few organized community groups in South Dildo and Fermeuse, for each

Table 2.11: NUMBER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS HELD BY PARTICIPANTS

Number	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	13	10	23
1	2	5	7
2	3	2	5
3	1	2	3
4	0	2	2
5	1	0	1
8	$\frac{0}{20}$	$\frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{1}{42}$

study participant at least one relevant community grouping could be identified. Since we did not ask about informal or adhoc groupings, it is possible that organizational membership is underrepresented by these statistics. Of those who belong to organizational structures (7 out of 20) in Dildo South, three were involved in religious organizations, two were engaged in club or social organizations, and six were involved in community organizations. In Fermeuse 12 out of 22 were involved in one or more organizations. Of these five were engaged in religious organizations, five in club or social organizations, and 10% in community organizations. Overall, then, these results show a high degree of similarity between participants from Fermeuse and Dildo South in terms of their organizational membership patterns. Specifically, we might surmise that the majority do not belong to organized groups, and that of those who do belong the highest percentage of membership is found in community organizations.

D. Financial Impact

Data on financial impact were difficult to obtain. Individuals were reluctant to discuss details of their financial plight, and it was also hard to estimate the degree to which other sources of income or economic bases would influence an individual's economic viability. As examples, income from other family members, investments, savings, loans, mortgages, numbers of dependents, etc. would have significant effects on the degree to which an individual would experience financial strain.

To derive a comprehensive index of financial strain, we would have had to obtain detailed financial statements from each of our participants. This was far beyond the constraints of our research. In lieu of such precise estimates, we asked interviewers to detail such factors as: number of dependents, percent reduction in income of interviewee (obtained through verbal, subjective estimate by the participant), other incomes in the household, monthly expenses, including mortgage payments, etc. Based on these approximations, a rating of "high", "medium" or "low" financial strain was given to each

Table 2.12: INTERVIEWER'S ASSESSMENT OF FINANCIAL STRAIN OF EMPLOYMENT REDUCTION ON PARTICIPANTS FROM TWO COMMUNITIES

Strain	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
High	2 (10%)	12 (57%)	14 (34%)
Medium	12 (60%)	8 (38%)	20 (49%)
Low	6 (30%)	1 (5%)	7 (17%)
	20	21	41
			(No Response = 1)

participant by the interviewers.

As can be seen in Table 2.12, interviewers' ratings suggest greater impact for individuals in Fermeuse than for those in South Dildo. We must caution the reader in evaluating this information due to its subjective nature. Such findings may reflect more of a relative decline in Fermeuse, whereas objectively individuals in South Dildo who were contending with a poor fishery for three seasons and an historical pattern of seasonal employment are much more likely to be in a more economically stressful life position.

CHAPTER 3

INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

The results for the study of individual adaptation will be divided into three interrelated sections. In the first, we will describe statistics from the structured questionnaire which was verbally administered to participants. Data from these analyses pertain to the stresses and strains in the lives of our participants, both related to and independent of their employment reductions. We will also summarize in this section data from the "relationship chart" on which participants told us about their social support networks. The second part of this chapter will focus on the face-to-face interview. We attempted to extract relatively consistent themes from the lengthy transcripts of interviews so as to answer such questions as: What is the meaning of work to you? What has to change in order for things to improve? What is your outlook on the future? What are your value priorities? What do you perceive to be the strengths and weaknesses of your community? Would you ever leave your community? And, if so, under what conditions? What has helped you get through this crisis so far? And so forth.

The final section of this chapter is an attempt to integrate the findings on individual adaptation with the theoretical postulates of the Taylor model. As noted in Chapter 1, it is highly unlikely that participants have moved very far in the adaptation cycle. Nonetheless, estimating where they are may be of assistance in knowing what might

happen next and what kinds of facilitative interventions would be of value to individuals in these and other, similarly affected outports.

RESULTS FROM THE STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Health as an Antecedant Factor

People who are in poor physical health are less able to cope with crisis. We assessed the health of our respondents in a variety of ways. We asked them to list any major illnesses or health incidents over the past 10 years. For the most part, we can see in Table 3.1 that only 13 out of 42 listed major illnesses or incidents in the past 10 years. To gain further clarity on this issue, we included a

Table 3.1: NUMBER OF MAJOR ILLNESSES EXPERIENCED BY PARTICIPANTS

Number	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	17	12	29
1	1	9	10
3	$\frac{2}{20}$	$\frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{3}{42}$

standard list of chronic physical disorders which the participants might have had. They answered this section by indicating when a disorder occurred (onset) and how serious it was (is). In this way we could be more certain that people had not omitted disorders which normally are considered to be serious. Once again, the evidence as depicted in Table 3.2 shows that less than half of the participants have

ever had a chronic physical disorder. For the most part, there were one or two incidents of a variety of disorders with some clustering toward one

Table 3.2: NUMBER OF PHYSICAL DISORDERS EXPERIENCED BY PARTICIPANTS

Number	South Dildo	Fermeuse	Total
0	11	11	22
1	5	6	11
2	3	4	7
3	0	1	1
4	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{0}{22}$	$\frac{1}{42}$

or two disorders. More specifically, the disorders and their incidence for our sample of 42 participants were as follows:

Amnesia - 0	High Blood Pressure - 1
Asthma - 0	Kidney Trouble - 1
Arthritis - 4	Stroke
Bronchitis - 3	Tuberculosis - 1
Cancer - 1	Ulcers - 5
Liver trouble - 0	Serious accident - 2
Diabetes - 0	Paralysis - 0
Epilepsy - 0	Allergies - 0
Heart trouble - 1	Skin diseases - 4

Arthritis, bronchitis, ulcers, and skin diseases showed the highest frequencies, but heart disease and blood pressure problems were infrequent.

B. Life Stresses

Based on the Holmes and Rahe (1967) social readjustment scale, a list of 40 stressful life events was read to participants who told us if and when such events occurred in their lives or among immediate family members. Theoretically, the more life stresses an individual is exposed to the greater the resultant psychological and physical strain. In a sense, a person experiencing employment reductions who also has a number of additional life stressors with which to contend is less likely to be able to respond constructively or effectively. As we view Table 3.3, it is evident that the most predominant stressor is unemployment. Related to this we also find evidence for the stresses of readjustment to new jobs and changes in work conditions. Further, there are data to suggest that the economic hardships imposed by reduced incomes also results in serious restrictions of social life. There is also evidence of a fair amount of residence change as members of the family move back home due to the inability to maintain separate residences or as other family members leave home to find work elsewhere.

It is critical to realize from Table 3.3 that some of the life stressors of increased arguments, anti-social behavior, alcoholism, drug abuse, marital disruption, among others do not show dramatic rises in our sample. This argues favourably for the point that at this time individuals are absorbing the shock with relatively little external manifestation. How long this can go on is, however, open to speculation.

Table 3.3: LIFE STRESSES: PERCENTAGES OF PARTICIPANTS WHO EXPERIENCED ONE OR MORE OCCURRENCES OF MAJOR LIFE STRESSES OVER THE PAST FIVE YEAR PERIOD.

Life Stresses	Percent South Dildo	Percent Fermeuse
Death of Spouse	0	0
Divorce/Break-up of Family	0	0
Jail Sentence	5	0
Marital Separation	0	0
Unwanted Pregnancy	0	10
Death in Immediate Family	32	40
Unemployment: Head of Household	68	60
Attempted Suicide by Immediate Family Member	0	0
Incurrence of Debt Beyond Ability to Repay	5	5
Onset of Heavy Drinking	0	5
Miscarriage	0	5
Serious Illness Requiring Hospitalization	16	10
Abortion	0	0
Jail Sentence - Immediate Family Member	0	0
New Problem - Substance Abuse	0	0
Illness in Family	26	0
Sex Difficulties	0	0
Death of Close Friend	11	10
Increase of Arguments with Spouse	11	10
Period of Homelessness	0	5
Break-up with Boy/Girl Friend	5	0
Marriage	11	15
Serious Restrictions of Social Life	43	20
Pregnancy	37	10
Problem with Children	11	0
Onset of Prolonged Ill Health	0	10
New Job and New Line of Work	21	15
Family Member Leaves Home	16	5
Increase in Arguments with Family	5	10
Addition-New Family Member	47	10
Purchase of Home with Mortgage	11	10
Move to New Home	16	30
Physical Fight	5	5
Spouse's Job Begun or Ended	32	16
Minor Violation of Law	5	10
New Job - Same Line of Work	21	20
Change in Hours/Conditions of Work	48	20
Vacation Away From Home	21	20
Quarrel with Neighbors	5	0
New Friendship - Neighbors	11	20

In comparing South Dildo with Fermeuse, there are a few appreciable differences. South Dildo participants manifest more family changes, as well as more disruption in work patterns. In an overall sense, South Dildo participants report somewhat high levels of life stress than do Fermeuse participants. The weighted average life stress scores were 356 for South Dildo vs. 209 for Fermeuse which achieves statistical significance at $p = .02$.

C. Changes in Physical Symptomology

As a more relevant examination of health, we asked participants to assess the changes they experienced in physical symptoms from a period before the reduction in employment to the present (i.e., the time of the interview). These "before-after" changes were evaluated for 40 physical symptoms (see list, "Physical Symptoms Checklist", in Appendix I). Of the 40 symptoms there were 13 which showed significant change. Keep in mind that many of the physical symptoms would not be expected to change (e.g., "problems with eyes") so that the percentage of items on which change was manifest is quite high. Reviewing the items listed in Table 3.4 indicated that virtually all of the changes represent declines in the participants' sense of physical well-being. Interestingly, the only gain is that "back aches or pain" decrease as might be expected with a reduction in work. Otherwise, participants showed substantial increases in psychosomatic problems, including more headaches, palpitations, tension, fatigue, chest pains, stuffy head, trembling, and shortness of breath. There is also more evidence of sleep disturbances, as well as appetite problems.

Table 3.4: SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT T-TESTS FOR CHANGES IN PHYSICAL SYMPTOMOLOGY BEFORE AND AFTER THE REDUCTION IN THE SCHEDULE (TOTAL SAMPLE)

Physical Symptom	Before	After	T	p
Headaches	1.03	1.20	-2.48	.02
Palpitations	1.05	1.13	-1.78	.08
Tension	1.23	1.72	-3.70	.00
Unable to Relax	1.25	1.70	-3.84	.00
Fatigue	1.29	1.53	-2.04	.05
Back Aches or Pain	1.49	1.41	1.78	.08
Chest Pains	1.03	1.13	-2.09	.04
Stuffy Head or Nose	1.37	1.47	-1.67	.10
Appetite Disturbance	1.05	1.24	-1.87	.07
Overeating	1.16	1.40	-2.48	.02
Shortness of Breath	1.03	1.13	-2.09	.04
Hands Trembling	1.16	1.26	-2.09	.04
Sleep Disturbance	1.08	1.35	-2.37	.02

(Scale: 1 - Never or a little of the time; 2 - Some of the time
3 - A good part of the time; 4 - Most of the time)

We can see in Table 3.5 a comparison of physical symptomology between communities. For the most part both lists suggest psychosomatic disturbances that, based on the way these questions were asked, can be

Table 3.5: COMPARISON OF SIGNIFICANT NEGATIVE CHANGES IN PHYSICAL SYMPTOMOLOGY BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

Participants Reported Significant (.10 or beyond) Increases in Physical Symptoms of...	
<u>South Dildo</u>	<u>Fermeuse</u>
Headaches (.03)	Tension (.07)
Palpitations (.08)	Unable to relax (.02)
Tension (.00)	Fatigue (.01)
Unable to Relax (.02)	Overeating (.06)
Shortness of Breath (.08)	Constant Cough (.04)
Hands Trembling (.04)	Sleep Disturbances (.11)
Sleep Disturbance (.10)	

Value in parentheses is the probability that such a difference would arise by chance)

directly attributed to the life stress of employment reductions. It might be noted that South Dildo participants show more evidence of somatic disruption (e.g., headaches, palpitations, hands trembling) than do Fermeuse participants. This could be expected due to the prolonged period of stress in South Dildo, as compared to the more recent onset of crisis in Fermeuse.

In sum, the evidence presented in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 makes plausible the assertion that employment reductions in the Atlantic fishery are resulting in a number of deleterious psychosomatic symptoms which, if prolonged, can lead to more serious physical disorders, such as heart disease, ulcers, hypertension, arthritis, and other psychosomatically linked diseases.

D. Changes in Emotional Symptomology

Taking a further step back from the physical realm of disorders and illnesses, we know from the literature that emotional strains are precursors to physical symptomology. Individuals who live with unpleasant or "negative" emotions for extended periods of time tend to somatize these complaints in ways that are disruptive of proper organic functioning. That is, disease entities develop and spread.

In our questionnaire 19 emotional symptoms were listed. All 19 showed increases over the period of employment reduction. As can be seen in Table 3.6, participants were generally emotionally upset and unhappy. They showed a variety of symptoms of tension. They felt significantly less useful and needed. They expressed feelings of depression. They also seemed to be more frustrated and angry. Pervading all of this was a growing sense of confusion.

When comparing the two communities, as depicted in Table 3.7, we

noted very similar patterns. Perhaps the most notable exception was that participants from Fermeuse did not report increases in feelings of loneliness as a result of their change in employment, whereas those from South Dildo did. This finding is particularly salient in regard to the Taylor model of adaptation. Individuals in protracted "divergence-disorientation", as we suspect participants in South Dildo may be, would be more likely to experience a sense of social isolation and withdrawal. This is all the more salient in light of the substantial social support networks of these participants (see Tables 3.11 and 3.12 below).

In summary, we find strong evidence in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 for the argument that individuals have been emotionally impacted in a negative and distressing manner as a result of employment loss. We further believe that the strength of these negative reactions gives cause for concern. The longer individuals go on experiencing these kinds of emotions, the more deleterious the health consequences are likely to be.

E. Correlations of Variables with Financial Strain

Interviewers made subjective judgments of financial strain experienced by participants as a result of the employment crisis. We correlated these ratings with a number of other measures. To simplify these analyses, we summed all of the items of physical symptomology, emotional symptomology, amount of time spent in coping activities, number of different types of relationships, strengths of relationships, life stresses, and so forth to obtain composite indices. The results are given in Table 3.8.

Table 3.6: SUMMARY OF T-TESTS FOR CHANGES IN EMOTIONAL SYMPTOMOLOGY BEFORE AND AFTER THE REDUCTION IN WORK SCHEDULE (TOTAL SAMPLE)

Emotional Symptom	Before	After	T	p
Nervous	1.22	1.50	-2.71	.01
Sad	1.11	1.81	-4.69	.00
Jittery	1.06	1.43	-2.85	.01
Useful and Needed	2.95	2.21	4.10	.00
Calm	2.47	2.05	2.82	.01
Unhappy	1.19	1.81	-4.06	.00
Confused	1.11	1.97	-5.10	.00
Tense	1.23	1.92	-4.42	.00
Frustrated	1.11	2.08	-5.30	.00
Lonesome	1.14	1.33	-2.02	.05
Good	2.82	2.08	4.40	.00
Depressed	1.08	1.81	-4.36	.00
Angry	1.16	1.66	-3.87	.00
Tired for No Reason	1.11	1.56	-3.19	.00
Fidgety	1.06	1.56	-3.19	.00
Blue	1.08	1.53	-3.30	.00
Aggravated	1.08	1.78	-4.80	.00
Cheerful	2.62	2.16	3.34	.00
Irritated or Annoyed	1.08	1.69	-4.06	.00

Scale: 1 - Never or a little of the time; 2 - Some of the time
3 - A good part of the time; 4 - Most of the time

These analyses will not be reported separately for the two communities for two major reasons: (1) the sample size in the separate community analyses is reduced to as low as 10 for some correlations which statistically cannot be justified, and (2) the primary intention of these analyses is to establish relationship patterns which should transcend situational differences, to some degree. (For example, financial strain should be related to emotional symptomology irrespective of community.)

Table 3.8: CORRELATION OF SELECTED MEASURES WITH FINANCIAL STRAIN OF EMPLOYMENT REDUCTION ON PARTICIPANTS (TOTAL SAMPLE)

Variable	Rating of Financial Strain
Physical Symptoms (Before)	.21+
Physical Symptoms (After)	.20+
Emotional Symptoms (Before)	.24+
Emotional Symptoms (After)	.18
Number of Illnesses	-.08
Number of Disorders	-.08
Time - Positive Coping	.52***
Number of Relationships	.41**
Strength of Relationships	.42***
Life Stress	.43***
Age	-.14
Sex	-.09
Education	-.02
Number of Dependents	.31*
Time in Nfld.	-.13
Time in Community	-.37**
Time Outside Nfld.	-.20
Number FT Jobs	.00
Number FT + PT Jobs	.31*
Times Laid Off	.35**
Number of Fishing Jobs	.37**
Longest Tenured Job	-.20
Number Organization Membership	.38*
Number Religious Memberships	.25+
Number Social Memberships	.22
Number Community Memberships	.31*
+ p	.10
* p	.05
** p	.01
*** p	.001

to better structure his or her time. Also, more highly impacted individuals have more varied support networks and a compositely stronger relationship set. Not so surprisingly, individuals who experience greater financial strain have more dependents.

An interesting side note is that the longer an individual has been in the community, the less financial strain that person experienced. This probably has something to do with being better established and having more networks for support.

Table 3.8 also tells us that the more jobs in fishing-related industries the person has had, the greater the strain he/she is likely to experience. This might be attributed to the greater variability of employment in this industry, resulting in a less substantial financial base. Related to this point, the more often the person has been subjected to layoff, the greater the financial strain. The interpretation of this statistic is self-explanatory.

Organization membership patterns also show a relation to the financial strain rating. The more the strain, the greater the number of organizations to which an individual belongs. This is an important finding in that it suggests that in these troubled times, individuals may be more likely to engage in collective action or at least to seek support from organized bodies. This is far more encouraging than the opposite pattern whereby individuals experiencing financial strain withdraw from mutual support networks.

In general, the data in Table 3.8 tell us there are a number of significant concomitants of financial strain. Although causality cannot be asserted, we can make some logical inferences as to the experiences of people adversely affected in the economic domain. They suffer more physically and emotionally. They spend more time talking to others, watching T.V., listening to the radio and engaging in non-compensated work projects. They have a wider range of acquaintances in their social support networks. They tend to belong to more groups. They tend to be

more "locked in " in the sense of having a greater number of dependents. These factors offer some hope at least in the realm of social support and collective action. They also cause concern in that limited options may result in a prolongation of suffering and personal decline.

F. Correlations of Variables with Physical and Emotional Symptomology

We considered the "after" measures of physical and emotional symptomology to be useful barometers of what individuals experience following employment reductions. These measures were correlated with selected demographic, health, coping, and relationship variables as depicted in Table 3.9. As in Table 3.8 and for similar reasons, data are not presented separately for these two communities. As would be expected, physical and emotional symptoms correlate significantly with the number of illnesses and disorders a person has experienced. Also, there are significant relationships between the two symptomology measures and life stress. There is some tendency for people with stronger social support networks to report more physical symptomology. Whether these two indices covary or are causally linked cannot be determined here, but it would be of interest to know whether in the outport communities people seek each other out more when they are "suffering".

An interesting twist is suggested by the finding that the more time a person has spent outside Newfoundland, the more symptoms, emotional and physical, that are reported. An implication here is that being "away" may expose the individual to different reference groups against which the individual compares his/her current condition. Presumably, in this line of thinking, the individual consequently feels worse as a result of a negative assessment vis-a-vis "more fortunate" others in other Canadian provinces.

Table 3.9: CORRELATION BETWEEN SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC HEALTH, COPING AND RELATIONSHIP VARIABLES AND MEASURES OF PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL SYMPTOMOLOGY

Variable	Physical Symptoms	Emotional Symptoms
Number of Illnesses	.46***	.42**
Time-Positive Coping	.15	.18
Number-Types of Relationships	.21+	.06
Strength of Relationships	.23+	.15
Life Stress	.29*	.33**
Number of Disorders	.43**	.29*
Age	.05	-.05
Sex	-.06	.07
Education	.05	.11
Number of Dependents	.04	.03
Time in Nfld.	.04	-.07
Time in Community	-.07	-.20+
Time outside Nfld.	.28*	.33*
Number of Communities	.18	.23+
Number of FT Jobs	.23+	.27*
Total Number of Jobs	.35**	.39**
Number of Times Laid Off	.21+	.20+
Average Job Tenure	-.17	-.55***
Number of Organization Memberships	.16	.28+
+ p .10		
* p .05		
** p .01		
*** p .001		

Employment history relates well to physical symptomology in that the more jobs an individual has held and the more often he/she has been laid off, the more physical symptoms he or she complains of. This finding is directly supported by other literature on the topic of unemployment. The findings in this regard are further bolstered by data relating a problematic employment history with emotional symptomology.

In summary, Table 3.9 tells us that physical and emotional symptomology are highly related to a "poor" work history (high number of jobs,

frequency of being laid off, low average tenure in jobs), as well as to the stresses of life including ill health. These findings not only give us increased confidence in our measures in that similar constructs (e.g., number of illnesses and physical symptoms) which should correlate do relate, but also provide important support for the notion that even in the outports where employment patterns may be said to be normally "abnormal", the worse the individual's employment pattern is according to traditional ways of viewing careers, the worse the individual's sense of emotional and physical well-being seem to be.

G. Coping Activities

We listed a number of activities which we saw as more or less positive ways of spending time, and asked our participants to tell us how much time per week they spent engaged in these varied activities. As can be seen in Table 3.10, the most prominent activities were social or passive entertainment. South Dildo and Fermeuse participants spent comparable amounts of time talking to friends and relatives. Participants from South Dildo, however, spent far more time watching T.V. and listening to music, even though Fermeuse participants spent an average of two hours per day watching T.V. This finding is especially relevant to the Taylor model of adaptation in that individuals in the "divergence-disorientation" phase would be expected to engage in behaviors reflecting social withdrawal and isolation, particularly when the confusion of this phase becomes severe and disturbing. Passive media consumption, such as watching television, may reflect a higher degree of withdrawal in South Dildo than in Fermeuse. To a lesser degree, we can argue that listening to the radio may also suggest withdrawal behaviors. One can "listen" to the radio while doing other things,

and therefore this argument is not quite as strong. Finally, we can find evidence for greater social withdrawal in the statistics regarding reading (books/magazines) for South Dildo vs. Fermeuse. However, without knowing what kinds of books and magazines are being read, our data require assumptive support. One overriding consideration here is that South Dildo residents have traditionally worked seasonally, while for many years Fermeuse residents have worked most of the year. In that our data do not solely reflect "post-crisis" behaviors, but also habitual patterns, differences may reflect life style variations more so than "adjustive reactions."

Table 3.10: COMPARISON OF COPING MECHANISMS EMPLOYED BY PARTICIPANTS FROM TWO COMMUNITIES ESTIMATED IN HOURS SPENT IN ACTIVITY PER WEEK

Activity	South Dildo	Fermeuse	T	p
Talking to Friends	15.05	12.71	.53	.60
Talking to Relatives	14.84	10.40	.94	.35
Physical Fitness	.21	3.55	-1.43	.17
Reading (Books/Magazines)	6.84	2.50	2.17	.04
Reading (Newspaper)	.74	1.50	-1.83	.08
Religious Activities	.53	.90	-.97	.34
Prayer	.74	2.25	-2.26	.03
Hobbies	6.16	1.89	1.59	.12
Home Repairs	3.58	6.16	-.95	.35
Learning New Skill	0	.30	-1.37	.19
Community Groups	.84	1.80	-.92	.37
Community Action	.32	.95	-1.11	.28
Clubs/Social Activities	1.41	2.50	-1.40	.17
Listening to Music	14.72	2.95	3.75	.00
Watching TV	26.37	14.11	2.35	.03
Talking to a Counsellor	0	.05	-1.00	.33
Taking a Walk	1.84	2.45	-.55	.58
Working Outside	9.67	8.32	-.30	.77
Sports	1.29	.90	.47	.64
Repairing Things	2.33	1.95	.25	.80

TABLE 3.10: Comparison of Coping Mechanisms Employed by Participants from Two Communities Estimated in Hours Spent in Activity per Week

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Talking to Relatives	14.84	10.40	.94	.35
Physical Fitness	.21	3.55	-1.43	.17
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Reading (Newspaper)	.74	1.50	-1.83	.08
Religious Activities	.53	.90	-.97	.34
Prayer	.74	2.25	-2.26	.03
Hobbies	6.16	1.89	1.59	.12
Home Repairs	3.58	6.16	-.95	.35
Learning New Skill	0	.30	-1.37	.19
Community Groups	.84	1.80	-.92	.37
Community Action	.32	.95	-1.11	.28
Clubs/Social Activities	1.41	2.50	-1.40	.17
Listening to Music	14.72	2.95	3.75	.00
Watching TV	26.37	14.11	2.35	.03
Talking to a Counsellor	0	.05	-1.00	.33
Taking a Walk	1.84	2.45	-.55	.58
Working Outside	9.67	8.32	.30	.77
Sports	1.29	.90	.47	.64
Repairing Things	2.33	1.95	.25	.80

high on the list of ways in which participants spent their time, and in these activities the communities did not differ significantly.

It is also interesting to consider how little time participants spent in such relevant activities as community groups and community action. At a time when concerted community problem-solving seems so critical, for the most part few participants listed any time being devoted to "community action".

Prayer and religious activities consumed far less time than might be imagined in these traditionally religious communities. Fermeuse participants recorded an average of 20 minutes per day in prayer, while South Dildo's average was about 7 minutes per day. Since the averages in these communities tend to be weighted by a few individuals who pray for an hour or more per day, religion might be seen as more of a backdrop to life in the outports rather than as a central theme around which life revolves.

It should also be noted that physical fitness is a concept to which there seems to be little behavioral commitment in these outports. Fermeuse participants do better in this regard with an average of about 35 minutes per day, whereas in South Dildo the average is approximately two minutes per day! To the degree that physical fitness can serve as a buffer for stressful life events, this seems to be an area around which programming might be developed.

In summary, one might say that without employment, the outporters in our study engage in a variety of sedantary activities - talking to friends and relatives and watching T.V. or listening to the radio. They do not seem to be engaged in self-developmental activities (learning new skills) or community action. Nor do they seem to engage in health generative activities like sports or physical fitness programs. On the other hand, those in South Dildo do a fair amount of reading (about one hour per day). Outdoor work and home repairs are popular outlets. Religious activities consume surprisingly little time suggesting that the church may not be as pivotal in the community structure as in generations past.

H. Social Support Networks

We asked participants to describe their social support networks on a large sheet of graph paper with a series of concentric circles representing varying distances from the individual. The graph paper was segmented into quarters indicative of different types of relationships (e.g., family, community, work-related, professional). We coded this information in such a way as to inform us about the existence of various relationships and their relative strengths (distance from the individual in terms of significance to that person).

Table 3.11 tells us that our participants seemed to have rich and varied social support systems. There is evidence of particularly strong

Table 3.11: SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORK: EXISTENCE OF TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS FOR PARTICIPANTS FROM TWO COMMUNITIES

Percent Indicating That They Have A Relation With...		
<u>Type</u>	<u>South Dildo</u>	<u>Fermeuse</u>
Mother	70	84
Father	55	58
Spouse	80	63
Sister	70	42
Brother	80	63
Children	85	42
Grandparents	15	0
Parents-In-Law	45	16
Siblings-In-Law	35	5
A "Special" Relative	20	21
Aunts or Uncles	53	32
Cousins	37	21
Nieces & Nephews	21	16
A "Special" Friend	42	63
Friends	74	68
Neighbors	80	37
Community Members	17	26
Coworkers	90	95
Minister	50	42
Doctor	32	32
Merchants	16	0
MP/MNA	10	11
Plant Manager	74	11

family relationships. Friendships were listed by the majority of participants as were relations with coworkers. There was also a high incidence of mentions of professional ties with ministers and doctors. Interestingly, the majority (74%) of our South Dildo participants included a plant manager on their relationship chart, whereas only two (11%) participants from Fermeuse mentioned such a relation. This may be due more to the accessibility of and/or the personality of the plant owners, including a cooperative plant's manager, in South Dildo, than to approach/avoidance behaviors concerning these kinds of individuals in the two communities. Another difference between communities was that South Dildo participants more often (80%) noted neighbors, whereas Fermeuse participants did so less frequently (37%). This may be partly a methodological issue in that a neighbor could be a coworker also and, therefore, be included under the coworker category.

When we turn to a consideration of the strengths of various relationships, the results are more or less predictable. Family relationships tend to be stronger ("Blood is thicker than water") than friendships and relations with coworkers. Community acquaintances are not particularly strong bonds, whereas relationships with doctors, ministers and plant managers are reasonably important.

In summary, relationship networks seem ample and varied. Family roots are extensive and no doubt provide individuals with critical ballast for weathering the storms of their lives as well as for sharing their joys. Given the critical nature of social support in effective stress management, it is heartening - albeit expected - that outporters in our study evidenced such strong social supports. This is not to say that the networks are entirely adequate, however. The low rating of

community associates corresponds to the relatively low level of community action in these communities. To the degree one related primarily to family concerns, larger community needs may be ignored.

Table 3.12: SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORK: EVALUATION OF STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIPS FOR PARTICIPANTS FROM TWO COMMUNITIES

Type	South Dildo	Fermeuse	T	p
Mother	7.27	7.67	-.50	.62
Father	7.36	7.91	-.87	.40
Spouse	8.94	8.92	.20	.84
Sister	7.07	6.88	.29	.78
Brother	6.94	6.61	.49	.63
Children	8.65	8.71	-.19	.85
Grandparents	8.00	6.00	2.00	.30
Parents-In-Law	6.78	5.33	1.34	.25
Siblings-In-Law	5.14	3.00	-	-
A "Special" Relative	8.25	6.33	1.11	.38
Aunts or Uncles	4.55	5.33	-1.11	.29
Cousins	3.86	5.20	-1.07	.32
Nieces & Nephews	5.75	5.00	.22	.84
A "Special" Friend	6.14	8.00	-3.45	.00
Friends	5.87	5.57	.38	.70
Neighbors	4.47	5.33	-1.25	.23
Community Members	2.00	2.75	-.79	.46
Coworkers	4.94	4.78	.29	.77
Minister	4.30	5.50	-1.29	.22
Doctor	4.83	4.50	.39	.71
Merchants	5.00	-	-	-
MP/MHA	3.50	7.50	-5.66	.03
Plant Manager	3.43	4.33	-.59	.61

(Scale: 0 - 9 where larger numbers reflect closer, more significant relationships)

Correlations of Variables with Coping Activities and Relationship Measures

The final analysis in this first section has to do with the correlates of a summated measure of coping activities (total time spent

in presumably positive coping activities) and summated relationship measures.

In regard to coping activities, we found that participants who spent relatively more time in the various activities listed tended to have relatively more life stress (particularly problems of employment), to be younger, to have lived for shorter periods of time in their community and Newfoundland (both are high correlates of age), to have spent less time outside the province, to have held fewer full-time jobs, and to belong to more organizations.

Participants with more varied relationship networks had less time in Newfoundland, had lived in fewer communities (more stable), had spent less time outside Newfoundland (again, more stable), had held fewer full-time jobs, were laid off more frequently, and had lower job tenures.

Participants with relatively stronger social support networks tended to be younger, female, slightly better educated, less long-term residents of Newfoundland and their community (both highly correlated with age), less likely to have spent much time outside Newfoundland, and more occupationally unstable (lower job tenures and more frequent lay-offs).

If we are to make sense of these data in Table 3.13, we might offer an inference that social support seems to be "a double-edged sword." In order to have a good network, the individual needs to be in the same place for a while - a long while perhaps. To the degree the individual remains in the protective shelter of family and community, certain stress reactions may be minimized. On the other hand, if employment possibilities are diminishing so may be the psychic returns

of continued investments of residence in a community and thereby a given social support network.

Table 3.13 CORRELATION BETWEEN SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND HEALTH INDICES AND MEASURES OF TIME SPENT IN COPING, NUMBER OF DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS AND STRENGTH OF SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORK

Variable	Total Time Positive Coping Activities	Total Number Different Types of Relationship	Total Strength of all Relationships
Number of Illnesses	-.05	-.05	.02
Number of Disorder	-.16	.06	.15
Life Stress	.68***	.03	.13
Age	-.31*	-.33	-.37**
Sex	.11	-.42	-.38**
Educational Level	.14	.17	.25+
Number of Dependents	.15	.12	.18
Time in Nfld.	-.29*	-.32*	-.36**
Time in Community	-.55***	-.19	-.20+
Number of Communities	-.27*	-.42**	-.36**
Time outside Nfld.	-.29*	-.45**	-.42**
Number FT Jobs	-.20+	-.31*	-.20+
Number Times Laid Off	.12	.36**	.36**
Average Job Tenure	-.08	-.29*	-.49**
Longest Job Tenure	-.02	-.37*	-.49**
Number of Organization Memberships	.44**	.24	.33*
+ p .10			
* p .05			
** p .01			
*** p .001			

SELECTED THEMES FROM THE INTERVIEWS

In this second section of Chapter 3, we will briefly review data from the face-to-face interviews with 41 participants. To a large degree, these results speak for themselves. We have categorized comments pertaining to topical themes and provided illustrative quotes from the interviews. The themes we have presented cover the major issues surfaced in the interviews, but are not entirely inclusive of all the points

raised by the study participants. They do, however, relate well to the theoretical concerns of our research and should be of practical value in informing intervention possibilities.

Keep in mind that the organization of these themes does not always allow a direct test of the Taylor model or of other postulates of research in unemployment, but the data have a strong bearing on possible interpretations of these experiences in unemployment. To the degree possible, we will integrate this material with that of the previous section in order to gain some appreciation of where people stand in the adaptation process relevant to employment loss. This will be accomplished in the third and final section of Chapter 3.

For most of the themes in this section, data will be analyzed for the entire sample without distinguishing between communities. We will reflect on community differences in these interview data at the close of this section.

A. Value Priorities

We asked our participants to rank-order five (5) dimensions or aspects of their lives. Due to some changes in our methodology, we had data pertinent to six values, as can be seen in Table 3.14. Family

Table 3.14: INTERVIEWEE RANKINGS OF VALUE PRIORITIES IN THEIR LIVES

Value	Total Rank	South Dildo	Fermeuse
Family	1.26	1.20	1.29
Job/Work	2.40	2.30	2.44
Money	2.95	2.89	3.00
Religion	3.00	4.20	2.69
Friends	3.04	3.33	3.33
Home	3.28	3.13	4.10

emerges as the participants' highest priority, followed by work. These results tend to confirm our impressions regarding the preeminence of family in the lives of outporters. Comparison between South Dildo and Fermeuse reveal one major difference, namely, the place of religion in one's life. For Fermeuse participants it is ranked third with a mean rank of 2.69, whereas for South Dildo it ranks last (sixth) with a mean rank of 4.20.

B. The Meaning of Work

Now that work's place has been established in the hierarchy of values, we can consider what work means to outport residents. We find that the most frequently cited meaning of work is related to its financial returns (see Table 3.15). Work also derives meaning from its contributions to a sense of well-being, and more concretely, its time-structuring features. As would be expected, work serves the social needs of our participants and, to a degree, the needs for achievement and accomplishment.

C. Future Outlook

Pertinent to the goals of our study, we queried participants about the outlooks they held on the future. In Table 3.16 we can see a split with a sizeable minority (44%) of our respondents presenting a pessimistic image of the future. Even in the optimistic comments of the majority, there is a conditionality to their answers - "If" this happens, then "maybe" things will get better.

D. What Has to Change?

Given the bleak prognosis that most of our participants held, we wanted to know what they thought had to change in order for the situation to improve. It is not so surprising that the vast majority of comments

Table 3.15: INTERVIEW RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHAT DOES WORK MEAN TO YOU?"

41 Interviewees - 100 Comments Classified	
Category 1: Work is for Financial Rewards	N = 35 (35%)
Examples:	<p>"To keep your family mortgage." "Work keeps the bills paying." "It gives me a feeling of security." "If you don't work you can't live very well, unless you're gonna live on fresh air."</p>
Category 2: Work is Good for Mental Well-Being	N = 22 (22%)
Examples:	<p>"I found that when I was working I was glad to get home. I could do more at home, I had more patience with the kids. When you are all at home you get on each other's nerves." "I wouldn't be too pleasant if I couldn't work." "I feel better about myself when I am working." "You have to work for your sanity." "You don't feel good if you are not working. In order to feel good you have to work."</p>
Category 3: Work Fulfills Social Needs	N = 14 (14%)
Examples:	<p>"I like being around people and meeting new ones." "At work you see friends that you don't usually see." "When you are working you have more contact with the public." "Talking to people ... You really need that."</p>
Category 4: Work Helps to Structure Time	N = 17 (17%)
Examples:	<p>"I can't sit around and watch soap operas on T.V." "It is good. It passes the time." "Keeps me busy." "The time goes fast." "When you get up in the morning there is a routine. You get up and you go to work. You come home in the evening and you just get into that. It's natural."</p>
Category 5: Work Provides a Sense of Accomplishment and Purpose	N = 12 (12%)
Examples:	<p>"I like to look back and see what I have done in the morning." "I love to work. I feel like I am accomplishing something. That's important to me." "I enjoy what I do. I feel useful." "If I won a million dollars I would still work. I would do something useful."</p>

Table 3.16: INTERVIEW RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHAT IS YOUR OUTLOOK ON THE FUTURE?"

41 Interviewees - 39 Individuals Classified	
Category 1: Future: Bleak, Hopeless, Depressing	N = 17 (44%)
Examples:	<p>"My future is uncertain ... next year I plan to move out of the community."</p> <p>"It don't look too good. If I thought she was going to close down for good I'd just as soon go to the woods and hang myself."</p> <p>"I don't see very much in the future for myself. Most of the plants that are operating have their own crew that comes back every year. So many people looking for jobs. Nothing but problems around here."</p> <p>"If the plant doesn't open I will have to try somewhere else."</p>
Category 2: Future: Optimistic, Expectant	N = 22 (56%)
Examples:	<p>"The plant needs a supply of fish. The restructuring say that they are going to give us a supply of fish. That puts my morale right on top. My future looks good."</p> <p>"I still live in hope. If we can only stay off unemployment."</p> <p>"If the plant remains open there is a future. If they close we will have to leave. I think, I hope the plant is going to stay open."</p> <p>"I guess I will spend the rest of my life here at the plant. I'm always optimistic about the future."</p>

represent a "single-loop", trapped logic which takes as its presupposition the fact that fishing is the only possible industry and, therefore, all viable solutions revolve around improvements in this industry. Only 10% of the respondents indicate that the communities may have to look to

Table 3.17: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHAT HAS TO CHANGE?"

41 Interviewees - 41 Comments Classified	
Category 1:	Need for Reorganization of Plant and Plant Management N = 15 (37%)
Examples:	<p>"The plants have to be put under new management." "Has to be more work for the people. Plant has to go year around." "Probably management. Other plants have more work."</p>
Category 2:	Need for Better or Additional Equipment N = 12 (29%)
Examples:	<p>"Need more draggers." "All they need to do is put the right facilities in our plant." "They have to put money in to modernize it." "Need few more freezers."</p>
Category 3:	Need for More Involvement by Community and Workers N = 5 (12%)
Examples:	<p>"If the people all pull together they can make something happen." "Get each person to get a good days' work for a good days' pay." "People around here have to change. People who try to improve things, other people are critical of them."</p>
Category 4:	Need for More Fish N = 5 (12%)
Examples:	<p>"The plant needs a supply of fish." "It would help if there were more fish and more markets."</p>
Category 5:	Need for New Jobs, New Industries N = 4 (10%)
Examples:	<p>"Different work. You can't rely on fish." "There is nothing around here except with the fish plant."</p>

other kinds of work for their survival.

E. The Agents of Change

Responsibility for originating and implementing changes was to a large degree thrust upon the shoulders of government and the plants. Only three (11%) of the respondents indicated that the workers or community members might have to become engaged in problem-solving. These results depict a rather passive, acceptant attitude which would tend to increase community members' sense of hopelessness and helplessness.

F. Sources of Help

We wanted to know what enabled our study participants to make it through the crisis to date. Further, we were interested in who provided assistance. The answers as detailed in Tables 3.19 and 3.20 present a consistent view of this process. Emotional support from family and friends was uppermost in the minds of our participants as they responded to these questions. It was evident that financial assistance was essential for some, and apparently they were able to get what they needed through their social support systems. Only one individual indicated that he had not received help from anyone. We might also note that one way of helping oneself through the crisis was to provide help to others.

G. Faith and Doubt

There were two themes which seemed particularly relevant to Newfoundland outport residents. "To what extent did you begin to doubt yourself during these times?" And, "What role did faith or religion play in your adaptation?"

The majority (75%) never doubted themselves. They felt that work

- Table 3.18: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHO ARE THE AGENTS OF CHANGE?"

41 Interviewees - 28 Comments Classified	
Category 1: Agent of Change - The Government. N = 14 (50%)	
Examples:	<p>"The government can change things. If they put in some grants and repair the plant everything would be O.K. The plant would be able to work year around."</p> <p>"The government has it all in their hands ... they are slow to get organized."</p> <p>"It's all a mystery. The government is involved."</p>
Category 2: Agent of Change - Plant Management. N = 4 (14%)	
Example:	"Manager of the plant needs to go after draggers."
Category 3: Agent of Change - Plant Owners. N = 4 (14%)	
Example:	"It's company! They can do what they like."
Category 4: Agent of Change - The Workers. N = 3 (11%)	
Example:	"The workers; they may not have the qualifications that management has but they know how to run a fish plant."

Table 3.19: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHAT HELPED YOU MAKE IT THROUGH YOUR EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS?"

41 Interviewees - 30 Comments Classified	
Category 1: Keeping Busy - Helping Others. N = 9 (30%)	
Examples:	"I worked all day in the woods. Even in the night. It would help because I made plans for the next day." "Doing things for people." "I helped Pete fix his transmission. That was a happy time. January 15th."
Category 2: Financial and Emotional Support from Family. N = 5 (17%)	
Examples:	"My family stayed behind me." "Only for me Mother and Father down there, I'd be in the grave yard now. Gave us a few dollars and food."
Category 3: Optimistic Beliefs. N = 5 (17%)	
Examples:	"Believed things could not get worse." "I wasn't that concerned. I was hoping for the best."
Category 4: Economic Resources. N = 5 (17%)	
Examples:	"My wife's part time job." "To get legally separated so welfare could take care of her."
Category 5: Prayer, Faith. N = 4 (13%)	
Example:	"Faith in God. I'm not religious but I put God before everything. That gives me strength."
Category 6: Social Support. N = 2 (7%)	
Example:	"The fact that I was not the only one."

Table 3.20: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHO HELPED YOU THE MOST?"

41 Interviewees - 48 Comments Classified	
Category 1: Family Helped with Emotional Support. N = 12 (25%)	
Examples:	<p>"My brother. Without him I would have to manage by myself. We talked about our financial difficulties."</p> <p>"Mother offers hope and encouragement that the fish will pick up."</p>
Category 2: Wife Helped with Emotional Support. N = 10 (20%)	
Examples:	<p>"My wife ... we could talk about it."</p> <p>"My wife - she does everything."</p>
Category 3: Friends Helped with Emotional Support. N = 8 (17%)	
Examples:	<p>"I have 5 really close friends. If I didn't have them I don't think there'd be any way to cope with it."</p>
Category 4: Family Helped Financially. N = 6 (13%)	
Examples:	<p>"My family, anytime I was stuck for a few dollars I knew I could ask."</p> <p>"Parents loaned us money."</p>
Category 5: Husband Helped with Emotional Support. N = 6 (13%)	
Example:	<p>"My husband and I talked all the time."</p>
Category 6: Credit from Store Keepers. N = 3 (6%)	
Examples:	<p>"Lady in grocery store gave credit."</p> <p>"Fellow at shop offered me a job."</p>
Category 7: Financial Help from Friends. N = 2 (4%)	
Example:	<p>"Boyfriend gave me money when I needed it."</p>
Category 8: No Help Received. N = 1 (2%)	
Example:	<p>"Nobody helped."</p>

would come eventually, that this period of unemployment was "nobody's fault", or that they were "in it together". This ability to be optimistic and to externalize responsibility for the problems of the fishery seemed to better enable the participants to cope with these "imposed" hardships.

Of those who began to doubt themselves (25%), feelings seemed to derive from a sense of responsibility for others or a belief that they should have somehow "seen the writing on the wall" and gotten out in time.

Faith or religion seemed to provide participants with a sense of stability and comfort in these times. Fifty-nine percent (59%) indicated to some degree that their faith or religion helped them make it through. Of the remaining 41%, either religion did not play much of a role or they viewed religion as more relevant to their children.

H. The Community

We wanted to assess how committed individuals were to remaining in their communities. One set of questions focused on the strengths and weaknesses of community life, while another examined whether and under what conditions they would leave.

Table 3.22 indicates that of 80 comments about community life, 79% were positive. Participants commented on the positive aspects of life in a small outport. Others reflected on the location by the sea. Naturally, the presence of family and friends in these communities increased their attraction, as well.

On the negative side, prominent themes included the lack of employment opportunities, the scarcity of recreational outlets, and interpersonal problems.

Table 3.21: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "HOW HAS FAITH OR RELIGION PERTAINED TO YOUR HANDLING OF THESE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS?"

41 Interviewees - 32 Comments Classified	
Category 1: Religion - A Comfort, Strength and Stabilizer N = 19 (59%)	<p>Examples:</p> <p>"Religion helped me through a bad time." "Religion is very important. I go to church every Sunday. I pray every night." "I pray 15 min. each day. When I have problems praying helps." Wife said, "He is more relaxed after praying." "My religion is most important in my life. It is always there. Something to turn to when you are in great trouble."</p>
Category 2: Religion Did Not Play a Role. N = 9 (28%)	<p>Examples:</p> <p>"I am not religious." "I have nothing to do with that." "Religion does not play a role."</p>
Category 3: Religion - Important for the Children. N = 4 (13%)	<p>Examples:</p> <p>"I don't know about religions. We try to teach the youngsters about the better life." "Not really religious. I used to go to church. I encourage the children to go to church."</p>

Table 3.22: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WHAT ARE THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF YOUR COMMUNITY?"

41 Interviewees - 80 Comments Classified 63 positive 17 negative	
Category 1: Positive - Advantages of a Small Community. N = 20 (32%)	Examples: "People are close." "Everyone knows everybody else." "People help each other."
Category 2: Positive - Location of the Community. N = 16 (25%)	Examples: "I like being by the sea/like nature." "Can get your own firewood."
Category 3: Positive - Family and Friends.	Examples: "Relatives are here - Can depend on people." "All my family and friends are here."
Category 4: Positive - Tranquility of Community. N = 9 (14%)	Examples: "I like the quiet." "You don't have to lock your doors." "No heavy traffic."
Category 5: Positive - Low Expenses, N = 3 (5%)	Examples: "No big mortgage payments." "Easy to live on less money."
Category 6: Negative - Lack of Employment N = 7 (42%)	Examples: "No work." "It makes me mad that there is no employment and the plant is here." "I have to worry about tomorrow."
Category 7 Negative - Lack of Entertainment. N = 5 (29%)	Examples: "There's nothing here." "I'd like it better if there were things to do."
Category 8:	Examples: "The people are not all that friendly." "Community could have helped more when plant was closed."

Table 3.23: INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES TO QUESTION, "WOULD YOU EVER LEAVE YOUR COMMUNITY? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?"

Of the 41 people interviewed, 31 people (84%) would leave, 6 people (16%) would stay and 4 people did not answer the question.

Conditions for Leaving: 41 Interviewees - 30 Comments Classified.

Category 1: Leave for Better Work. N = 14 (47%)

Examples:

"If I got a job elsewhere I would move."

"If we moved it would have to be for a good job, good wage and I'd want it on paper."

"I would leave for a year or two if my husband could get a steady permanent job."

Category 2: Leave Because of Lack of Work. N = 12 (38%)

Examples:

"Would probably leave if there was no work at all."

"If she closes down for good, I would go."

"If I couldn't find work here I would have to go."

Category 3: Leave Before Being Forced Onto Welfare. N = 2 (6%)

Example:

"I would leave if I had to go on welfare."

Category 4: Leave If Could Sell House. N = 2 (6%)

Example:

"I will leave when my house has been sold."

Category 5: Leave to Get Married. N = 1 (3%)

Example:

"I would leave to get married."

Conditions for Staying: 41 Interviewees - 6 Comments Classified

Category 1: Stay Because Have no Money. N = 2 (33%)

Example:

"I have no money - don't know where to go."

Category 2: Stay Because Expenses are Low. N = 2 (33%)

Example:

"I would stay - my house costs me nothing."

Category 3: Stay for Marriage. N = 1 (17%)

Example:

"I would stay if I got married and my husband had a job."

Category 4: Stay for House. N = 1 (17%)

Example:

"I would not go - I don't see the point in building something and then turning around and leaving it."

When confronted with the question of whether they could ever leave their communities, a surprising 84% said they would. Virtually all of these cited issues of employment as the precipitating condition. Either lack of work or desire for better work accounted for 85% of the conditions for leaving, with another 6% indicating the fear of going onto welfare would cause them to leave.

In considering why people would stay under adverse economic conditions, comments reflected a sense of being trapped. Expenses are low or there is no money with which to initiate a move.

While it might be possible to interpret these data as suggesting a willingness or even readiness to relocate, it should be kept in mind that such an act is largely viewed as one of desperation by most of our respondents. They do not want to move - but they do want to survive. If survival requires relocation, then that is what they will do. They are, however, acutely aware of the emotional trauma such a move would occasion.

I Community Differences - Fermeuse vs. South Dildo

There were some important distinctions between participants from the two communities. As noted in the review of values, religion seemed to be a more central life concern for Fermeuse participants than for those from South Dildo. This was further reflected in data concerning the degree to which participants derived strength or support from their faith/religion. Of the 13 comments suggesting that religion did not play a role in participants' adaptation, 69% were from South Dildo. Another way of viewing this is that in South Dildo 56% did not derive support from faith or religion, whereas in Fermeuse the comparison statistic was only 25%.

Self-doubt was also higher in South Dildo. Forty percent (40%) of South Dildo participants began to doubt themselves during their adjustments, whereas only 14% of Fermeuse participants expressed a sense of self-doubt. Again, it must be remembered that the "crisis" in South Dildo has been going on for at least three years, while in Fermeuse the onset of employment disruption may be traced to August 1982.

In line with this, South Dildo participants manifested a more pessimistic view of the future; 52% held bleak, despondent views. In Fermeuse only 36% were pessimistic about the future.

In most other regards, participants from the two communities tended to look toward the fishery as the answer to their problems, although this was slightly stronger in Fermeuse. They saw the government, plant owners, or "others" as the agents of change, and in this sense disowned their responsibility for problem solutions.

They relied upon family and friends for support, although in South Dildo the needs tended to become manifest more often in the economic domain. They were about equally willing to leave their communities for work elsewhere, if necessary. In this regard, South Dildo residents tended to be slightly more critical of their communities, suggesting that employment problems were so pervasive that there was an air of hopelessness enveloping the community.

These differences play an important role in our understanding of the individual and the community. They suggest that the situations have had differing degrees of impact on individuals and that programs of action may need to take into account these variations in impact and unemployment phenomenology.

**INTEGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR
INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO EMPLOYMENT
LOSS IN THE ATLANTIC FISHERY**

An Integrative Overview

There is a consistency to our findings on the individual level. This is not to say that we can fully and accurately describe the experiences of individuals affected by employment reductions in the outports, but rather that we can make some informed estimates based on a methodology which as sophisticated as it may be is nonetheless inadequate to the task of providing a complete view of the human experience.

To summarize our data on the individual level, neglecting for the moment community distinctions, the following statements reflect reasonable assessments of the outporters experiences and efforts associated with adaptation:

1. We can view individuals within a context of...
 - (a) relatively low life stresses, excluding employment problems.
 - (b) having adequate physical outlets, mostly related to "work", home/occupational maintenance or subsistence endeavors.
 - (c) relatively high social support, particularly as derived from family members.
 - (d) having relatively fixed identifications with one industry, the fishery.
 - (e) lacking a firm, predictable employment pattern -owing to vagaries of the industry, not to mention more recent disrupt-

tions owing to organizational concerns.

- (f) having a limited economic base due in part to the barter or non-cash economy prevalent in the history of the province, as well as to the marginal incomes characteristic of many out-port residents.
- (g) existing within a firm religious orientation. (particularly in Fermeuse)

2. Recognizing the existence of considerable individual differences, we will nonetheless attempt to characterize fish plant workers (the only participants in the individual level of our study). To a greater or lesser extent, they...

- (a) have relatively low skill variety, even though they may also be characterized as "handy" and resourceful.
- (b) enjoy work and feel that working (not to be equated with being employed or receiving monetary compensation) is an important life activity.
- (c) view work more for its extrinsic rewards than for the attainment of "higher order psychological needs."
- (d) tend toward having an "external locus of control" and, in this regard, may be said to "project responsibility" onto others or forces beyond their control.
- (e) have a high sense of "existential meaning" or a "sense of coherence" deriving in part from their "faith", but more generally from their family and cultural roots.

- (f) have a desired orientation to be "independent" but, in fact, have a history of behavioral dependency.
- (g) have a tendency toward an "optimistic" outlook or a belief that "the future will be brighter."
- (h) have a history of adequate psychological functioning, with perhaps a tendency to minimize the validity of psychiatric symptomology.
- (i) have positive coping patterns which roughly may be divided into two kinds of engagements - social and action, that is, they are oriented toward high levels of social contact and/or immersing themselves in tasks (e.g., knitting, canning, home repairs, gardening).

Considering what individuals in our study have been through in the past 2-3 years, what effects seem to be manifest at this time? In general, we have found that...

- (a) major declines in health have not been particularly evident to date.
- (b) physical symptomology which tends to serve as a precursor to major illnesses has increased to a moderate degree.
- (c) emotional symptomology which is also linked to physical disorders has been strongly manifested as a concomitant of employment reductions.

Given the traditionally "optimistic" outlook of outport residents, our data reflect the fact that a sizeable minority (44%) of participants hold bleak or pessimistic views of the future and, therefore, suggest that people may at this time be feeling more hopeless and helpless than "normal."

5. As would be expected in these times of hardship, individuals fell back on relatively substantial social support networks, particularly as derived from the family. However, given the pervasiveness of the crisis in the regions studied, it is questionable how long the networks can continue to function effectively.
6. Individuals in outports have strong, deep roots in their communities. Yet, the current employment problems are of such magnitude that 84% responded that they would leave if the situation worsened. On the one hand, such "willingness to relocate" may be essential, but, on the other, we must acknowledge the potential human costs of such actions.
7. Participants' reflections on the locus of responsibility for and targets of initiatives toward improvements in the local economies represent strong tendencies toward projection of responsibility and even denial of the gravity of the situation. There seemed to be an unwillingness among outport residents we interviewed to examine their roles in the problem and in the generation of potential solutions. Such passivity and behavioral dependency will no doubt be a major factor in constructive adaptations.

Estimating Adaptive Progress

At this point we will attempt to place our study participants in the adaptation process as outlined by Taylor (1979). Typically, such an estimate should be considered for each individual separately. However, given the nature of this study, its goals and the relative communality of the experience of employment loss in the respective communities, we will take certain liberties with our data in order that the

broader picture may be highlighted.

We will begin with an assumption that individuals have progressed beyond the first phase transition, "From Detachment-Equilibrium to Divergence-Disorientation." However, we must note that this assumption can reasonably be challenged regarding certain individuals in our study and, therefore, for others in their communities. Taylor (1979) indicates that this first critical point in the change sequence occurs when a person's expectations and assumptions are contradicted or disconfirmed by an unfamiliar experience. To the degree that a person views extended fluctuations in the fishery as normal, we can hypothesize that for him or her the current situation may not be seen as anything out of the "ordinary."

More typically, we believe individuals have moved through this first phase transition, and so now we must examine the question of whether they have progressed beyond "Phase One: Divergence-Disorientation." We know from the literature and from Taylor's (1979, 1981) research that this phase is marked by stress, vulnerability and socio-emotional disruption. Various researchers have suggested such characteristic emotions of this phase (or its equivalent in other models) as: confusion, disorientation, loss of confidence, depression, anger, blame, defensiveness, and minimization. Further, withdrawal, social isolation and a decreasing satisfaction derived from mutual association may also accompany the process of this phase.

Our data show substantial support for positioning many of our participants in this phase. Keeping in mind that we did not have "repeated measurements" of our participants' emotional reactions over a number of observations in time, we were nonetheless informed that they

were feeling much "worse" than before the changes in their employment patterns. They were significantly more anxious, depressed, angry, confused, and frustrated. These symptoms were represented in physical symptomology of increased headaches, fatigue, chest pains, appetite disturbances, and sleeping difficulties. In South Dildo where the problems have been prolonged, physical symptomology was more pronounced.

What is not in great evidence are some of the social withdrawal patterns hypothesized as concomitants of this phase. Individuals reported that what enabled them to make it through the crisis thus far were their social supports. Although there were some isolated examples of withdrawal behavior, for the most part, outporters in our study sought out others and even offered aid to less fortunate others.

An exception in regard to the social withdrawal hypothesis must be noted. Our data indicate that South Dildo participants spend slightly more time talking with friends and relatives than their counterparts in Fermeuse. Yet, they also spend significantly more time watching television, listening to the radio and reading. These may be interpreted as symptoms of withdrawal. On the other hand, they might simply reflect life style differences of a seasonal fishery (South Dildo) vs. one which had a year-round plant operation (Fermeuse).

To a degree, these findings on social isolation and withdrawal suggest a few possibilities. One is a modification of the model for individuals who have an habitually strong social response and a well-developed and functional support network. While we do not have sufficient data to fully evaluate this possibility, we believe an alternative explanation is more plausible. The disruption incurred by this "disconfirming experience" was insufficient to evoke the full range of

psychological and social reaction that seem to accompany this phase. Variations in employment and, therefore, income are no strangers to Newfoundlanders. These individuals have been historically "hardened" to economic crises. In that their definitions of life include relatively simple and basic requirements of food, shelter and a modicum of safety, full-blown crisis reactions are not easily evoked.

There is, however, one consideration which emerged in our discussions as a potential "qualifier" for more severe adjustment disorders during the divergence-disorientation phase - namely, going onto social welfare. Interviews with a limited number of individuals who were on social welfare as well as fearful comments from those threatened with the possibility inform us that virtually all (including social withdrawal and isolation) symptoms hypothesized to accompany the "divergence-disorientation" phase would, in fact, occur under the conditions of a status change to welfare recipient.

Movement beyond phase one may have been experienced by a few of our participants, but we do not believe this represents a modal response. The second phase transition to "engagement-exploration" is critical in the sense that it may mark adjustment to a destructive vs. constructive adaptation. For the process to move in a constructive direction, the individual needs to accept the experience as something to be understood. This means that the person must be able to "name the experience" in a manner which directs blame at neither the self nor others. A destructive adaptation is often characterized by a kind of "fatalism" or "inertia", in this case, settling down to the experience of being unemployed.

It is difficult to see many of our participants or others in their communities as having settled down to the experience of being unemployed. At the same time, their commentaries reflect, for the most part, a projection of blame, indicating that at present they have not moved into or beyond this second transition.

Implications and Intervention Considerations

Taken in its simple form, the data reviewed in this chapter indicate that individuals are living through difficult and unpleasant times. Their resources are gradually eroding and their emotional strength is being sapped. Predictably, a prolongation of these difficulties will produce a wide-range of emotional, physical, social and economic disorders, unless the downward trend is somehow not curtailed, if not reversed. The stronger psycho-social and physical declines manifested in South Dildo would support this argument.

Our data suggest that individuals do not fully perceive their role in the crisis (if they even label these changes as such) and, therefore, seem to be largely immobilized in a state of heightened emotional turbulence. It is critical that individuals understand what is happening to them, but given the history of these communities and Newfoundland in general, such awareness is not readily produced.

To a large degree, we believe these individuals have the resources necessary to resolve their problems, not necessarily in a way that would be entirely satisfactory to them, but at least in a way which may be viewed as constructive. What is necessary is an approach to mobilizing these resources.

There is a sense that some people are close to "burning out" and that others are more gradually exhausting their emotional, physical, social, and financial reserves. The buoyant spirit of these Newfoundlanders has limits, and even though there may be a belief that they can take it because they have been inured to hardships, we must be cautious about expecting individuals and their communities to continue absorbing the pains of these disruptions.

There is a kind of information vacuum at present which contributes to the outporters malaise. They do not know what is happening - and rumors frequently fill the void with an accompanying rush of emotions leading to increasing levels of despair. In terms of interventions, we believe that a variety of types of information would facilitate constructive adaptation.

One type of information is knowing what the levels of fish plant operations will be. Although exact details of this nature may be impossible, the degree of uncertainty which presently exists seems to be the opposite extreme.

A second kind of information has to do with their current experience. Gaining some kind of a perspective on what they are experiencing may help to define the "normalcy" of this seemingly abnormal reaction pattern. A model for understanding the process such as the Taylor model would be a useful device for cognitively appreciating what is going on in their worlds. This kind of model becomes even more relevant with data fed back to the communities from this study or others of similar pertinence.

Individuals in our study have responded as pawns in a game played by powerful others. They seem to take relatively little responsibility

for directing such a major dimension of their lives as employment opportunities in their communities. Awareness of alternatives requires some sense of one's role in the process. To some degree the steps noted above would facilitate this sense of understanding. Beyond this we must acknowledge that people who have habitually responded in a relatively adaptive manner of externalizing responsibility are not going to change simply as a result of information. To move these external perceptions and data (as from this study) inward so that people change their style of coping and responding to crisis requires a process of working with people in groups, in their communities, on issues of responsibility-taking, problem-solving and even skill-building at a later date for identified deficits in areas relevant to the solution of their problems.

In summary, we see a process which incorporates, to the degree possible, information about the future of the fishery and plant operations. Further, data from this study and any others that might be relevant could be fed back to facilitate understanding of the experiences and adaptive patterns to date. This would best be done in the framework of a model of adaptation such as that delineated by Taylor. Finally, we believe workshops in the community need to be launched to develop an internal process understanding of responsibility-taking and problem-solving. To the degree that more specialized kinds of information (e.g., what are some alternative approaches for and to 'running' the plant) are needed, programs addressing these diagnosed needs or skill deficits should accompany these other activities directed toward enhancing the probability of constructive adaptation to employment declines.

PART II

THE STUDY OF COMMUNITIES

CHAPTER 4

THE COMMUNITY IN CHANGE: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

An Exploratory Study: An Intervention Approach

This is a community study with a practical purpose. The knowledge and understanding it is intended to generate is of the sort that will inform the efforts of people both "inside" and "outside" the community in dealing with temporary and, more especially, permanent primary industry and employment loss in the fishery. It presumes the importance of community survival and, in fact, is designed to identify ways in which outport communities might be strengthened and enabled to deal with change, whatever its source.

There are two notions which have guided the study of community here. The first is that it is important to identify what characteristics of a community make it strong and what characteristics make it vulnerable. Strength of a community is considered here to be its capability to act in behalf of and represent its own best interests. (This will be further elaborated in the following sections.) Having identified likely variables in strength/vulnerability, it would be possible to identify communities potentially at risk and to intervene in ways that would maximize survival possibilities. The second important notion in this study has been that it is not only important to develop alternative constructive strategies but also to be able to identify appropriate timing which maximizes the constructive-outcomes of efforts to assist communities in change, whether attempted by "insiders" or "outsiders". Therefore, the study makes a beginning at

identifying a community adaptation process, that is, how change occurs over time and in what stages or phases. In doing so, there will also be suggestions as to the intervention possibilities and limitations of various parties who are integral to the unfolding of changes in the fishery.

In light of the foregoing, the methodological approach to this study has been an exploratory comparative one, a comparison and contrast of the two communities. The intention is to develop a diagnostic framework which will be relevant beyond single communities. In this way, the approach contrasts with a case study approach. However, because of the concern to inform practical intervention, an ipsative analysis of the community can be as important as a normative one. The study also stands in contrast to a strictly quantitative approach.

While the word "clinical" connotes "expert as intervenor" which is not consistent with the assumptions in this study, an approach to the study of communities called for by Bowles (1982) and articulated by Crozier (1964) seems most similar to what has been attempted in this research:

...a clinical approach which bears upon particular cases, and generalizes only from an intimate understanding of these cases, can serve us better than a systematic approach that seeks immediately to establish rigorous laws and thus gives the appearance of being more scientific. ...General statistical relations, which can be perceived at the opinion level, are fragmentary and undifferentiated; they can testify to accomplished changes, but not to the process of change, nor to the laws of action, nor even to the general direction of the evolution. ...The clinical approach will, above all, enable us to advance from a static fragmentary image to an integrated image of the model, all of whose elements are interdependent. (pp. 4 & 5.)

Basic Definitions of Community

Generally, definitions of community include one or more of three dimensions: (1) the geographical--physical locality; (2) the social--social relationships, social systems performing social functions, social interaction; and (3) the temporal--some degree of permanence in time. While there are those who would quarrel with the first of these (Pahl, 1966), a geographic dimension to description of communities in this study is relevant since it has meaning for outport residents. Each town is identified by people in the region as a separate entity, one from another. There is also no question that each town has an identity which has endured through time. Both have remarkably long histories for Canada and, for that matter, for all of North America.

The ambiguity in defining "community" in this study lies in the social dimension. To an extent it would be possible to take what Lewis (1979) has called, "a socio-geographical approach to community" where the focus is on "community as a place where there is a common cultural or psychological bond among its members." This bonding can derive from the existence of common goals and for the existence of traditions. To the extent that a common bond is a condition for collective problem-solving, this perspective seems an important starting point for the community aspect of this study. As we shall see in this study, both traditions on one hand, and common interests/goals, on the other, are involved but may be at odds. People have a sense of membership in a particular town. Nevertheless, the futures of these towns are interdependent with others in the region since, in the case of fish plant reductions, virtually every town in the region is affected by the resulting employment loss.

The Concept of Adaptation Process by Whole Communities

The central questions in this study with respect to community change are: (1) What are the phases through which a community goes in dealing constructively (i.e., becoming a stronger social entity in the process) with employment loss from its primary industry? And, (2) what are the indices or signs that a community will be able to deal with these changes constructively? As a parallel to the research questions at the individual level of the study, the "community adaptation" in this study involves change that results in the community as a social unit being better able to represent its own concerns and act in its own best interest. The task here is to consider, in existing literature, (a) views of community adaptation toward greater responsibility taking, (b) the process phases and (c) facilitating conditions.

The notion of change as moving from equilibrium or stasis through phases of disequilibrium with a potential return to equilibrium exists in the literature on community change as it does on personal change (e.g., Parks, 1936; Thorns, 1968). Communities have also been considered from the standpoint of attitudes toward change (Rogers & Burdge, 1972; Mitchell, 1951) and relationships among economic expansion-contraction, demographic structure (mobility) and local values (Lewis & Maund, 1976).

There seem to be four logical possibilities of community change which originate from economic changes, whether expansion or contraction: (1) being overwhelmed, no matter how competent it is to deal with matters that concern it, either because there are absolutely no economic alternatives or because the pace of events is far too rapid to be dealt with constructively; (2) being overwhelmed by virtue of its

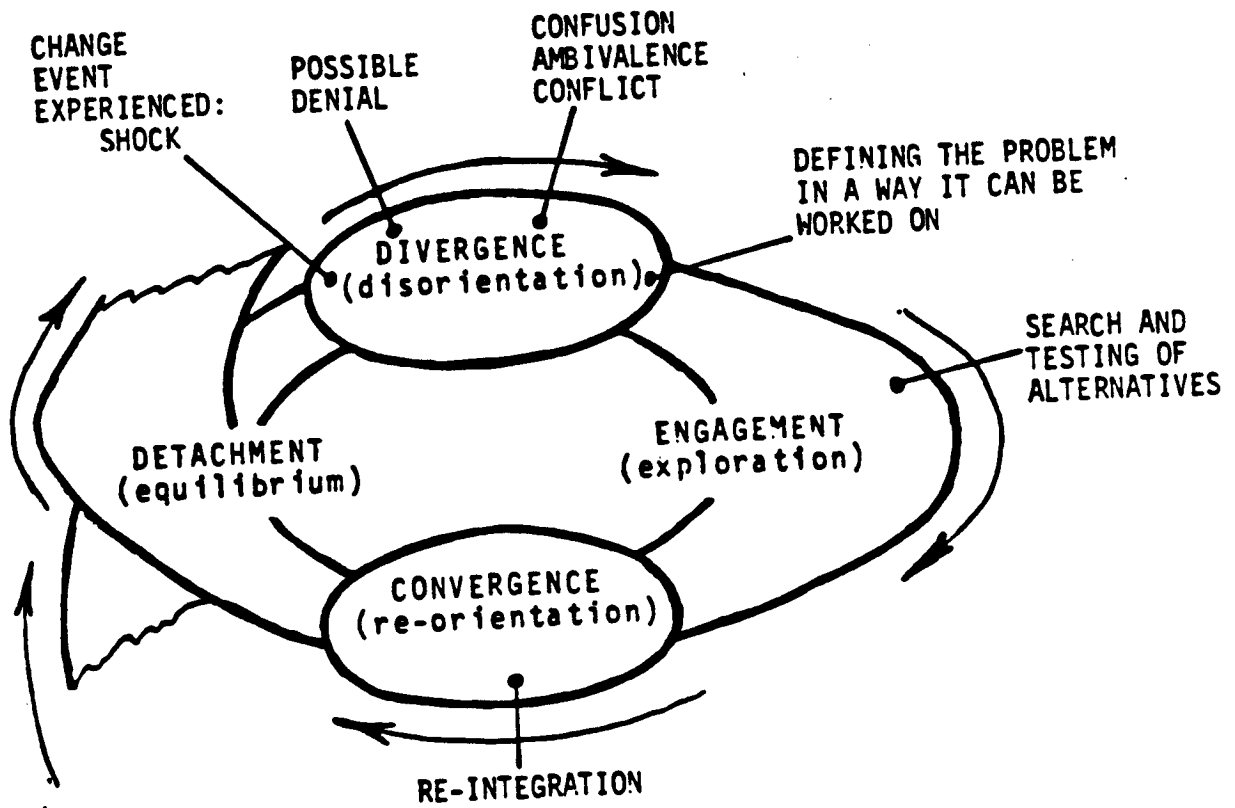
own characteristics which result in not being able to adapt to change constructively; (3) economic reorganization in the community which maintains the community, in other respects, as it is; and (4) economic reorganization which involves major socio-cultural changes which strengthen the community for facing other challenges as well. With respect to the first possibility, this study does not deal directly with economic limitations of outport adaptation to reorganization of the fishery; however, it could contribute to consideration of the question of the pace of change. In the instance of the second possibility, this study is designed to explore the dimensions along which an outport community may be vulnerable with respect to its qualities as a community. Concerning the third possibility, again, this is not an economic study so it is not particularly suited to investigation of issues of economic reorganization.

The study was initially designed to most comprehensively contribute to the fourth of the possible consequences. **It is expected that the task of confronting constructively and effectively major changes in its primary source of employment would require revision of traditional attitudes, expectations and community participation patterns, in short, a socio-cultural re-orientation.** The communities in this study were selected in part because they exemplify numerous Atlantic outports which are sites of fish plants owned by interests outside the community or region. As such, these communities are among the many rural regions of Canada which historically have been economically dependent on centralized interests and decision-making (Bowles, 1982). For this and other reasons, it is expected that these communities would also exemplify a culture of dependency, that is, would be unaccustomed

to initiating interventions which protect their interests and to organizing themselves as such. While it is acknowledged that autonomy in any pure sense is unrealistic (House, 1982) short of an unlikely decision to return to a thorough-going subsistence economy, it is expected that, in some instances at least, the welfare of outport communities would be substantially enhanced by increased willingness and capabilities for informed participation in the events and decisions which affect their source of livelihood. As such, it is expected that the challenge of problem-solving in the instance of closure or radical reductions in the operation of fish plants will demand re-orientation of existing expectations, structures and norms with respect to responsibility-taking. In this light, it seems appropriate to explore the possibility that the community, as a whole, makes a transition similar to that of an individual in re-orienting him/herself to a more initiating, more responsibility-taking stance. As a parallel to the Taylor model on the individual level (described in Part I, Chapter 1), the community might be expected to go through a period of disorganization and internal conflict, a period of search or exploration, and, potentially a period of reorganization and synthesis. The process of change is depicted in Figure 4.1

As indicated in Figure 4.1, a major re-orientation of a community's approach and perspective on what it is doing might be precipitated when operating assumptions underlying its former approach are disconfirmed by actual events. In our study, this would not be the event of the plant reductions itself, but some way in which a community approaches the problem that does not achieve the expected results. One might then anticipate a very turbulent period during which several conflicting or

Figure 4.1: FOUR-PHASED DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE PROCESS



contradictory positions are taken within the community by perhaps different subgroups. A premium would be placed on community confidence and commitment to work through the conflict themes to a resolution. One might expect a number of halting efforts to do so. Nevertheless, it would seem necessary, following this map of a process, to have, at some point, established a basic commitment to see it through, notwithstanding strong present dissatisfactions and no particular guarantees. It may be that a period of search through a variety of alternatives would occur. What the specific critical points and conditions are of this process at a community level and whether this process framework is sufficiently representative of the community change process at all would be the task of a longitudinal study to establish. As mentioned above, community change has been conceptualized in similar ways by other investigators. Parks (1936) for example, talks about the loss and regaining of equilibrium or "transitions from one stable order to another". Thorns (1968) describes communities along a time continuum of "established", "transitional" and "re-established". Such writers lend strength to the possibility that it would be possible to document change in a community as a whole through an identifiable and probably common, in its general parameters, process of change.

Peter Marris (1974), whose studies of people experiencing a wide range of transitions in a number of different cultures (e.g., bereavement, slum clearance in Nigeria and the U.S., students' experience of university education in Britain, experiments with social reform in the U.S.) were referred to in the literature survey on individual adaptation (Part I, Chapter 1), has made observations of how this individual transition experience "translates" into such social systems as a com-

munity when the individual transitions are provoked by a community-wide phenomenon.

Marris' attention has been directed at social change processes such as might be expected to occur in the event of the fourth possibility above, namely, where existing **socio-cultural importances** ("the structure of meaning") are threatened and, in some cases, attenuated by environmental and social relationship changes.

Let us review briefly the experience of individual people in sociocultural change as described in Chapter 1. Changes which disconfirm our "maps" of reality and our sets of expectations require a period of time and a series of experiences which re-establish a workable, relevant perspective permitting us to deal constructively with our changed world. Marris views this as restoring a sense of continuity (p. 92), identity, and recovering meaningful patterns of relationships (p. 1). Corresponding to the "divergence-disorientation" phase in the Taylor model (1979), Marris observes that the result of change of any kind is **ambivalence**:

Whether change is sought or resisted, and happens by chance or design; whether we look at it from the standpoint of reformers or those they manipulate, of individuals or of institutions, the response is characteristically ambivalent. (p. 5)

The ambivalence is constituted by the "conservative impulse" and the impulse toward or the necessity of change. The period of ambivalence is characterized in part by activity similar to grieving, "profound conflict between contradictory impulses--to consolidate all that is still valuable and important from the past, and preserve it from loss; and, at the same time, to re-establish a meaningful pattern of relationships in which the loss is accepted" (p. 31). The conservative

impulse, then, is a vital and healthy part of the change process. Indeed, the outcomes of change "depend on how these conflicting impulses work themselves out" (p. 5). The "working out" of ambivalence is an important part of a process over time, a process which involves a painstaking "reformulation rather than a substitution" (p.92) which might be hoped for as a quick solution.

The important question in the community level of this study of adaptation is, "What are the dynamics of adaptation in the community as a whole when people are confronted with change provoked by a community-wide event such as major reductions or cessation of its primary source of employment and income?"

Marris observes that in instances of collective losses and change, ambivalence becomes externalized in different but equally facilitative ways as a mourning custom provides for the bereaved. As an observer of the process of re-colonization in Nigeria, Marris found that social institutions in the form of tribal associations sustained people through their ambivalence between loyalty to a tribal world and movement into a modern society. "The personal confusion of identity, provoked by the disruption of cultures and communities, becomes displaced onto collective expressions of a common dilemma" (Marris, 1974, p. 59). The tribal associations are characterized by some qualities which emulate the past and others which exemplify the modern world; they are inherently equivocal, thus prolonging a period of ambiguity within which people have time to find reconciliation of the contradictions in their lives.

Ambivalence is also projected into social conflict. From Marris' perspective:

...Conflict cannot be treated simply as a clash of interests: it expresses also a search for identity, whose demands are more ambiguous, evolving with the conflict itself. ...The articulation of this conflict is therefore as crucial to assimilating social changes as mourning is to bereavement (pp. 154-155).

Indeed, at this point in a social change process, conflict may be the only experience with which people can identify in a period of transition. As such, both social and conceptual structures which both serve and symbolize that conflict experience are vital to maintain some thread of identity continuity. Therefore, "rationalizations of conflict" (such as conflict ideologies) are forms of externalized ambivalence which, like the Nigerian tribal associations "mediate" the past and the present and by "protecting the inner sense of identity against disintegration, can in time lead people to contemplate the possibility of reconciliation again" (pp. 97 & 98).

It is important to emphasize here that there are genuine "clashes of interests" in socio-economic change instances such as the one under study. Conflict is not interpreted here to be insubstantial, only that, in addition to representation of interests, periods of social conflict are part of a process of working out a resolution. Secondly, resolution of social conflict is not seen here to be inevitable, nor is it seen to be predictable in its form.

From his perspective, Marris advances suggestions about how changes involving collective losses might best be managed in the inevitable period of ambivalence:

First, the process of reform must always expect and even encourage conflict. Whenever people are confronted with change, they need the opportunity to react, to articulate their ambivalent feelings and work out their own sense of it. **Second, the process must respect the autonomy of different kinds of experience,** so that groups of people can organize without intrusion of alien conceptions. **Third,**

there must be time and patience, because conflicts involve not only the accommodation of diverse interests, but the realization of an essential continuity in the structure of meaning. Each of these principles corresponds with an aspect of grief, as a crisis of reintegration which can neither be escaped, nor resolved by anyone on behalf of another, nor hurried. (p. 156)

While he refers to the possibility of resolution (what might be considered a counterpart to **convergence-re-orientation** phase in the Taylor model), Marris provides more detail about the working out of ambivalence at a community-wide level (counterpart to **divergence-disorientation** in the Taylor model) than about how that resolution is achieved, if it is achieved. Whether there is a form of the Taylor **engagement-exploration** phase which is pursued without an aura of ambivalence would only be evident in a longitudinal study of a community in change which takes into account not only cultural as well as the social structural and economic reorganization.

The Concept of Community Competence

A discussion of community adaptation leads appropriately to the questions: Adaptation in what direction? What desirable outcomes of community change? What is "the good community", as Roland Warren (1977) asks?

The community is considered in this study as both a context for individual adaptation and as a social system which, as whole, must respond and survive within a larger social-political-economic context. Therefore, one aspect of the "good community" which is implicit in the design and purposes of this study is the ability to strongly support life, health and well-being for its residents. The second is that it is able to deal effectively and constructively with community-wide

issues, such as fish plant reductions and closures, representing the concerns of its members in larger arenas of discussion and decision-making. As a starting point in this study, the good community is the strong community since the initial premise has been that it is the 'unit of survival' for the outport population. On the other hand, the health and well-being of community members is also seen as one of a number of conditions for community strength (elaborated below). This poses a reciprocal relationship between the two levels considered in this study. This relation can be depicted as follows:

Figure 2: Community-Individual Reciprocal Relationship

Community Strength
and Well-Being

Individual Strength
and Well-Being

It seems important to reiterate here that adaptive capability does not derive entirely from the qualities of a community per se but also from the qualities of its larger context and the relationship between the two. Nevertheless, the focus of this discussion must, for logistical reasons, be limited primarily to qualities of the community.

There are several "bodies" of community literature relevant to the question of its strength or vulnerability. One is the field of community mental health. Another is community development. A third is the more recent and growing field of social impact assessment.

In each of these literatures there is a theme which, though referred to with various different labels, parallels the concern in this study of the ability of a community to act collectively and proactively in representing its best interests. From the community mental health

field, Cottrell (1977) elaborates this theme as follows:

...a competent community is here conceived as one in which the various component parts of the community: (1) are able to collaborate effectively in identifying the problems and needs of the community; (2) can achieve a working consensus on goals and priorities; (3) can agree on ways and means to implement the agreed-upon goals; and (4) can collaborate effectively on required actions. (p. 548)

Contrasted with Adler's eight elements of competence (1982), one in particular 'overlaps' with Cottrell's definition, namely, the notion of community self-concept which he describes as "readiness to take corrective actions and a proactive stance in the community's context" (p. 29). From the community development field, Warren (1977) employs the label, "viability" to refer to "the capacity of local people to confront their problems effectively through some type of concerted action" (p. 538). Finally, from the recent literature on social impact assessment, the term, "political efficacy" has emerged (Bowles, 1981; Blishen et al., 1979). This will be defined and discussed below.

The second desirable feature of a community implicit in the design of this study is its capability to provide a supportive milieu and a quality of life for its members. Adler (1982) uses the all-encompassing term, "social role performance", which includes:

...providing an adequate amount of the basic supplies necessary for survival and prosperity, assuring adequate distribution of supplies among the membership, protection for its members, ongoing social support and especially support in time of stress, and making possible sense of self and social worth" (p. 38)

The raison-d'être of social units such as a community is seen as support of human life as the ultimate value in principle. From a pragmatic point of view, a community whose membership is experiencing deterioration in major proportions cannot endure.

Within this framework of a reciprocal relationship between a community and its members, there is a further distinction which seems most helpful in considering the question of community strength and vulnerability. This distinction is provided by authors in the social impact assessment literature (Bowles, 1981; Blishen et al., 1979) who describe three inter-related aspects of "community": social, economic, and political. Community strength is seen by these writers as comprising social vitality, economic viability, and political efficacy which are defined as follows:

Social Vitality refers to the process by which individuals become mutually bonded in reciprocal relationships of trust and obligation in order to share knowledge, obtain resources and resolve mutual problems. ...We conceive of social vitality as the continuum ranging from nearly total social isolation which is often labelled "privatization" to nearly total social integration, often labelled "communalism" or "communitarianism".

Economic Viability refers to the ability of a community to create and maintain its own locally initiated and controlled system of material production, exchange and consumption at a level that provides sufficient opportunities for adequate survival of members of the community. Beyond this, such opportunities must grow at a rate which at least matches the rate of natural population increase. The concept which is critical here relates to the difference between local initiation and/or control of enterprises versus the imposition or withdrawal of economic enterprises by external agents. We are not suggesting that the community-based economic system can (or should) exist in isolation from broader economic contexts, nor that anything like total control of external economic impact is possible or desirable. But if community is to survive and prosper, a reasonable level of local economic initiative and control of significant economic activities is essential.

Political Efficacy refers to the process by which a community creates and maintains some commonly accepted basis of power mobilization and distribution. Such mechanisms enable the social and economic needs of community life to be legitimately

developed with the community boundaries and be effectively negotiated beyond these boundaries with agents of the outside world. (Blishen et al, 1979, pp. 35 & 36)

Social vitality and economic viability are seen to parallel the traditional sociological distinctions between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft relationships, "socially determined inter-personal reciprocity networks", and "economically determined inter-dependency contract relationships," respectively (Blishen et al, 1979). They consider political efficacy to be "rooted" in social vitality and economic viability.

An integration of these three distinctive but related aspects of community life and the concept of reciprocity between community strength and individual member strength yields an analytical framework for identifying and assessing critical conditions of community competence. This framework can be visually represented as follows:

Figure 2: Dimensions of Community Strength

	Social Vitality	Economic Viability	Political Efficacy
Originating from the Community	Category #1 Dimensions	Category #3 Dimensions	Category #5 Dimensions
Originating from Community Members	Category #2 Dimensions	Category #4 Dimensions	Category #6 Dimensions

Dimensions of Community Strength/Vulnerability: A Tentative Inventory

The following dimensions of community strength/vulnerability is tentative in two respects: First, it may well be incomplete. It has been constructed from sources in the literature (Adler, 1982; Blishen et al., 1979; Cottrell, 1977; Taber, Walsh & Cooke, 1979; Warren, 1977) and from observations made in this comparative study. Second, these dimensions and their presumed relationships must be evaluated in the light of empirical evidence in a longitudinal study.

Finally, before proceeding, it should be stated that the following dimensions are means chosen to highlight aspects of what is a dynamic and complex set of community processes. The distinction between "community contributions" and "community member contributions" is admittedly arbitrary. For example, the capability of individuals to acquire an education and training depends, in part, to the availability of such opportunities which is a community matter. The demarcation line between community norms and personal values is often difficult to locate. Further, distinction between social and political participation could be made differently by different people. The reader may note, for example, that conflict resolution norms were designated by Blishen et al. as aspects of social vitality while here they are associated with political efficacy. Any framework is an effort to simplify a complex reality which can be only partially successful. It should be evaluated in light of its intelligibility to people who are able to use it to inform their choices of activity.

Category #1: Community Contributions to Social Vitality

This category of dimensions are intended to indicate the degree to which the community provides a physical and social environment which promotes a quality of day to day living. It includes the following seven dimensions:

1. Social Structures which Facilitate Social Contact, Collaborative Activity and the Development of Interpersonal Relationships.

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in the light of the number of opportunities community members have to become involved with one another in organizations (including service clubs, church organizations, lodges, employment settings) and in community events and activities (dances, celebrations, fairs, etc.).

2. Health and Social Services

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in terms of proximity, comprehensiveness, coordination, proactivity and relevance of health and social services available to a community.

3. Educational Resources

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in terms of the proximity, comprehensiveness and relative quality of public (e.g., schools and universities) and private (music, dance lessons, etc.) educational resources available to a community.

4. Social Protection Services

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in terms of the proximity, comprehensiveness and relative quality of protection services (eg. police and fire departments) available to a community.

5. Housing and Utilities

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in terms of the availability and cost of accommodation (including taxes) and utilities (such as electricity, sewerage, street lighting, etc.).

6. Recreational Facilities

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in terms of comprehensiveness, proximity BS cost of recreational opportunities and facilities such as sport, fitness, entertainment.

7. Community Sources of Esteem and Social Worth

Strength along this dimension would be assessed in terms of the number and estimated importance of events and activities which foster a sense of pride and worth to its members.

Category #2: Community Member Contributions to Social Vitality

This category of diensions is intended to indicate the degree to which community members provide for themselves, their families and neighbours a physical and social environment which promotes a quality of day to day living. It includes the following seven dimensions:

8. Mutual Support

Strength along this dimension would be estimated according to the extent to which members of the community assist one another both in an every day sense as well as under extraordinary circumstances.

9. Social Participation

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of patterns and values of involvement with events and activities in the community.

10. Physical Health

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of present level of physical health and personal health care patterns in the community.

11. Mental Health

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of present level of mental health and personal health care patterns in the community.

12. Mutual Problem-Solving

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the extent to which members of the community work out problems experienced among them (e.g., socially disruptive behaviour, etc.) by themselves.

13. Cultural Value Similarity

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the extent to which people in the community achieve an optional balance of: (a) similarity in values and common goals which permit collaboration and shared activity and (b) exposure to new and revitalizing views and values.

14. Demographic Composition

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the extent to which the population of a community reflects a distribution of age and sex which maximizes its productivity and survival.

Category #3: Community Contributions to Economic Viability

This category of dimensions is intended to indicate the degree to which the community provides for the material needs of its members. It includes the following six dimensions:

15. Natural Resources

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the range and amount of resources the region offers by way of mineral deposits, suitability of the land to support food production, productivity of the sea, and other geographic assets.

16. Markets

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of demand outside the community for products generated in the community.

17. Autonomy

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which businesses and industries are owned and managed by interests within the community.

18. Employment Sources

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of number and kind of jobs available to members of the community.

19. Businesses and Commercial Enterprises

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of comprehensiveness and proximity of commercial services to community members as well as number and amounts of contributions to the community's tax base.

20. Subsistence Possibilities

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of availability of non-commercial sources of food, fuel and housing materials.

Category #4: Community Member Contributions to Economic Viability

This category of dimensions is intended to indicate the degree to which community members are able and willing to provide for themselves materially. It includes the following five dimensions:

21. Occupational Structure

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of participation of adults of varying ages and sexes in employment as well as a range of skill and capability in the population for more than one form of gainful activity.

22. Sources of Income Other than Employment

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of varieties and adequacy of alternative sources of income.

23. Education and Skill

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of normative levels and transferability of education and occupational training among members of the community.

24. Work Values

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of value patterns among community members which relate to the importance and quality of work (wage employment or subsistence activities) to them and of pattern of availability to employment.

25. Material Needs and Aspirations

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the match between the demands for and availability of material resources.

Category #5: Community Contributions to Political Efficacy

This category of dimensions is intended to indicate the degree to which the community is organized to solve internal problems and represent its interests in the larger context. It includes the following eight dimensions:

26. Boundary Clarity

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which people affected and, possibly, involved with different community issues, organizations, and concerns are the same group of people and identify with this same group.

27. Community Confidence

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of a discernible level of consensual confidence in the community to handle its challenges well and on the extent to which there are historical instances of survival capability to which people refer.

28. Power Distribution

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which power distribution maximizes internal cohesion and effectiveness in external relations. While, in principle, power widely distributed (democratic) may be thought to strengthen a community, at any one point in time, it will be assessed in the light of these two practical outcomes.

29. Sources of Competent Community Leaders

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which there are norms which foster the emergence and training of community leaders.

30. Decision-Making Capability

Strength along this dimension will be assessed on the extent to which the community has social structures and norms which facilitate community decision-making.

31. Conflict Resolution Capability

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the existence of social structures and norms which foster the expression of conflicting views and resolution of genuine differences among members of the community.

32. Effective Management of Relations with the Larger Context

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the basis of the existence of the community's channels to sources of valid information and forums of decision-making outside the community as well as to its capability to negotiate its best interests in the larger context.

33. Effectiveness of Intra-Community Communication

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which the community has structures, procedures and norms which facilitate dissemination of information relevant to community concerns.

Category #6: Community Member Contributions to Political Efficacy

This category of dimensions is intended to indicate **the degree**

to which community members are able and willing to contribute to resolution of community problems and to the community's ability to represent its concerns on the larger context. It includes the following five dimensions:

34. Community Commitment

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which members of the community express preference to remain in the community and a willingness to support the community's well-being.

35. Clarity of Difference among Sub-groups

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which community members express awareness of the interests of other members and sub-groups in the community which differ from theirs.

36. Political Participation

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which community members value and expect involvement in decision-making and choice of leaders in the community.

37. Support of Community Leadership

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which community members give support to community leaders once they have been chosen.

38. Expression of Genuine Concerns

Strength along this dimension would be estimated on the extent to which community members are willing and able to represent constructively their genuine concerns and views in public forums and to appropriate public officers or leaders of the community.

Dimensions of Community Competence and Community Adaptation Process

With the above dimensions of community strength, however incomplete they may be at the moment, it is possible to discuss community changes such as primary industry loss in relation to other dimensions which may either be affected or called upon as a result. The fish plant reductions in both communities under study have reduced tremendously the source of employment of residents of the communities and their regions as a consequence, in part, of reduced strength along dimensions of natural resources (inadequate stocks) and markets (inadequate markets), and dimensions of economic viability. These have been factors in the reduction in sources of employment, another dimension of economic viability. These, in turn, have begun to affect dimensions of social vitality and make demands on dimensions of political efficacy. These will be reviewed impressionistically in the section that follows. It is also important to point out that, using this "map" of dimensions, the dimensions which have been identified as important considerations in the outcomes of change have been the capability of a community to support a quality of life for its members (Category #2 dimensions, that is, community member contributions to social vitality, physical and mental health, in particular) and as instrumental to that, the capability of a community to look after its own interests (political efficacy). In a longitudinal study, it would be possible to identify empirically, the nature of relationships among dimensions. In fact, from a perspective over time, it would be possible to monitor variations along all of these dimensions and begin to identify the relationships which exist among these various dimensions when variation on each tends to

occur in a period of change for a community and what the significant signs and turning points are. It would also be possible to establish in a more practical way, what are minimal and optimal levels of strength along various dimensions, and to develop ways to estimate strength which are maximally feasible and reliable. For the moment, both communities will be described in the light of these dimensions.

CHAPTER 5

THE STUDY OF COMMUNITIES: DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The community portion of the study was designed on the basis of two primary objectives. The first was to develop a conceptualization of a community's process of adaptation and change relevant to fishing outport realities and explore the use of the Taylor model for use in this respect. The second objective was to identify features of outport communities which are likely variables in strength or vulnerability in the face of primary industry loss.

The community aspect of the study, then, is largely a search for relevant and useful ways of thinking about the outport communities dealing with the reductions in employment opportunities in the fishery. By "useful" we mean, ways of thinking about this problem which suggest what initiatives may be taken by various parties, including the communities themselves, which would maximize their survival possibilities.

In order to accomplish this task, the approach taken was to do a comparative, inductive study of two outport communities and in doing so to take an exploratory and largely open-ended approach to collecting data. The guiding question was: What is the nature of this community (and region) that is relevant to dealing with primary industry reductions and employment loss?

The conceptualizations which have been derived in the study from the literature and the field work have also been presented with data gathered on each of the communities (Chapter 7). Since this was

designed as an exploratory study, there is no claim that the data are complete or that the descriptions of the communities are definitive. Rather they are indicative of the relevance of the conceptual frameworks developed. This enables us to suggest how and what data might be most useful to gather for studies of this nature and for the purposes of ameliorative intervention.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF COMMUNITIES

Outport communities in Newfoundland typically exist within regions, configurations of communities 'strung' along the coast line for thirty to fifty miles. Our first step was to select probable regions in consultation with the field workers in the Community Development section of Memorial University's Extension Service. The Trinity South region and the Southen Shore area between Cape Broyle and Capahaydn were chosen having met the following criteria:

- .The region has at least one fish plant whose operation has been radically reduced for economic reasons resulting in employment loss for an unusual period of time.
- .There was a reasonable probability that communities in the region would accept the study being conducted in their area and be willing to cooperate with us.
- .The regions were within reasonable driving distance of one another.
- .There were no other major research projects being conducted in the region at that time.

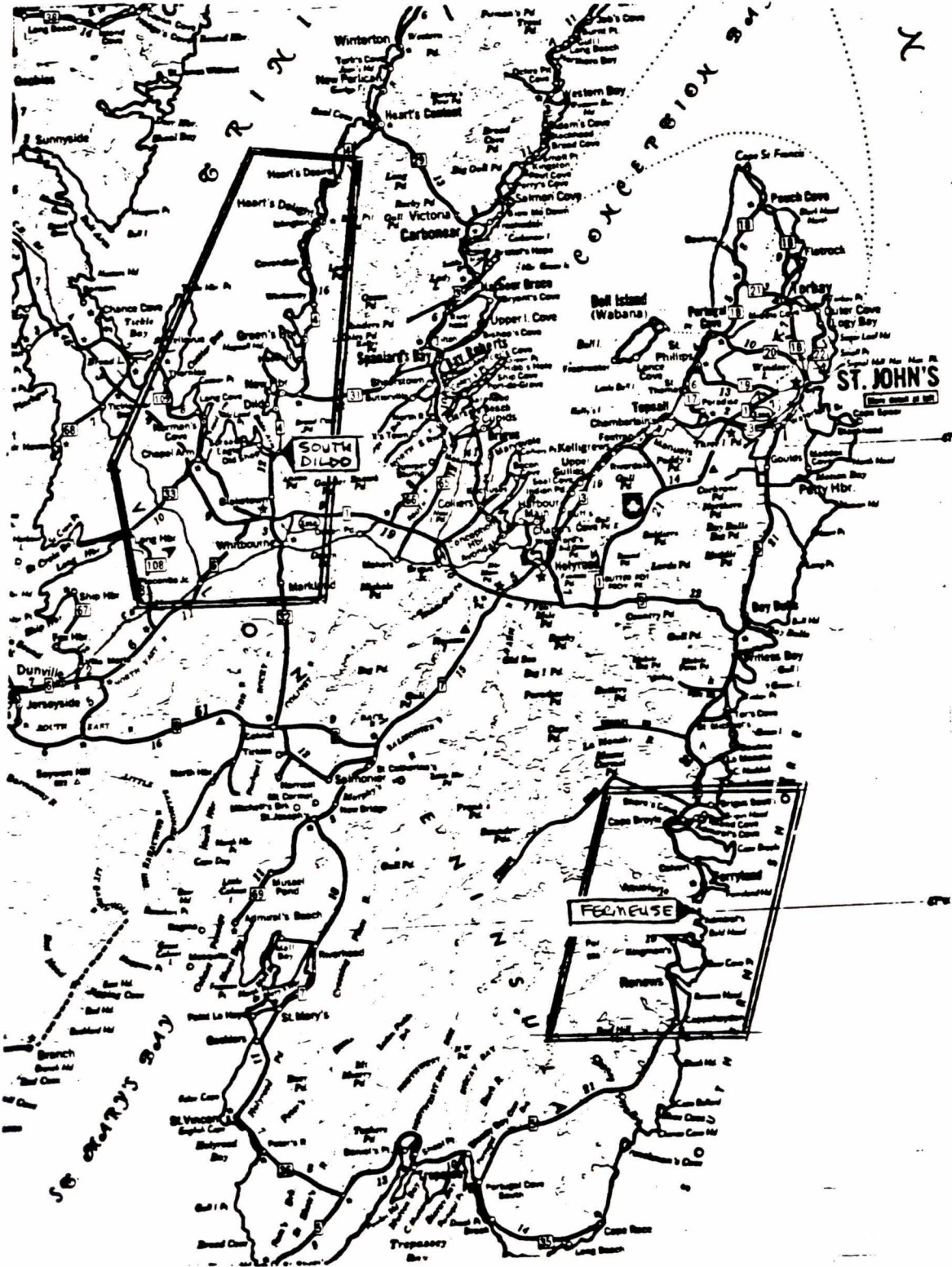
During the first two weeks of a field trip in June, 1983, we met with leaders and members of a number of communities in each region for the purpose of gaining acceptance of the project in these areas. The conversations were also oriented to learning about the communities so

as to select one of the number in each region in which to locate the study. While workers in the fish plants come from most of the communities in the regions, the time and resources available to the study did not permit an intensive study of all communities affected. Instead we concentrated the study in one community but with a continuing attention to the region as its context.

Having done some initial exploratory work, we decided that the criterion for selecting the particular communities in each region which we would locate the study in was: presence of the largest fish plant in terms of numbers of employees. In both cases, these plants were owned by interprovincial or international interests in contrast to the smaller plants which are typically owned by people within the region.

The communities selected for this study were Fermeuse on the Southern Shore and South Dildo in Trinity South (see Figure 5.1). The Fermeuse plant, owned by the Lake Group at the time of its abrupt closing in August, 1982, is the single plant with the largest number of employees in the region. As described in the introduction to this report, this plant had been nearly a year round operation in recent years having received "winter fish". Since the 1982 closing, it operated only for a poor inshore season in 1983. In South Dildo, the North Atlantic plant owned by Nickerson's is the single plant which employs the largest number of people in Trinity South. This and other plants in the region are normally seasonal. However, for the past three years the inshore operation has been reduced so radically that workers did not qualify for UIC from their work on the plants. There are four processing plants in South Dildo, of which residents of the community who work at the largest two, North Atlantic and Atlantic, were interviewed

Figure 5.1: REGIONS AND COMMUNITIES-SELECTED FOR THE STUDY*



* The areas delineated do not coincide exactly with any official boundaries.

for the individual portion of the study.

DATA COLLECTION

Sources of data for the community level of the study were interviews with residents of the communities and regions as well as records and archival materials.

Interviews

An initial set of interviews was conducted in each community early in the study (June and July, 1983) which enabled us to select and gain acceptance into the communities we came to include in the study. The initial persons contacted were those to whom we had been referred by people in the Extension Service at Memorial University. The interviews were necessarily open-ended centering on the topics of: "What has been the response by the communities (or subgroups within it)?" We also obtained assistance from community representatives interviewed in this early phase as to who else in the community we should be interviewing. The "early phase" interviews included municipal and rural development representatives, clergy, physicians, businessmen, plant workers and fishermen.

A second phase of interviewing at the "community level" was initiated in November and December. We conducted interviews with residents of the two communities and their surrounding regions who are:

.community leaders who are elected (municipal councillors, regional rural development representatives, action committee and "petition group" members, and several "retired" leaders) and some who are appointed (e.g., town clerks and heads of fire brigades);

- .owners of businesses serving the communities (including restaurants, grocery stores, building supplies, clubs, service stations, distributors, contractors);
- .representatives of social organizations;
- .professional people serving the communities and the regions (including educators, dentists, physicians, dentists, social workers, rural development field workers, public health nurses, pharmacists, law enforcement officers and clergy); and
- .fishermen and union representatives.

For the set of community interviews that were done in November and December, an interview guide included the following questions:

- .What have been the effects of the plant reductions...
 - ...financially?
 - ...emotionally?
 - ...socially?
 - ...on the family?
 - ...on physical health?
- .What has been the response to the problem? Who is working on it?
- .Have there been major problems or crises in the area previous to this?
- .Was this anticipated?
- .What do people think of what has been done on the problem?
- .What is needed?
- .What do you see as strengths of this area...
 - ...Natural resources and assets?
 - ...Human strengths?
- .What do you see as the liabilities of the area...
 - ...Natural?
 - ...Human?
- .What is your prediction about what will happen?
- .What is the best scenario that is possible?
- .What is the worst scenario that is possible?
- .On a scale of +10 to -10 where +10 means "certainly will" and -10 means "certainly won't", how would you rate the likelihood that

the community will pull together to deal with this?

The interviewers asked questions of clarification, elicited elaborations where necessary, and encouraged spontaneous discussion in addition to responses to the questions. Information about the community which people being interviewed were in a position to provide was also sought. The semi-structured interviews averaged about one hour in length.

All of the interviews in the community portion of the study were conducted by the principal investigators. Data were recorded in writing in as complete a form as possible, very often verbatim.

A total of forty-four (44) interviews were conducted in Fermeuse and the Southern Shore, in twenty-one (21) of which the interview format was used. In South Dildo and Trinity South, thirty-six (36) interviews were conducted, in eighteen (18) of which the interview guide was used. Interviews with professional people and businesses owned by people outside the two communities in the study, the discussion of the effects of and response to plant reductions was more open-ended and specific information gathered with respect to the effects of the plant difficulties on their particular social institution, practice or business.

The following table summarizes the number and kinds of occupational and community groups which are represented in the community interviews.

Table 5.1: NUMBERS* OF MEMBERS OF OCCUPATIONAL AND COMMUNITY GROUP MEMBERS REPRESENTED IN COMMUNITY INTERVIEW DATA

	Fermeuse & the Southern Shore	South Dildo & Trinity South
.Community Leaders	11	10
.Business owners/ managers	14	14
.Professionals	11	11
.Social Organization Representatives	4	4
.Plant Workers	3	6
.Fishermen	13	0
*The reader is reminded that one person can represent plant workers as an occupational group and also be a municipal councillor or represent his/her community on the rural development association.		

An important observation to be made here is that of the 36 people interviewed in Trinity South only 7 were women. In Fermeuse and area only 5 of the 44 people interviewed were women. This roughly reflects the participation rate of women as community leaders, business and professional leaders, and fishermen. However, it also means that we do not have the views and knowledge of women adults well represented in this portion of the report.

Existing Documentation and Statistical Records

In addition to interview data, we incorporated relevant data from existing records, documents and data banks into the study. Organizations whose records were sources are: Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, Newfoundland Liquour Board, North Atlantic Fisheries, Atlantic Fisheries, Newfoundland Quick Freeze, Lake Group of Companies, Municipality of Fermeuse, Newfoundland Statistics Agency of the Executive Council of Newfoundland and Labrador, and Statistics Canada.

An important limitation in the study is that there are no census data specifically on South Dildo since that community is unincorporated. Therefore, the community comparisons where these data are involved are less definitive since they are between Fermeuse and Census Division 1, Subdivision I, which includes South Dildo.

Historical records, sociological and anthropological studies were also used, though there was not an extensive attention to the range of resources of this nature, due to the limits of time and the broad parameters of this study. Where possible, the historical descriptions of the area were based on written and verbal material obtained from residents of these regions.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The interview notes (about 140 pages) were typed, copied and coded. They were recorded in such a way that it was possible to "re-classify" interview data into topics and themes. Both the 'intact' transcripts and the topical classifications have been studied extensively to "piece together" the profile of the communities which is recorded in Chapter 7.

Data from existing records and findings from completed studies were used to supplement and sharpen aspects of these community descriptions.

CHAPTER 6
HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITIES AND REGIONS:
A RÉSUMÉ AND SOME THEMES

INTRODUCTION:

Included in this chapter are resumé's of the histories in the areas under study. The emphasis here is on the word "resumé". The following historical descriptions are not intended to be complete but rather broadly representative of major historical trends and characteristics. The bases for the descriptions are more local renditions than systematically gathered archival data which time for this study did not permit.

The chapter is organized in three sections. First a historical resumé of Fermeuse and the Southern Shore. Second, a resumé of South Dildo and Trinity South. Finally, a summary of themes from these resumé's which appear to bear on the question of adaptation to change in the fishery in these two areas.

Fermeuse and the Southern Shore

Settlement

This area is one of the first inhabited by Europeans in North America. Initially, in the 16th Century, the French and Portuguese touched these shores as summer residents for fishing only. While their presence was replaced by the British in the 17th Century, it is still marked through the names of the communities on the shore. For example, Renew's is thought to derive from "Rougnoust" (French), Aquaforte from "Aqua Forte" (Portuguese for "strong waters") and Fermeuse from "For-

mosa" (Portuguese for "beautiful") (Croft et al, 1972) The British attempted permanent settlements in the 1600's under the leadership of Lord Baltimore (1627) in what is now Renewa. These were followed by Sir David Kirke some ten to fifteen years later. Kirke fell into disfavour in England and was imprisoned. The settlement seemed, then, almost to disappear. The next period could be marked as the first of many population declines on this shore.

The roots of the present population on the Southern Shore began really in the late 1700's emigration from Ireland and England. A period of prosperity between 1800 and 1815 (Croft et al, 1972) attracted people to the area coincident with "economic distress" (Croft et al, 1972) in Ireland. Population increase continued through the 1800's though some people eventually moved on to the United States. A second period of population decline occurred between 1911 and 1935 due to losses in the military during WWI and due to the Depression.

Families established in these communities have been primarily constant with no major additional wave of immigration from other areas of the world. Therefore, the population in the region is extremely homogeneous culturally being primarily of Irish descent and of Roman Catholic faith. Population increase in the 20th Century, as with most regions of the province, has been due largely to natural increase. As discussed in another part of this report, this has been considerable in Newfoundland. "Down-turns" in the economy of the area in the past five decades have resulted in some out-migration. However, there has also been a strong attachment to the area by its people resulting in men leaving for periods of the year to work elsewhere with their families remaining. "Up-turns" have also created returns to the area.

The combined population on the Southern Shore between St. John's and Cappahaydn is over 5000. In an historical account of the area recently funded by an Opportunites for Youth grant (Croft et al, 1972) it was observed that "a major drawback to the development of the Southern Shore has been lack of population...(due to) absence of industry and employment which will keep people in the area." (p.4) The relationship between the lack of population and of political "clout" in even maintaining industry in the area was referred to by several community leaders in interviews, highlighting the circularity of the problem.

The Economy

For 400 years the unchallenged primary source of livelihood on the Southern Shore has been the fishery and for the most part the cod fishery. There has been both an inshore fishery and, what used to be called, "the bank fishery" (involving larger vessels and crews to the Grand Banks). Products exported from both were salt cod and cod liver oil. Within the past thirty years, the industry has been transformed from the export of salt fish to fresh frozen fish. Other fisheries include squid, herring and capelin. Men from the Southern shore have also been involved in the seal fishery which took place off the north-east coast. Finally, in the first decade of the 20th Century there were two whale factories, one in Cape Broyle and one in Aquaforte. Associated with the whale factory in Aquaforte there was also a plant that made use of whale meat and bones.

A secondary and supplementary industry to the fishery at one time was farming (primarily potatoes and turnips) between about 1850 and 1950. There has also been some raising of livestock in the area though not for commercial purposes.

Other sources of employment in the area during the 20th Century have been projects like the construction of the railway (St. John's to Trepassey) and of two hydro-electric plants near Cape Broyle. These, of course, were temporary income opportunities.

The major businesses in the area for the past two hundred years, of course, have been fishery-related. Fish merchants bought salt fish (later "green" split fish) from the fishermen, and fish plant owners, in the past three decades, have bought fresh, gutted fish from fishermen. Initially, these major businesses have been predominantly owned by about three families who lived in the region. The businesses tended to remain in the families from generation to generation, and the families "were household names" in the regions. The construction of the Fermeuse plant was initiated by a family from another region of the province, namely, Harbour Grace. As the ownership of this plant has changed hands, the owners have become more and more remote from the community and the region.

The Newfoundland Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union was formed in the province in the late 1960's and established a local in the Fermeuse plant. The union, however, "was abandoned by the workers" in 1972 (Croft et al, 1972) and later re-established.

A cooperative was formed in Ferryland during the 1930's under the leadership of the priest of the parish. The cooperative society "took the place of the former fish merchant who was then employed as the manager of the society" (Croft et al, 1972). A cooperative (grocery store) was formed in the 1940's and still exists in Calvert.

Education and Religion

Boards of Education were established in the Ferryland District in

the mid 1800's along denominational lines (Church of England, Protestant and Roman Catholic). The Presentation Nuns, who have maintained a convent on the shore (first in Admiral's Cove, then in Renew's) since the mid 1800's, were teachers in the Catholic schools along with lay educators.

Until the early 1960's each community provided instruction to its children. Owing the 1960's a series of changes in schools on the shore culminated in regionalization of schools in the area. There is now one high school in Ferryland, Baltimore Regional High School. Fermeuse children attend Kindergarten to Grade Five in their own community, and Grades Six to Eight in Renew's. Due to dwindling numbers of Anglicans and Protestants on the shore, schooling in the area since 1940 has been entirely under the auspices of the Roman Catholic School Board.

Lord Baltimore is reported to have brought three Jesuits with him to Ferryland in 1622 (Croft et al, 1972). However, religious strife in Europe and England including official prohibition of the practice of the Catholic faith followed immigrants to Newfoundland, a British holding. While the Catholic Emancipation also occurred in the 19th Century, religious discrimination exists in the memories of people in this region today. The Renew's Gratto was erected in 1927 on the legendary Mass Rock, originally known as Midnight Rock where mass was celebrated during the time of prohibition of the practice of Catholicism.

The present church in Fermeuse was completed in 1926 and dedicated by Father C. McCarthy who held his post as pastor in the Renew's-Fermeuse-Cappahaydn parish from 1920 to 1957. Along with Father J. Walsh (1873 to 1912) and Fr. J. Scott (1873 to 1913), who served the parish simultaneously, Father McCarthy was one the the "long-term"

priests during the past century. Other priests of the parish served it for less than ten (often less than five) years.

There has been a presence of the Church of England along the shore, primarily in Bay Bulls and Aquaforte, with a mission (Society for Propagation of the Gospel) since 1611 in Ferryland. In 1863, Christ Church was consecrated in Ferryland. At the turn of the century it was merged with the parish in Petty Harbour. All this notwithstanding, the Anglican and Protestant churches have never accounted for a large portion of the population on the Southern Shore. The area has always been and is now almost totally Roman Catholic. According to the 1981 census, Fermeuse is 98.9% Catholic.

Politics and Government

Historical, political and community leadership came from the business sector (e.g., fish merchants) and clergy.

The elective political history of the district has been colourful and conflictual. In the late 1800's when interest in government became more widespread, the Progressive Conservatives were the prominent party and Sir Michael Cashin, a local fish merchant, served as the area's representative for 23 years (1893-1919). P.J. Cashin represented the area until 1951. P.J. Cashin was strongly opposed to Confederation. The district began to shift its support to the Liberal Party, electing members of that party to government through the 50's and 60's. As is the case in other areas of the province as well, even provincial ridings are often held by individuals from St. John's. However, in 1975 a resident from the area, a teacher and a Progressive Conservative defeated the incumbent Liberal in a series of closely con-

tested elections, one of which involved a court decision. The riding has been held at the federal level by the Progressive Conservatives for the past decade.

During the 1960's, municipal government came to the region and to Fermeuse in particular in 1967. Other communities in the immediate area which are incorporated are Renewes, Port Kirwan, and Ferryland. In the 1970's a regional rural development association was formed. In both cases, representatives to these bodies are elected to work on issues affecting the communities and region as a whole. Of the two, municipal government has been the strongest on the Southern Shore, adding weight to the independence and sovereignty of each individual community.

Transportation and Communication

There were two major transportation developments on the shore during this century. The first was construction of a railway from St. John's to Trepassey completed in 1913. This replacement for horse-drawn vehicles and the coastal steamer promised to greatly facilitate movement of mail, supplies (as well as export goods) and people. The railway is reported to have run into financial difficulty with the onset of WWI and the Depression. It ceased functioning in the late 1920's.

The first taxi service was begun in the 1920's, the second in 1945 and the third in 1960. There has been a bus service to St. John's which provides inter-community transportation. In the early years, the condition of the roads to St. John's was very poor. Notwithstanding proximity of the region to the provincial capital, the highway to St. John's was not paved to the Goulds until 1962 and to Trepassey until 1977. While there is a paved highway through the region at present, it is a

secondary, two-lane highway which does not permit travel above 90 km/hr. and in some places there are long stretches of speed zones between 60 and 80 km/hr.

Mail delivery followed the transportation patterns described above. At the turn of the century, communication was facilitated by the existence of the telegraph system. The first radios appeared in the 1930's. The telephone system has progressed through stages of one telephone for each community, through the installation of a party line system in the early 60's, and now to the dial system which was established in the early 70's.

Electricity was gradually incorporated in the region between the early 30's and the early 50's. The advent of television on the shore was in the early 50's.

The Fishery and Cultural-Social Patterns

Cultural, family and social patterns of outport life changed very little over several centuries until the past thirty to forty years. Life was constructed around a fishing and subsistence economy. The in-shore cod fishery has been most formative of the way of life. From June to October, fishermen both harvested the fish from the sea and prepared the product for delivery to the fish merchant. Until the 1930's when merchants began to take "green" split fish, salting and drying the fish was a process which involved the fishermen's wives as well as their children. Families also survived through their shared efforts at gardening and raising livestock. In the winter men gathered wood, built and repaired houses, and repaired fishing equipment. Women preserved food and made clothing in addition to normal preparation of food and care of the home and children.

This subsistence lifestyle has been associated with some central cultural values which persist to the present. One of these values is that the family is the unit of survival. Women have traditionally been involved in providing for the family. The second is that independence is highly valued in making a living. The third is that there is high respect for hard work.

The other set of social patterns which derives from the way the fishery traditionally operated was the nature of the relationship of the fishermen outside their families within the community. While fishermen were "self-employed" and "stood or fell" on their capability to fish, they were reliant on the willingness of the fish merchants to "back" them. They would be supplied with foodstuffs and fishing gear "on credit" from the merchant at the outset of the season. The fish delivered to the merchant would then be deducted throughout the fishing season from the amount owing the merchant. No cash was exchanged, only goods and raw material. Even the fisherman's contribution to the church was deducted from his catch by the merchant. The result of this was that, paradoxically, although the fisherman and his family were independent in how his work was done, he did not "keep his own books" and manage his own business. There was virtually absolute economic reliance on the merchant.

This outport way of life has been affected by a number of major changes in the economy of the fishery during the past forty years. The first was the shift from salting fish to fresh fish processing and the advent of fish plants. With the existence of fish plants a much greater portion of the outport communities became "employees". In a study of the Fermeuse plant conducted in 1973, Barnable notes that "many fisher-

men, cherishing their independence, were reluctant to change occupations", (p.6) and he refers to a "stigma" which was associated with the plant jobs. He further comments that "the local class system...is based on property ownership and family histories of good, industrious fishing behaviour" (p.7) Therefore, "giving up personal property and control over their work situation in favour of the stationary, controlled life of a fish plant worker" (p.7) was not desirable. He notes that the immediate income provided by the plant, however, did attract people, namely, women and young men who were no longer drying fish, men who did not own their own boats and gear, people who dropped out of high school and "good" fishermen who "despaired of the inshore fishery ever improving to what it was." The fish plants, then, created an avenue which for some at least led away from the independent, family-centered livelihood which could be lived "outside" of institutions and work organizations. It created a presence of institutionalized work including the union, and a cash-based economy for plant workers and fishermen alike. This change has not been fully assimilated to the present day in that while the daily patterns of life have changed, the values associated with an independent, family-centered life have not. Another consequence of the existence of the fish plants has been the alterations affecting women's work within the fishery. Fish are delivered fresh and "gutted" to the plants. While in some areas women have been involved in "gutting" the fish as they were in salting and drying it, this job is now done primarily by men. Work for women outside the family now exists primarily in the fish plants. In years of a bad inshore fishery, a woman's income may exceed her husband's.

The second major change in the economy of outports in the past

thirty years has been the existence of pensions and unemployment benefits which followed Confederation in 1949. In addition, various forms of government assistance to individuals and communities such as the more recent job creation projects (LIP, LEAP, Community Development grants, etc.) were eventual by-products of Confederation. Unemployment insurance became available to fishermen in the late 1960's. This kind of income reduced, to some extent, outporters' reliance on subsistence activity (e.g., production of their own food, fuel, etc.). In addition to altering day-to-day activity, the existence of this kind of income has created controversy in relation to the traditionally stronglyheld values for hard work and independence. This controversy is exacerbated in times of high unemployment. (See Chapter 7)

A third set of changes which have affected people in the fishery are the changes for fishermen per se. These include the 200 mile limit, the greater involvement of government (regulations, subsidies, etc.) and the introduction of expensive gear and boats which must be now purchased rather than built. Whether fishermen have gone to work in the plant or not, they have been faced with more "controls" on their work, higher expenses and complexity which, for some, has been overwhelming. Again, this has been a challenge to an independent way of life and a sense of mastery in one's work.

South Dildo and Trinity South

Settlement

The Upper Trinity South area* was settled at about the turn of the

*"Upper Trinity South" will be taken here to include from Heart's Desire south to Whitbourne including Old Shop. It, therefore, does not coincide exactly with the Upper Trinity South electoral district which extends north from New Harbour.

19th Century by people whose forebearers had begun to settle in what is now Trinity ("down by the top of the bay") as early as the 16th Century. Gradual settlement of Trinity Bay shores proceeded from north to south. Irish settlers are reported to have reached the first in Heart's Content by the late 17th Century. The ancestry of these settlers was primarily English, Welsh and Irish with a few families who could be traced to France. South Dildo and Old Shop were established a few years after Dildo in the early 1800's.

The town of Dildo took its name from Dildo Island which had been named before 1711. It was pointed out locally that the origin of the name could be from its meaning as "a refrain of songs". Seary (1971) offers this as one of three possibilities, the other two being "a name of the penis of phallis" and "a tree of shrub of the genus Cereus". Seary's choice of the most probable is "the usage heard in the north of England in which it is a name not of the penis or phallis but of the vagina, applied here as descriptive to a deep, narrow bay" (p.70).

Economy

The "immigrants" from Trinity to the bottom of Trinity Bay were all in the fishery, most of them as fishermen, some as merchants. By 1889 there was a booming cod fishery, perhaps one of the largest in the world. There was also a herring fishery.

In the late 1700's there were some ship-building operations which originated in a major ship-building location, Trinity. These were situated primarily in Heart's Content and to an extent in New-Harbour (Rowe, 1976). The industry existed in Heart's Content until 1862.

In the 1890's the government operated a cod fish hatchery on Dildo Island. In 1893 some 201,435,000 cod were hatched in this facility (Prowse, 1972).

In the early 1900's paper mills appeared in the area. A lot of fishermen were cutting wood for pit props and engaging in paper-making for supplementary income. In addition to outside woods work, further supplemental income was provided in making drum hoops out of birch rods between 1900 and 1940.

Unable to return to his native Norway due to its occupation by the Nazis in WWII, a whaling captain who had come to Newfoundland visited the Upper Trinity bay area. He was impressed with the population of whales in the area and with resolve, returned to establish the whaling industry. Whaling provided economic support for the region between the late 1940's and early 1970's when the ban on the whale hunt began. The whale processing plant has been located in South Dildo. The pothead whale contained an expensive oil which was used in airplane instruments. The minke whale was hunted as food source for European markets, notably Norway (Decks Awash, 1977).

During the years of the whaling industry, mink ranching emerged in the area based on the availability of waste products from the whale processing plant. The Newfoundland Fur Farmers Cooperative Society was formed in 1955 for the mink ranching industry. The Cooperative operated in this way for twelve years when mink ranching was discontinued at the point when the price for pelts fell and the cost of food increased. In 1970 the Cooperative converted its facility to be used for fresh fish processing, employing approximately 25 people. It also handles freezing for a neighbouring fish plant and other along the

shore.

The seal fishery in Trinity Bay goes back to the 18th Century when crews departed for the "ice fields" from the "top of the bay". The direct relevance of the seal fishery began in South Dildo with the opening of the Carino plant for processing seal pelts in place of the defunct whale processing operation. During its operation it employed 30 to 35 workers in peak times. Unfortunately, the plant closed last year due to the international boycott on Canadian seal pelts.

As with all regions of Newfoundland, fishermen in Upper Trinity South exchanged their fish with the local merchant for equipment, supplies and food stuffs. For several centuries there had been no cash involved in transactions with fishermen. The advent of cash as a form of payment for products and labour came with the American Forces bases in WWII, one of these being near the Upper Trinity South region in Argentia. About 10% of the men from the area and several women worked in Argentia by commuting; their families remained at home and the workers came home on weekends. The U.S. bases began to close in the late 1960's.

Finally, residents of the area were employed in the construction of the Come-by-Chance oil refinery which ultimately did not operate as such, and in the presently operating phosphorus plant in Long Harbour, well within commuting distance.

Whatever the developments of the region over time, the fishery has remained the major employer and means of livelihood throughout.

Education and Religion

The dominant faith in the area initially was the Church of Eng-

land. South Dildo was part of the New Harbour Mission, established in 1878. Clergy had served the region for decades previous to this. The school system, as in the rest of Newfoundland, was provided under the auspices of the church. The first teacher in Dildo was a clergyman in the 1870's.

The Methodists came to the peninsula in the late 1800's. The Salvation Army became established in the area in the 1890's. In recent decades additional religious groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses have become established in the area as well.

Even the smallest community had its own one-room school and possibly church. Clergy would be in charge of several communities between which they commuted. This is still the practice today though in some cases, the congregations have been consolidated. For example, the Anglican parish for South Dildo is based in New Harbour, though there is a small chapel in South Dildo which has recently been rebuilt. The United Church congregation is based in New Harbour, as is the Salvation Army which also has a church in Blaketown to which South Dildo residents belong. The schools have been regionalized since the late 1950's; St. George's High School which serves South Dildo had been built in New Harbour in 1958. The Protestant and Anglican students have been integrated in one school system. The few Catholic students in the area attend a Catholic School.

Post-secondary and professional education possibilities for Newfoundlanders came into being in the 1920's with the establishment of Memorial University College. The first person to attend university from the area did so in 1935.

The Newfoundland College of Fisheries, Navigation, Marine Engi-

neering and Electronics was established in 1964 for what seems in these time to be an ironic purpose, "to come to grips with the problem that had threatened to cripple the fishing industry in the midst of its greatest boom in decades--the shortage of skilled manpower" (Smallwood, 1967, p. 164).

There is also a trades school in Carbonear which is attended by people from the Trinity Bay area.

Legal and Political History

One of the colourful stories in Trinity South's political history is that, elected to represent in the area in 1937, Thomas FitzGibbons Moore walked to St. John's for legislative sessions.

Like the South Shore, the elected representatives to the Provincial Assembly and the Federal Parliament have been from the business and professional sectors primarily. Also, like the Southern Shore, elected representatives have often been from St. John's. Unlike the other region in this study, at both levels of government this area has been represented by the same party (Liberals) with the exception of one term in the 70's at the provincial level when a Progressive Conservative, a resident of the region was the M.H.A.

Transportation and Communications

Transportation to St. John's before 1900 was by schooner. After the turn of the century a road to the capital was constructed. At this point the population became more mobile geographically both with respect to travel to St. John's and also between communities. A railway

across the island was constructed in the 1890's, the mainline of which went through Whitbourne. A branch line to Heart's Content was constructed around 1913. This line made freight delivery to merchants possible. From a branchline to Old Broad Cove Station in about 1900 freight was transported by road to South Dildo. The railway's branchlines were taken off in 1940.

The first cars appeared in the late 1920's in the area; they typically belonged to vacationers from St. John's. It was not common for people from the area to own their own cars until the late 1940's, an event that coincides with the availability of credit.

One of the outstanding features of the Trinity South region is the Heart's Content Cable Station which was constructed in 1866, thereby establishing trans-Atlantic cable communication. It became possible to communicate by telegraph in the early 1900's as a supplement to postal service. By 1920 there were telephone pay stations, one or two to a community. Telephones in private homes did not become common until the late 1940's and the 1950's. Radio appeared in the region in the 1920's and became common in the 1930's. Television came to Newfoundland in 1955 and became common in this region by 1960.

THEMES RELEVANT TO CONTEMPORARY REALITIES, PRECEPTIONS AND RESOURCES FOR DEALING WITH CHANGE

.The fishery, through good years and bad years, has been the primary livelihood in both these regions for hundreds of years.

For 400 years on the Southern Shore and for 200 years along Trinity South, the fishery has been the primary economy. While there have been offshore operations in both areas (cod and whaling on the Southern

Shore, and whaling and sealing in Trinity South), the inshore fishery has been highly formative of patterns in community and family life. While stating that they would be willing to consider alternatives if necessary, many people find it difficult to imagine that there are any. The Trinity South economy throughout its history has been slightly more diversified (e.g., boat building, employment in mines within commuting distance, etc.) but the Southern Shore has been wholly dependent on the fishery as the local industry.

Additionally, the fishery has a history of being "up and down". "Newfoundland fishermen are used to this. ...Fishermen know that some years you make it and some you don't." Bad times survived in the past seem to reduce the likelihood that several consecutive bad years now will be interpreted as a crisis. "Nobody believes there is a crisis. There has always been a crisis."

.Traditionally, industries and businesses in both regions have been privately owned and operated by salient families with the regions.

It has only been during the last twenty-five to thirty years out of the 200 to 400 years of settlement that there has been international, interprovincial, indeed, inter-regional ownership of major business and industries in these regions in significant proportions. Traditionally, business have been owned from generation to generation by prominent families, several in each region. This has implications for patterns of political and community leadership (discussed below) as well as for expectations by people of how businesses should be managed. In the case of the latter, there is a current belief by many that the small, privately-owned plants are the most competently managed and most likely to be viable. This comes in the wake of the widespread failure

of large inter-provincially and internationally owned fish plant operations which have consumed large portions of public funds.

Both regions have included government-supported cooperatives as business enterprises during the past fifty years. These have played only a minor role in the economies of the regions.

.The churches have played an important role in each region but most particularly so on the Southern Shore where the existence of virtually one church has augmented cultural homogeneity and created a high degree of social cohesion.

Life on the Southern Shore has been as focused around the church as it has around the fishery. Barnable observed in 197? that "no formal organizations (except religious organizations) as yet exist in Fermeuse. The clergy still initiate community planning and translate it, through familial heads, into action" (p.2). While two exceptions to this observation actually did exist (the Women's Institute and the Legion), the observed trend seems consistent with findings in this study. Indeed, at present, one of the two traffic "jams" in communities along the shore each week is Mass (the other being at the clubs which have bands). In recent decades, organization such as Kinsmen, Kinettes, the Recreation Association, Fire Brigade, etc. form a contemporary counterpoint to church-centered community involvement. Nevertheless, the church in Fermeuse still constitutes the one community institution to which all residents (and those of Port Kirwan and Kingman's Cove) still belong. In the Trinity South area, in addition to less constant involvement in the churches by residents, there are more than half a dozen churches to which people from South Dildo belong. In referring to the "multiplicity of churches" one community leader observed, "We're too split up."

.Traditionally, political and community leadership in both areas has come, as it has throughout the province, primarily from the business sector (prominent families in the regions) and from professional people, the latter on the Southern Shore being especially clergy.

- Credibility, community authority and power have historically been concentrated in the owners of major businesses (merchants and fish plant owners) and professional people. While different sources of leadership are now emerging (discussed below), the traditional lines of authority remain in important theme.

.Democratically elected local government has been introduced only within the past twenty to twenty-five years. Municipal councils, more common on the Southern Shore than in Trinity South, constitute another kind of social structure which can augment communities' autonomy within a region.

Municipal government is a recent phenomenon in both regions, having occurred in the 60's. Fermeuse was incorporated in 1967 and other communities on the Southern Shore (Renews, Port Kirwan, Ferryland) within a few years of this date. Communities in the Trinity South area including South Dildo, for the most part, did not choose to organize municipally. The exceptions to this in the region are Heart's Delight-Islington, Whiteway and Cavendish. Several other communities including Old Shop have recently organized a community council, a less formal level of local government.

For the purposes of this study, there are three important trends that relate to the formation of local government. The first is that Fermeuse has a second social institution which represents its residents (the church being the first, mentioned above), and, again, in this respect, South Dildo has no such community-wide organization. The second is that, even where local government does exist, it is novel and some-

thing which the community is learning to work with. One community leader stated, "People are a long time coming to recognize that when they elect local government, they are electing the first of three levels of government." There are considerable problems when elected peers are in a position to make decision for the community (discuss in detail in the next chapter). Finally, municipal government is one of a number of organizations which represent the emergence of leadership in the regions from a defferent sector of the community, more "lateral" participation in contrast and as a counterpoint to the traditional hierarchal authorities. All of these consequences add up to potential for confusion and conflict in leadership, decision-making and problem-solving. Similar patterns appear to apply to the union.

.Ease of geographic mobility among communities in these regions is a recent phenomenon relative to the total number of years of their existence.

There have been only about forty years of motor vehicle travel between communities in both areas. The communities, however proximate in contemporary terms, were, for most of their history, quite isolated and self-contained. They typically provided their own schools and churches. Families from generation to generation were associated with the same communities, though men tended to marry women possibly from neighbouring communities (Porter, 1983). Family names in both regions tend to be associated with particular communities, even at present. Historical isolation has solidly set the groundwork for separate and distinct community autonomy and identity.

.Within the past twenty to twenty-five years the social institutions of these separate communities have been regionalized, diminishing

munity control and authority.

There has been a trend during the past twenty-five years to centralization of social institutions such as schools and churches, and, in the Trinity South area, its hospital. In many cases, communities have unsuccessfully resisted this trend. The result has been a diffusion of community identity and control, as well as, in some cases, a loss of confidence among residents in their capability to influence events which affect them (discussed further in Chapter VII).

.Introduction of a cash economy and exposure to urban realities through media and travel have introduced values, material success and educational achievement which compete with traditional importance of vocational independence and contentment with subsistence-supported livelihoods.

Outport life in both the regions under study is a combination of modern and subsistence life styles. While there is recourse, especially in hard times, to subsistence supported living (from oil to wood fuel, hunting, fishing, gardening, etc.), life has become much more similar to suburban and urban realities. Entertainment and recreation includes dining out, movies, international vacations, and the like. As one of the clergy pointed out, "In the last fifteen to twenty years, people have put their dependence in material things. You will go into a few homes which are poor. (They all have) modern conveniences, etc." Income and consumption expectations and notions of what constitutes successful living are in the midst of change.

.The advent of fresh fish processing and fish plants in both regions has created important and controversial changes in the occupation structure of outports, also a recent phenomenon.

Fish plants have brought an industrial reality to outports and

have created a new occupational subgroup in these communities, industrial workers. While hard work in any task has been traditionally valued, the nature of the work in plants (indoors, under supervision, etc.) is not esteemed in the ways that fishing has been with its independence (in how work is done), outdoor nature and ownership of one's own gear. For plant workers, respect from the community would be less likely to come from their occupation than from personal qualities and one's community and family roles.

.While women's participation in the fishery is still in the processing aspect of it, it occurs in an industrial rather than family context.

Many women still contribute to sustaining their families through work involvement in the fishery. However, the family is no longer the "work unit" as it was in the 'salting and drying' days. In the fishery, women work outside the family for cash income.

.Government sources of personal income (unemployment benefits, works programs, etc) have also appeared in outports within the last thirty years and are objects of controversy and division within the community.

Where outporters maintained their independence through subsistence activities and fishing in previous generations, seasonal fishing is supplemented by unemployment benefits and "bad" years supported by local works projects which enable residents to retain unemployment benefits. While the necessities for cash have increased dramatically making such income supplements a tremendous asset, their existence in some forms is also controversial. There is a concern about the growing dependence of outporters on government and about subversion of "the work ethic." "We're selling our right to decide."

CHAPTER 7

DIMENSIONS OF STRENGTH/VULNERABILITY: A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF FERMEUSE AND SOUTH DILDO

This chapter is a comparative description of each of the two communities under study in the light of the thirty-eight (38) dimensions of community strength/vulnerability as outlined in Chapter 4. While measures of strength/vulnerability are not established, we have attempted to estimate the degree of community strength (high, medium-high, medium, medium-low, low) during a period of change and stress along each dimension on the basis of this beginning exploratory description. Also included is an assessment of how these dimensions of strength have been affected by the recent fish plant reductions (increasing, no change, decreasing).

The reader is reminded that this is an exploratory rather than a definitive, systematic study of two communities. The estimates and assessments are not based on refined measurements or complete data. Indeed, the criteria for assessments must be considered tentative.

The chapter is organized into three sections (dimensions of social vitality, economic viability, and political efficacy) with a "summary and discussion" section at the end.

SOCIAL VITALITY

Dimensions discussed in this section (outlined below) are intended to indicate the degree to which the community and its members provide a physical and social environment which promotes a quality of day-to-day living.

Category #1: Community Contributions to Social Vitality

1. Social Structures which foster Social Contact Interaction and Collaboration.
2. Health and Social Services.
3. Educational Resources.
4. Protection Services.
5. Housing and Utilities.
6. Recreational Resources and Facilities.
7. Community Sources of Self Esteem and Social Worth.

Category #2: Community Member Contribution to Social Vitality

8. Mutual Support.
9. Social Participation.
10. Physical Health.
11. Mental Health.
12. Mutual Problem Solving.
13. Cultural and Value Similarity
14. Demographic Composition.

Category #1: Community Contributions to Social Vitality

1. Social Structures which foster Social Contact, Interaction and Collaboration.

Both communities and their regions appear considerably strong on the dimension of social structures which provide for contact, collaboration and interaction among residents. While it is not possible to state what is "normative" in this respect for communities in Canada, the inventory of organizations and social occasions which are vehicles for social participation in addition to general geographic proximity, suggests that both communities provide ample opportunities for community members to be involved with each other. It seems that two communities could be rated as high strength on this dimension.

a. Social, Religious, and Community Service Organizations. In the region around South Dildo, these include Lions, Lionettes, the Society of United Fishermen and its women's council. There are three main churches and an additional three or four smaller ones. In addition to providing religious services, there are organizations for women associated with virtually every church and in some cases there are men's church organizations as well. There is a volunteer fire brigade which is shared among Old Shop, Blaketown and South Dildo. The Legion is located in Blaketown. Most of these organizations sponsor community events, often for fund-raising purposes. The churches sponsor suppers, the Lions bingo and dances, and the like. For youth there is sea cadets, scouts, cubs, beavers, guides, brownies, and pathfinders.

In Fermeuse-Renews, there are Kinsmen and Kinettes as well as the Women's Institute and the Catholic Women's League (associated with the

parish). The Legion is in Ferryland. These organizations sponsor events such as weekly bingo (church), garden parties, Christmas parades and concerts. Mass is celebrated in the church in Fermeuse for its residents and for those of Port Kirwan and Kingman's Cove. Other events as well as weekly bingo are conducted in Fermeuse for this portion of the parish which also includes the church in Renew's. The volunteer fire department is a joint venture with Renew's (involving men). For youth there are Scouts, Guides, Cubs, Brownies, and Pathfinders. A day centre is operated by students during the summer.

b. Commercially-provided Opportunities for Social Contact:

There is one club (licensed beverage lounge) in South Dildo which provided for both social drinking as well as dances and events sponsored by both the club itself and also by social organizations and businesses in the area. The nearest restaurant (other than "take-out") is some 15 km. away.

In Fermeuse, there are two clubs (again which sponsor dances and the like) and one restaurant. There is a dart league which meets weekly at one of the clubs.

c. Work Related Organizations which Provide for Social Contact:

Clearly, one of the ways in which the plants have served communities is the fact that, though not an expressed purpose, they bring people from the region together. Though there is a high level of continuous noise and regulations which restrict conversations during work in the plant (Barnable, 197?), people do communicate to some extent, and travel together to and from work, as well as share breaks and lunch

hours. A number of plant workers in this study identified social contact at the plant as important to them. There are also union locals which function in the Fermeuse plant and two of the four South Dildo plants which call meetings of their member and create further contact among people from the communities in the respective regions from within Fermeuse and South Dildo.

Strength on this dimension in both regions is estimated as high.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. The most severe effects on this dimension have been with respect to the work-related and commercial organizations which provide for social contact. Of course, the numbers of work days per year at the plant has dropped by from 60% to 70% in Fermeuse (1981 to 1983) and in South Dildo (1980 to 1983). The unions locals have been relatively inactive in both areas during these periods. For a small proportion (under 30 people) in each area, there would have been an intensification of contact through activities like the action committee in Fermeuse and the petition sponsorship in South Dildo. Nevertheless, the net result of plant reductions is a loss of strength on this dimension.

Owners of clubs and restaurants in both areas have reported losses in volume of business between 50-70%. Dances and events at all clubs have been curtailed. Owners of clubs in Fermeuse are considering reducing the number of business hours. The South Dildo club is operating at regular hours only because the owner provides virtually all his own labour. The availability of the clubs then is reduced substantially.

While the existence per se of social and community organizations for adults and youth has not been affected to date, the activities have.

Organization in both areas (e.g., Kinsmen, Lions, Recreation Association, etc.) have reported major reductions in fund-raising (30-50%). "Bingos aren't like they used to be." "Selling tickets is harder." One of the consequences of reduced fund-raising which is being experienced to date is more limited resources for youth organizations. "Leaders have cut out the activities which cost money, e.g. trips. We have switched to things where materials are re-useable." (For participation changes, see "Social Participants" in Category #2, below.)

Financial support to churches in the Fermeuse area has not changed; in the Trinity South area there have been no reductions and at least one church reported an increase in its resources from its membership.

Strength along this dimension is decreasing in both communities.

2. Health and Social Services

Social services offices, doctors, public health nurses and dentists are between ten and twenty kilometers from each of the two communities. Utilization of these services requires a car. Hospital facilities for Fermeuse are in St. John's (about 110 km.) with the aid of an ambulance service. Residents of South Dildo have recently lost the cottage hospital which had served the region. They now must go to St. John's (about 100 km.). The Canada Manpower office serving Fermeuse is in Mount Pearl South of St. John's (about 100 km.) and South Dildo is Harbour Grace (about 60 km.). Again, a car is required. There are no professional counselling service in the two areas outside of the schools. This kind of help is, in some cases, available from

the clergy, physicians and the like. We know of one instance where health and social services have attempted to provide preventive health programs (an effort to reduce alcohol consumption on the Southern Shore); the norm, however, is one of responding to individuals who present themselves.

The quality of services offered are not evaluated. Rather on the basis of comprehensiveness, proximity and proactivity of the level of strength on this dimension is estimated as **medium**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on This Dimension. No new services or programs have been added to address conditions of extraordinary conditions of employment loss. Strength on this dimension is **unchanged**.

3. Educational Resources

Formal educational institutions for children and youth exist outside both communities, with the exception of one of the two regional elementary schools which is located in Fermeuse. As indicated in Chapter 4, schools in Newfoundland are religiously affiliated, Fermeuse being Catholic and South Dildo being Protestant. Years of schooling available in both these regions go from Kindergarten to Grade 12, Grade 12 having been added to the curriculum only in the last year. Members of the teaching staffs in both areas tend to be quite permanent (low geographical mobility) and, in many cases, originated from the region in which they are teaching. There is a limited adult education program in both areas through the schools and both regional school systems offer extra-curricular sport programs. The adult education program in the Southern Shore (Ferryland) includes basic high school upgrading and

typing; in Trinity South (New Harbour) high school upgrading, crochet, stitch and sew, and interior decoration. Memorial University offers a part-time credit program in Trepassey (65 km. South of Fermeuse) this year in anthropology and psychology; credit courses are offered in Whitbourne (15 km. from South Dildo) in mathematics and English. Courses from both the high school and university are offered on the basis of demand. The College of Fisheries would do the same but is presently offering no courses in these areas. Trade Schools and university programs are in St. Johns (except for Trinity South there is a trade school in Carbonear, 51 km. from South Dildo). Accommodations in St. John's tends to be added to other school expenses, since neither community is within easy commuting distance though this is possible. Again, on the basis of comprehensiveness and proximity of educational resources to residents of these communities, strength along this dimension is estimated at **medium**.

Effect of Plant Reduction on This Dimension There have been no changes in educational services and programs in either community since plant reductions. Strength along this dimension is **unchanged**.

4. Protection Services

Both regions are under the jurisdiction of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), though the detachments in both cases are in other towns in the regions. The Whitbourne detachment (Trinity South) is staffed by eight officers; the Ferryland detachment by six. In both cases, the detachment offices are within twenty kilometers. A volunteer fire department exists to serve each community, being shared by

the communities in this study and at least one other neighbouring community in the region. Both services appear to be adequate to the needs of the respective areas. Strength is estimated at medium.

Effect of Plant Reduction on This Dimension Strength along this dimension is **unchanged**.

5. Housing and Utilities

An extraordinary proportion of homes are owned by their occupants in these areas, though this seems to be dropping in recent years (see Table 7.1). A very high proportion of these homes have been constructed in the past ten years.

Table 7.1: Occupied Private Dwellings--Percentage Owned

	Canada	Newfoundland	Fermeuse	Div.1, Subdiv.I*
1976	61%	80.6%	91.3%	97.8%
1981	-	80.6%	81.4%	94.6%

Table 7.2: Occupied Private Dwellings--Period of Construction

	Newfoundland	St. John's	Fermeuse	Div.1, Subdiv.I*
Total Number Constructed:	148,420	24,525	210	190
Before 1946	30,975 (20.8%)	6,570 (26.7%)	75 (35.7%)	60 (31.5%)
1946-1960	35,670 (24.0%)	5,270 (21.4%)	20 (9.5%)	35 (18.4%)
1961-1970	31,690 (21.4%)	5,895 (24.0%)	40 (19.0%)	25 (13.1%)
1971-1981	50,090 (33.7%)	6,790 (27.6%)	70 (33.3%)	75 (39.4%)

*All Canada Census figures used in this report in relation to South Dildo are Division 1, Subdivision I and includes: Bear's Cove, Bristol's Hope, Tullies, Harbour Grace, Harbour Grace Airport, Pond Side, Rushhead Harbour Grace, Saddle Hill, South Dildo, Southside, Spare Point, Spoon Cove, Stevensons Village, The Thicket. Census figures are unavailable for South Dildo exclusively, being unincorporated.

It is customary for people with the aid of their families and friends to do much, if not most, of the construction. There are recent instances of young married couples moving into a completely furnished new house which they built and own themselves. Nevertheless, a spokesman at Newfoundland and Labrador Housing, reported that, since 1974 a total of 17 mortgages and grants were received in Fermeuse and 9 in Dildo and South Dildo combined. With comparable populations, it is noticeable that the rate in Fermeuse is double that in South Dildo. Rented accommodation is available. Families who move from the area, even out of the province, are reported to often rent rather than sell, their homes in the expectation that they may return. Accordingly, real estate activity is low to the extent that there are no regional real estate offices. Any real estate sales, if handled commercially, are transacted in St. John's.

Utilities such as electricity and telephone, are, of course, available. In Fermeuse (which is incorporated) street lighting, water and sewage is provided and paid for through taxes. In South Dildo, which is not incorporated, these services are paid for by individual residents. Home heating is either on the basis of oil or wood fuel. Based on cost and availability, strength along this dimension is estimated at **high**.

Effect of Plant Reduction on this Dimension There has been little mobility since plant reductions and employment prospects are not any better in other parts of the province or the country. Though there have been some people, particularly young adults, returning to these communities due to poor employment conditions elsewhere, there seems to have been no problems reported with respect to the availability of housing. However, there has been a major reduction in household repairs let alone additional and new construction.

There are beginning to be strong effects of plant reductions on availability of utilities. Residents of both communities have reduced incomes out of which they must pay utility bills. To date, however, no increase in loss of service due to non-payment of bills has been reported to this study. A major increase in use of wood instead of oil has been reported. An oil distributor in Fermeuse stated that he has observed a 50% decrease in purchase of household heating oil in the past year and a half. Additionally, in Fermeuse where street lighting, water and sewage as well as road repair are provided through taxes, there have been cut backs in road repair and a decreasing capability to provide repairs as a result of drastic loss of the municipality's tax base. Strength along this dimension is decreasing gradually in both communities.

6. Recreational Resources and Facilities

Several people in Fermeuse felt that one of the weaknesses of the community was the lack of formal recreational facilities, whether sports arenas or public pools. "Our recreation facilities are minimal. Our kids are probably deprived in this area (of recreation)." In some communities, federal works projects have included the construction of playgrounds and outdoor pools, but this has not been the case in either of the two specific communities in the study. Children in both regions can be seen playing in summer near the highway, usually the main thoroughfare in the town. There is a hockey arena and pool in Whitbourne which serves residents of South Dildo. For Fermeuse residents, recreation facilities may be booked in St. John's. There is, however, an adult dance fitness program at the high school in Ferryland. There is an ath-

letic association in Fermeuse and a sports and recreation association in the South Dildo area. Softball is organized in the summer. In the Trinity South area, there is a hockey league and there is figure skating for youth. As observed in Chapter 3, physical outlets are primarily work and home maintenance related .

Both communities are about equally distant from spectator sports, cultural events, movies, theatre and the arts in St. John's though, as pointed out in other parts of this report, driving time to the capital is less for residents of South Dildo due to the use of a primary highway.

Based on availability and proximity, Fermeuse is estimated as low in strength on this dimension; and South Dildo as medium-low.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension This dimension has been affected considerably by the plant reductions. In Trinity South funds available to the hockey and stadium have been curtailed such that the electricity has been disconnected several times. Recently, fund raising for the hockey league has also been reduced by more than 80%. Additionally, necessary reductions in transportation spending has radically reduced opportunities to access entertainment and recreation in St. John's. The minimal strength along this dimension in both areas is decreasing, markedly.

7. Community Sources of Esteem and Social Worth.

Data on this dimension were not collected through direct questions. However, through interviews and discussions with community representatives from both regions, several themes related with community contributions to personal esteem and pride began to emerge. One was

that community-created events and accomplishments, projects, the existence of organizations and industries, social institutions, winning teams in sports and even prominent individuals affect residents' feelings toward their community. "The Women's Institute had a trip to Ottawa." "Hockey has disappeared... [but we] had a team that could beat St. John's." To the extent that personal identity and perceptions by others are associated with where one lives, a personal sense of worth may be affected by perceptions and evaluations of the community. Second, people tend to make competitive comparisons between theirs and other communities. "We're the only community that had Canada Day celebrations." The absence of community institutions and organizations in South Dildo per se and, therefore, also the absence of community-created events and projects though with four fish plants within its boundaries which provide employment for the region would suggest that South Dildo could be estimated at **medium-low** on this dimension. Fermeuse, on the other hand, with its community organization, several social institutions (church and school), the fish plant which employs residents of other communities as well could be rated **medium-high** prior to the plant reductions.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. As indicated in prior categories, most of these community sources of self-esteem and social worth discussed here have been negatively affected by plant reductions so that strength along this dimension could be described as **decreasing** in both communities.

Category #2: Community Member Contributions to Social Vitality

8. Mutual Support

In both communities there is a strong ethic of mutual support which exists certainly within extended families. As indicated in Table 3.12, spouses and children are reported to most important, followed by parents. In South Dildo, grandparents and "special" relatives are also extremely important. In Fermeuse "special" friends were also very important. Fermeuse was reported to be among the communities within its region where single parent mothers are supported by their families and do not seek social assistance; in some of the other communities, that is not always the case. This seems to be less so in South Dildo. There are people in both areas who tend to readily offer aid to families which are struck by accident, illness or disaster, or to individuals who experience smaller setbacks. For example, if a fisherman's boat motor does not function, another fisherman will haul his trap.

Strength along this dimension in both communities is estimated as high.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. Financial strain has put a high premium on mutual support resources in several ways. A number of plant workers interviewed in the individual portion of the study reported that family members and friends have helped them through the hard times so far. Also, there are indications that there is an increased reliance on friends and neighbours for repairs and the like. Service station operators in the one area reported a decrease in commercial auto repairs due to an increase in "home" auto repairs.

There is also another response to unemployment. Outport people, at least those over thirty, place a high value on independence and self-

sufficiency. There seems to be a tendency in both areas but especially so in South Dildo to regard unemployment as a problem of individuals which must be solved by them looking out for themselves. An unemployed person (male, in particular) can protect himself from losing respect in the eyes of his neighbours by working hard in the woods, and keeping busy. Nevertheless, unemployment, even when it is so widespread, may have the potential for fragmenting relationships among people in these communities (see "Work Values", Category #4).

9. Social Participation

As might be presumed to some extent from the long list of community organizations and social activities, both communities' populations exhibit considerable enthusiasm for social involvement. However, among plant workers interviewed in the individual portion of the study, the percentage of individuals who belonged to at least one organization in the region was 45% of women from both communities, 50% of men from Fermeuse, but only 25% of men from South Dildo. Several community leaders in Trinity South observed that different occupational groups tend to belong to different social organizations. Another person stated that it was difficult to get the "high class people together with the lower class people". While there may well be similar patterns in the Southern Shore, this did not emerge as a theme in the community interviews and the participation rate among plant workers is higher. It is likely that participation in the church is higher, since everyone belongs to the same one. It would seem that community cohesion is higher. Further detail on the social participation rate, in the whole community and regions, especially if informal, episodic events are included, is very

difficult to ascertain from our data.

Strength along this dimension is estimated in Fermeuse as being **medium-high** and in South Dildo as **medium**.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. While there are patterns of consequences to social participation which are common between the two communities, there are also some very noticeable differences. Each community will be discussed here separately in a comparison-contrast fashion.

In Fermeuse, only two people interviewed in the community portion of the study thought there was no social impact evident. Neither of these were plant workers. Seventeen others observed major decreases in people's social involvement. Attendance at clubs, darts, bingo and dances is reported to be down. Adult organizations in the area have not lost membership. Meetings which cost little to attend are not affected. It is the youth organizations where memberships have diminished dramatically. For example, Brownies have dropped from 34 to 24; Guides from 24 to 15; and Pathfinders from 10 to 5. "It's only four dollars per year but if there is more than one kid from a family, it's expensive. It involves gas and lunches, too." Even informal socializing is reported to have decreased. "It comes to the point that you don't invite people in because you can't afford the company." Another person stated: "People still mix but it is limited by the money." The image of "things slowing down... [and] coming to a stop" was used by several respondents. "Everything stopped. The community is at a standstill. Many fewer cars on the road. People get in a depression. You don't see them. ...[They've] got nowhere to go." Watching T.V. has increased. "You need to get out. You look at your husband, kids

watching T.V. Nobody is involved in anything. You can't do anything together. It tends to build up pressure."

The similarities in the Trinity South area are reports of reduced attendance at clubs and dances, that "fund-raising events have found the smart of it", and that dart leagues have been moved to private homes and lodges. Other observations suggested the opposite, "Despite the lack of work and money, people find money for bingos, darts, Lions' club dances and church organizations. It's what keeps them alive." Informal socializing had not been perceived to have diminished unless "travelling was involved". "You're all in the same boat." Like the Southern Shore, some youth organizations had lost participation, specifically, the minor hockey league which had dropped from 275 boys to 100. While a school spokesman, on one hand, stated that physical education had not lost participation, a plant worker stated, "Parents aren't letting kids join the school athletics program. They can't afford to drive and pick kids up, ...[or the] tournament expenses." Unlike the Fermeuse area, one Trinity South adult organization did report a major membership loss of 45 to 22 over a period of four years.

The most noticeable contrast between the two communities is with respect to what might be considered negative social participation or crime and social disruption. While RCMP spokesmen in both areas stated the same observations, namely, that there was no noticeable increase in crime beyond what they would expect, there were reports from residents in both areas of break-ins and thefts. In the Trinity South area people more often spontaneously discussed this topic along with the increasing frequency of family break-down and separations. There has also been a higher incidence of family violence presented to the Social

Services department, though it is not clear whether the violence has increased or simply the frequency of reporting it.

The plant reductions, then, have been accompanied by marked deterioration in constructive, contributive social participation in the communities by individuals. Strength along this dimension has decreased steadily in both areas. While this is represented more definitively in the comments of people in the Fermeuse area, some of the developments (loss of membership in an adult organization and a possible increase in socially disruptive behaviour) may be more far-reaching in South Dildo.

10. Physical Health

While in many ways, an outport life offers many advantages to maintenance of physical health, (e.g. outdoor activity), there are normative qualities to the life patterns of people in the communities under study which appear contrary to healthy ways of living. Some of these are implicit in their forms of employment. Hauling nets puts strain on backs; standing for long periods of time in a fish plant production line on wet floors is also hard on the backs and legs. This is lightly affirmed by our findings that the only physical symptomology that decreased at all after employment loss was back aches and pains. One physician reported that at the beginning of the inshore fishing season in 1983 there was a "rash" of complaints of dizziness from female plant workers. Another regular feature of life for a remarkable proportion of outport people is smoking. Also, while for men at least, employment often involves a considerable level of physical exertion, there is an absence of activity which would afford cardio-vascular fitness. Nevertheless, as reported in Chapter 3, heart disease and

blood pressure problems were rare. In fact, general physical health in both communities is good.

Strength along this dimension is estimated at **medium-high**.

The Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. The effect of employment loss on physical health may be positive as well as negative from the standpoint of physical activity and routine. To the extent that the work setting puts a strain on physical health, employment loss reduces these effects. Additionally, reduced incomes may force people to rely more on natural rather than processed foods which may increase the nutritional value of food intake. A counter trend may be that the stress of unemployment may translate eventually into physical deterioration. There may be some limiting of visits to physicians where costly prescriptions are anticipated as a result. However, pharmacists do not notice a change in the purchase of prescription drugs. There most certainly is a decrease in utilization of dentists where persons are not eligible for company or public dental plans and, even to an extent, when there is small additional charge, as in the case for children.

As stated in Chapter 3, major declines in physical health have not been observed. However, physical symptomology which often precedes physical deterioration has been observed in both communities to a moderate degree. This dimension will be assessed as **unchanged** in both areas, but with reduced attention to health care due to economic constraints and physical symptomology, physical health is dangerously close to decreasing.

11. Mental Health

The ways in which people in the communities under study cope psychologically with stress has been reported and summarized in detail in Chapter 3. Normative mental health assets for outport people are: (a) relatively low life stresses other than employment loss (Table 3.3); (b) relatively high social support, especially from immediate family; (c) a relatively strong "sense of coherence", optimism or faith which may derive from religious commitments and/or from family and cultural roots; and (d) positive coping patterns such as social involvement and engaging in constructive physical tasks (home repair, hunting, wood-cutting, fishing, knitting, perserving, etc.). The individual portion of the study with plant workers, however, suggests some differences between communities in these respects. There are larger percentages of people reporting more life stresses in South Dildo (Table 3.3.) Also, there is some difference between the two communities in the amount of time spent per week in the passive preoccupation of television-watching. A characteristic feature of outport residents which is generally considered to be a 'mental health liability' is the tendency toward "external locus of control" (see Chapter 3).

Family break-down is unusual throughout Newfoundland. This is also reflected in the life stress summary (Table 3.3).

The strength of the two communities along this dimension is estimated at **medium-high**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimensions As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, people in the individual portion of the study were manifesting emotional disorders in relation to employment loss, emotional disorders that may eventually "translate" into physical disor-

ders. Here there were differences between communities. Specifically, the differences were that a much higher percentage of plant workers interviewed had begun to doubt themselves in South Dildo than had in Fermeuse (40% and 14%, respectively). Further, a higher proportion of people in the individual portion of the study in South Dildo had a pessimistic outlook for the future than in Fermeuse (52% and 36%, respectively).

Several people, including a social service department source, point to an increase in separation in the Trintiy South reigon, though this was not reflected in our plant worker sample.

There has been little difference in the amount of money expended on spirits through the liquor stores in either region which cannot be accounted for in price increases. However, in Fermeuse within the period from April, 1983, to October, 1983, there was a slight decrease in liquor sales. Figures obtained from the Newfoundland Liquor Commission with respect to the amount of money spent on beer and liquor through sales at conveniences stores, restaurants and clubs indicate that the percentage increase in Fermeuse was less from 1981 to 1982, after the plant reductions, (21.7%), than from 1980 to 1981, before the plant reductions (35%). While there is the possibility of "home brew", this, nevertheless, suggests a "slowing effect" on the remarkable increase in the consumption of alcohol in Fermeuse. In South Dildo, there was a net decrease in beer and liquor sales in the first year after plant reductions. However, in the second year of the plant reductions (1981-1982), there was a 36.7% increase. This suggests first a decrease in consumption, then an increase in consumption in South Dildo.

The psychological strain of income loss is experienced very concretely by women since they typically manage the household budget and buying. The dilemmas of setting tough priorities for bill paying and buying are firstly theirs. Women, may seem more aware of their feelings and psychological strain than men. Help-seeking for psychological distress is not at all a common practice and very rare outside the family (see Table 3.10).

Strength along this dimension appears to be decreasing, somewhat in Fermeuse and more seriously in South Dildo.

12. Mutual Problem-Solving

Here the reference is to characteristic ways of dealing with problems arising from individual behaviour (e.g., belligerence, youth petty theft, etc.) rather than community-wide issues. The only data that were collected which were directly addressed to the topic was interview observations of a veteran law enforcement officer who, though he had been based on the Southern Shore at one time, made general observations about the tendency of "outporters" to deal with minor social problems such as fights and petty thefts themselves. A social service department spokesman reported that communities on the Southern Shore differ in the extent to which single parent mothers are supported within their own families versus applying for social assistance. Fermeuse is one of the communities in which people do not look to social services from assistance. In the Trinity South area, applications for social assistance from single mothers is on the rise.

On the basis of this "scanty" data, strength along this dimension for Fermeuse is estimated to be medium-high and for South Dildo, medium.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. There appears to be no change to date in strength on this dimension.

13. Cultural and Value Similarity

In the context of this question of adaptation and dealing constructively with primary industry loss, it is speculated that value consensus is generally an asset, notwithstanding the importance of differences.

In both areas, cultural heterogeneity is more generational than ethnic in origin. For several hundred years, Fermeuse and its region has been almost entirely Irish in ethnic character and South Dildo and its region have been English and Scottish. The ethnic compositions have not changed since mobility has been largely between towns within the same region. Fermeuse and its region are homogenous in religious affiliation, namely, Catholic. South Dildo residents are primarily Anglican, United, and Salvation Army with a few families affiliated with the Jehovah's Witnesses and Catholic church. While there might be value differences among different religious groups, the more obvious consequence of the religious heterogeneity in South Dildo is that it creates different social groupings within the small community and, without any other community-wide structure that represents all or most residents, tends to reduce possibilities for community cohesion.

Major changes or differences within the community along the lines of values and life styles would be between generations, particularly between those who entered adulthood within the past ten to twenty years and their senior counterparts. Major differences configure around issues regarding youth's greater propensity toward material consump-

tion, the use of credit, and lack of discomfort or, at least, ambivalence about living on UI benefits and apparent accompanying loss of self-sufficiency. One person represented the traditional view on the matter as follows: "If you're happy with not a lot of material things, it's [outport life] the best life in the world. You do what you like. What I got, I got myself. I never had to go to anyone for anything. ...People in outports now try to live like people in cities." Another stated that when he was a young man his father "couldn't afford to keep [him and] "we had to make our own way. A young graduate now hasn't done a tap." "Most people have few savings when they lose their job. They have payments to make. This is the cause of depression." "People born in the 40's are unlike those born in the 20's. They don't know the value of money. Things are taken for granted." Along with different views of money and related matters, changes in views about traditional authorities (particularly the church on the Southern Shore) were also observed., "Church values are giving way to T.V. values." In that these value differences within the communities can create division on current issues and efforts to solve problems as well as reduce mutual support, strength along this dimension is estimated to be medium while some twenty years ago it would have been high. Generational differences with respect to work and employment are discussed in the category of economic viability entitled, "work values".

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. There has been no change in this dimension as a result of plant reductions; rather, it is a contextual feature which informs the community's response to the matter.

14. Demographic Composition

In both communities, the full range of age groups is represented, and there are about equal portions of males and females. As is indicated in Table 7.3, the number of women over 65 in census Division 1, Subdivision I in 1981 is considerably below provincial proportions. The number of men, 45-60, is considerably higher than the provincial proportions in both the 1976 and 1981 census data. It is difficult to find an unmarried adult over 25 years. In 1981, only .79% of residents in Div. 1, Subdiv. I (including South Dildo) were divorced as compared to a provincial average of .72%. There were no persons in Fermeuse divorced in 1981. As noted by Matthews (1976), there has been an enormous natural population increase in the past forty years (an average natural increase rate between 24.9 and 18.4 per 1000 population as recently as 1961 to 1971). The rate of increase has decreased considerably in recent years. The number of children per family in the South Dildo census area is precisely the same as the Newfoundland average (2.1 in 1976 and 1.9 in 1981), while in Fermeuse the average is slightly higher (2.6 in 1976 and 2.3 in 1981).

A slight difference between Fermeuse and census division 1: subdivision I with South Dildo has been population changes due to migration. As indicated in Table 7.4, the population in the census subdivision containing South Dildo has dropped somewhat through out-migration, while in Fermeuse there has been a slight population increase through in-migration as of the 1981 census.

On the basis of population distribution (sex and age), stability and mobility, Fermeuse could be rated **medium** and the South Dildo census subdivision **medium** on this dimension as of 1981.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. One of the

obvious possible outcomes of community unemployment is out-migration. The population increase in Fermeuse between 1976 and 1981 is coincident with years in which the fish plant was operating at its peak. The "failure" of the inshore fishery began in the Trinity South region affecting the South Dildo plants beginning in 1980. The out-migration in the census subdivision, which includes South Dildo, cannot be positively associated with this economic "down-turn" since the census unit is a relatively wide area which does not include most of the communities in which workers at the South Dildo plants reside. However, a relationship between these two patterns is possible since the difficulties in the inshore fishery have widely affected Newfoundland outports. In any case, community leaders and representatives from Fermeuse tended to predict out-migration if the plant reductions continue as presently experienced or worsen. "You'd see a lot of people leaving. It would be a ghost town." "The problem here is that it's too close [to St. John's] for anyone to set up a business, yet it's too far to easily get into town." Some thought that "men would leave and go to work like before" possibly on the oil rigs. They observed that there would be a dilemma if employment had to be sought elsewhere since "most people go away with the intention of returning. They have roots and have no intention of giving up those roots." "What do people do in their 30's with a house and family? Houses don't sell. Suffering here is less hard than leaving your whole family." People interviewed in the South Dildo area more often predicted that people would stay except for, perhaps, "the young ones". "People stay here for family. The unfamiliar world outside is more stress than the UIC cheque." "People always come back. People have dropped mainland jobs to come back to UIC. ...There

Table 7.3: POPULATION BREAK-DOWN BY AGE AND SEX

	Newfoundland		Ferreuse		Div. 1, Subdiv. I	
	1976	1981	1976	1981	1976	1981
Male total	283,385	285,690	275	290	510	360
0 - 14	96,200 (33.9%)	85,720 (30.0%)	80 (29.1%)	70 (24.1%)	180 (35.3%)	125 (34.7%)
15 - 24	32,101 (11.3%)	57,060 (20.0%)	55 (20.0%)	75 (25.9%)	95 (18.6%)	80 (22.2%)
25 - 44	68,565 (24.2%)	78,300 (27.4%)	65 (23.6%)	65 (22.4%)	125 (24.5%)	100 (27.8%)
45 - 64	43,300 (15.3%)	44,400 (15.4%)	60 (21.8%)	65 (22.4%)	90 (17.6%)	40 (11.1%)
65+	17,160 (6.1%)	20,195 (7.1%)	25 (9.1%)	30 (10.3%)	25 (4.9%)	20 (5.6%)
Female Total	274,340	281,990	255	290	470	345
0 - 14	91,560 (33.4%)	81,625 (28.9%)	90 (35.1%)	80 (27.5%)	165 (35.1%)	125 (36.2%)
15 - 24	56,770 (20.1%)	57,040 (20.2%)	60 (23.5%)	75 (25.9%)	95 (20.2%)	85 (24.6%)
25 - 44	65,530 (23.9%)	77,305 (27.4%)	50 (19.6%)	65 (22.4%)	110 (23.4%)	85 (24.6%)
45 - 64	41,100 (15.0%)	42,430 (15.0%)	40 (15.7%)	50 (17.2%)	70 (14.9%)	45 (13.0%)
65+	19,380 (7.1%)	23,585 (8.3%)	25 (9.8%)	30 (10.3%)	35 (35.0%)	10 (2.9%)

Table 7.4: MOBILITY STATUS (1981 Census)

	Newfoundland	St. John's	Fermeuse	Div.1; Subdiv. I
Non Movers-	349,435 (68%)	45,445 (60%)	365 (81.0%)	425 (76.5%)
Movers	164,665 (32%)	30,610 (40%)	85 (19%)	130 (23.5%)
Total immigration	18,430 (3.5%)	9,545 (12.5%)	60 (13.3%)	65 (11.7%)
Total out immigration	38,265 (7.4%)	17,925 (23.4%)	45 (10.0%)	155 (28.0%)
Total internal immigration	-19,835	-8,380	+10	-85

Table 7.5: EMPLOYMENT/UNEMPLOYMENT IN ST. JOHN'S (71-529)
(persons over 15 years, in 1000's)

Year	Total in Labour	Employed	Unemployed	Not in Labour force
1975	55	51	5	38
1976	58	52	6	39
1977	54	48	6	38
1978	60	52	8	39
1979	64	57	8	39
1980	67	59	7	39
1981	69	62	7	41
1982	69	61	8	42
1983	70	61	9	43

is something at this place that draws you back. It's home. This is where they feel their best. Let down their hair." "This is home. I'm comfortable here. I don't want to make a million bucks." Whatever the dilemma between staying and leaving might be, the dilemma is not facing residents at present since employment opportunities elsewhere in the province are very poor (see Table ___) and possibilities on the mainland are not good either. People in both areas, but particularly in Fermeuse, pointed out that "there's nowhere to go". They can better survive during periods of unemployment with the 'low overhead' of out-port living than elsewhere on UIC. If any of the employment conditions change elsewhere, however, the people who would be most able and likely to leave are younger adults (under about thirty-five), creating, over time, considerable change in demographic structure of these communities.

Strength along this dimension is assessed to be **unchanged** but, should the employment picture change elsewhere, there would be rapid out-migration.

**SALIENT THEMES RELATED TO STRENGTHS ALONG
DIMENSION OF SOCIAL VITALITY**

Table 7.6: COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF SOCIAL VITALITY DIMENSION
ESTIMATES OF STRENGTHS AND EFFECTS OF PLANT REDUCTIONS*

Dimension	Fermeuse	South Dildo
1. Social Structures	***** (-)	***** (-)
2. Health and Social Services	*** (0)	*** (0)
3. Educational Resources	*** (0)	*** (0)
4. Protection Services	*** (0)	*** (0)
5. Housing & Utilities	***** (-)	***** (-)
6. Recreation Resources	* (-)	** (-)
7. Community Sources of Esteem ...	**** (-)	** (-)
8. Mutual Support	***** (0)	***** (0)
9. Social Participation	**** (-)	*** (-)
10. Physical Health	**** (0)	**** (0)
11. Mental Health	**** (-)	**** (-)
12. Mutual Problem Solving	**** (0)	*** (0)
13. Cultural Value Similarities	*** (0)	*** (0)
14. Demographic Composition	*** (0)	*** (0)

Of the three major areas of strength/vulnerability, social vitality is the strongest set of dimensions as a normative state of affairs. Nevertheless, in both communities there has been deterioration along five out of fourteen dimensions:

- .social structures which facilitate social contact...;
- .recreation resources and facilities;
- .housing and utilities;
- .community sources of self esteem and social worth;
- .social participation; and
- .mental health.

Dimensions which seem likely to be affected next through prolonged uncertainty and financial strain are:

*Key: Strength: ***** High Effect of Plant Reductions:
 **** Medium-High (-) decreased strength
 *** Medium (0) no change
 ** Medium-Low (+) increased strength
 * Low

- .physical health; and
- .demographic composition.

Four of the six dimensions now affected at present are community contributions to social vitality. Those which may be affected next are individual community member contributions. Community strengths here "fall away" more readily. The 'weight' now falls to the resourcefulness and endurance of individuals. An observation by Davis (1979) from an outport study is that social participation is regarded and used as an effective antidote for problems individuals are experiencing. If this means of relieving strain is diminished one might expect serious reductions in strength along mental health directions, a reduced capability to provide support to others, and eventually, perhaps physical disorders. There are differences between Fermeuse and South Dildo along dimensions of social participation, community sources of esteem and social worth, and mutual problem-solving where South Dildo may be the more vulnerable of the two. This may be a long standing characteristic or, to some extent, a consequence of the more extended period of employment loss which has existed in South Dildo.

Aspects of social vitality are the "reserves" of an outport community. It is what life is about and sustained by. This "strong suit" has unquestionably been weakened in both communities.

ECONOMIC VIABILITY

Dimensions discussed in this section (outlined below) are intended to indicate the degree to which the community and its members provide for their material needs.

Category #3: Community Contributions to Economic Viability:

15. Natural Resources
16. Markets for Products Generated in the Community
17. Autonomy
18. Employment Sources
19. Commercial Enterprises Serving the Community
20. Subsistence Resources

Category #4: Community Member Contribution to Economic Viability

21. Occupational Structure
22. Sources of Income Other than Employment
23. Education and Skill
24. Work Values
25. Material Needs and Aspirations

Category #3: Community Contributions to Economic Viability

Several dimensions in this category fall outside the terms of reference in this study so there has been no attempt to gather data on them. They are the first two dimensions in this category, namely, "natural resources" and "markets for products generated in the community". In the case of the first of these, community leaders' perceptions of their strength along this dimension are included here.

15. Natural Resources

Residents in both regions, but most especially on the Southern Shore, regard the primary economic resource of the area to be the fishery as it has been for centuries. "The only thing is the fishery. We're 100% dependent on the fishery. We are so fortunate that we have one of the best areas for fishing. We're close to the Northern cod, close to the Grand Banks and we have a great harbour." This observation from Fermeuse was echoed by at least 10 other representatives from the area. While one person in the Trinity South area stated that there was "little other than the fishery", people there tended to mention subsistence resources (discussed below), when asked what the natural assets of the area were.

A number of people in both areas expressed concern about the failure of the inshore fishery, depletion of stocks through implementation of new technologies and/or foreign trade agreements which involve federal permission to international vessels to harvest stocks within the 200 mile limit.

Several people in each area mention the tourist possibilities which might be developed, one mentioning that there had been some

discussion of promoting this in the area of LaManche provincial park some 50 km north of Fermeuse. Farming was not seen as a serious alternative to the fishery in either area beyond a subsistence resource. The possibility of blueberries as a cash crop was mentioned by one person in Trinity South.

Whatever the characteristic strength along this dimension in general, it has decreased in both areas with the drop in the supply of fish. This is especially so in the Trinity South region.

16. Markets for Products Generated in the Community

Since, at present, the only products in any quantity from either community are fishery related, DFO is better positioned to detail elements of strength and vulnerability along this dimension. The Kirby Task Force has identified marketing groundfish as an aspect of management in the fishery which requires strategic attention and improvement.

Therefore, whatever its characteristic strength, it will be assessed here to have **decreased**.

17. Autonomy

These communities were selected partially because they are locations of fish operations large enough to provide employment in the entire regions and were the origins of employment loss. It is also the case that the problematic plants are owned by interests outside the communities and their regions. Many of the small service enterprises in the immediate areas around Fermeuse and South Dildo are, of course, independently owned but rely entirely upon the "spending power" of plant workers and circulation of money within the region that the plants make

possible. As such they are dependent upon economic sources outside the community. The fact that reliance on outside interests is concentrated in one industry, particularly on the Southern Shore, rather than being distributed across several mutually exclusive kinds of enterprise would seem to add to the resulting community vulnerability. This is slightly offset in the South Dildo area by the existence of the phosphorous plant in Long Harbour.

There are eleven small fish plants from just south of St. John's to Fermeuse. These are owned by people from the area. Similarly, there are seven such plants along the Trinity Bay shore from South Dildo to Hant's Harbour. All of these plants are inshore (seasonal), processing groundfish, caplin, herring, mackerel, squid, salmon, lobster and crab. They are small operations employing fewer people. Nevertheless, they provide a counterpoint to direct reliance on external interests.

Another external economic source is government which has infused money into these regions both through their industries and through individuals. (Government sources of income are discussed in Category #4). It is not known how many of the small plants have and/or are operating with government subsidies, however, this is also a contemporary practice.

As Warren (1977) points out, the dimension of community autonomy in any pure sense, is a myth in modern times. For example, the fate of industries which are financially autonomous and viable is dependent on markets, government regulations, and the like. Beyond this it seems evident that the Southern Shore and Fermeuse are low in strength on this dimension. South Dildo and region could be estimated to be

medium-low due to a slightly more diversified economy and its easier access to St. John's.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. If anything, the fish plant reductions have served to highlight the vulnerability of these regions along this dimension. The Southern Shore has been converted to further dependence on government through financial support to individuals (works projects and UIC). In this sense, the area's strength in economic autonomy is unchanged. In Trinity South, the "failure" of the fishery has provoked the development of some small local enterprises such as fox, mink and trout farms. However, these have been initiated with government "backing" and resources, and as yet, have operated only on a small scale in the region. They are a beginning.

18. Employment Sources

"There are two employers - the fishery and UIC!"

As indicated above, the externally owned fish plants constitute the largest employers of people in these communities and regions with smaller fish plants employing fewer people from the region. There are over fifty men in Fermeuse who are fishermen. In South Dildo there are virtually none, perhaps one who fishes with a crew from another community. Other sources of employment in the South Dildo area is a phosphorous plant and a small saw mill. In both areas, people are also employed in small service businesses, social institutions (schools, RCMP, etc.), public utilities (telephone, hydro, etc.) and as small contractors (carpenters, electricians, truckers, etc.). Some people from both areas, but mostly from Trinity South, commute to work in St.

John's.

There are also federal job creation projects such as LIP, Community Development grants, etc. While many people are reliant on these sources of income, the projects are controversial as such. Many people commented critically about having seen people "sitting around on the job" and some felt that the projects encouraged bad work habits as a result. Another negative consequence of these forms of employment are that they have created or augmented "rifts" among people where there have been some people not chosen for these projects. Finally, these sources of income are not long term assets for either individuals or the community.

In recent years, prior to summer, 1982, Fermeuse had virtually year round employment in the plant. The percentage of unemployment in Fermeuse was 2.9 for men and 25.0 for women at the time of the 1981 census. While this is far above the national and provincial averages at the same time for women, it is far below for men. This would suggest that, for this dimension, strength might be estimated at medium. In Trinity South, the major employers (plants) are all seasonal but there are other industries besides the fishery. Prior to the "failure" of the fishery in 1981, this dimension might be estimated at medium-low, since the plants are seasonal.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. The consequences of plant reduction for employment has, of course, been severe. In Fermeuse, there has been more than 60% reduction in the amount of employment available through the plant. There has been a similar percentage decrease in the South Dildo plants due to the absence of pelagic species and reductions in the amount of groundfish being caught.

There has also been plant employment loss due to the boycott on sealing.

Smaller service enterprises (stores, gas stations, etc.) employ fewer people and, in some cases, have also laid off employees as volume of business has dropped. Small contractors such as electricians, carpenters, truckers, etc. have also experienced serious reductions in their businesses, weakening self-employment. The strength on this dimension is severely decreased.

19. Commercial Enterprises Serving the Community

Within Fermeuse per se there are four small grocery stores of which two sell beer, a restaurant-snack bar and games room, two clubs, a lumber supply company, a catalogue sales outlet, a seniors' residence. Within a range of twenty kilometers people from this community can find car repairs and a liquor store. However, they have to travel over sixty kilometers to use banking services and to find high volume (lower priced) grocery outlets. In South Dildo, there is one beer-selling grocery store, several hair stylists and a club. Residents can purchase gasoline and find car repairs, a hardware store/building supplies, electronics store, and take-out restaurant within the next seven kilometers. Banking services, a carpet store, and drug store are within fifteen kilometers. Residents must travel over sixty kilometers to shop at a supermarket (high volume-low prices). People from both communities buy clothing and the like in St. John's though there are some limited outlets for clothing in the region.

On the basis of comprehensiveness and accessibility, strength on

this dimension for Fermeuse could be estimated at medium-low and for South Dildo, medium.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. The consequences of plant reductions on these enterprises have been severe. "[Fermeuse] used to be booming but now it's a dead loss". In both areas clubs and oil distributors report volume losses of over fifty percent while grocers volume losses have been about thirty percent. Merchants reported that residents were buying only necessities and often very small quantities of those things at a time. "People are ordering one garbage bag, \$.50 worth of potatoes, ½ dozen eggs - people who would have never been doing this before," reported a merchant in Fermeuse. People are consuming less. A garbage collection agent in Fermeuse states, "When the plant is open, I have to make two loads. Now, I can make one load easy." Some merchants stated that they are keeping less.

In the Fermeuse area local transportation businesses (a bus service and a taxi service) reported a drastic drop in utilization. Gasoline sales are down 30% and car repairs 50-70%. A Trinity South mechanic spoke of the rise of "backyard repairs" in the sales of spare parts for use in home auto repairs.

As mentioned in Category #1, social and entertainment enterprises have, with transportation, been "the hardest hit". Clubs and restaurants reported drops in their volume of business from 30-70% in both areas.

Local businesses are also not being paid for merchandise received on credit. "You see 'no credit' signs up in stores where you never did before." In both areas, merchants and contractors are owed money from fish plant companies which are now in receivership or bankrupt.

The effects on business, the drop in volume, increases each year.

While these "drops" are, in most cases, attributable to the fish plant reductions, it is also important to note that there have been a few new enterprises opening in both areas which have drawn business away from existing outlets. In Fermeuse, there is a new gasoline pump and another beer vendor; in Trinity South small grocers believe their sales have decreased due to the opening of a new supermarket. In both areas, video games rooms have been recently opened.

Local businesses and commercial services are under a great deal of strain. However, since there have been few actual cases of businesses closing, strength along this dimension is threatened but relatively unchanged.

20. Subsistence Resources

One of the considerable economic strengths of both communities particularly in periods of high unemployment, are the subsistence resources. Residents are able to fish, hunt for meat (e.g., moose), snare rabbits, raise cattle, chickens, pigs, sheep, and produce garden vegetables. A major adjustment which has taken place since employment losses of the past several years has been conversions of oil heat to wood burners and the gathering of wood for fuel, explaining why a Trinity South business man reports an increase in sales of trail bikes and chain saws. Strength along this dimension in both areas could be considered high.

Effect of Plant Reduction on this Dimension. Strength on this dimension is unchanged but being drawn on more heavily in present times of cash scarcity.

Category #4: Community Members' Contributions to Economic Viability

21. Occupational Structure

It is normative for all males from the end of school age to retirement age to work, though this may involve a combination of wage employment, subsistence activities, home-building and home repair in order to reduce living costs. (The distinction between "work" and "employment" in Newfoundland outports has been described by Hill (1983) and is discussed below in the section on "Work Values".) While one is occupationally identified with the primary sector (fisherman, plant worker, businessman, etc.), a feature of these communities and typical of outports is occupational pluralism. "People here are jack-of-all trades," one person responded to the question of what the strengths of the area were. As indicated in Table 7.6, the occupations of men employed in Fermeuse and the census area for South Dildo vary considerably, though they both share the relative absence of professional occupations* and about the same proportion of construction and transport occupations (South Dildo census region being a little higher). The notable difference is the proportion of men involved in primary (presumably, fishing) and processing occupations. In Fermeuse, the highest proportion of employed males are fishermen (32.4%) while in the South Dildo census subdivision the highest proportion are in processing occupations, presumably fish plants (22.7%).

Within the past ten years a major changing feature of the

*The proportion of males in managerial occupations (9.1%) probably reflects the presence of Harbour Grace (a major centre) in the census subdivision more than of South Dildo.

Table 7.7: OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF PERSONS IN THE LABOUR FORCE BY SEX
(1981 Census)

Males employed (15 yr.+)	Newfoundland	Fermeuse	Div. 1, Subdiv. I
all occupations	139,630	170	110
Managerial, etc.	11,240 (8.0%)	-	10 (9.1%)
Teaching, etc.	5,155 (3.7%)	-	-
Health Occupations	2,200 (1.5%)	-	-
Technology, social, etc.	7,245 (5.2%)	-	5 (4.5%)
Clerical	8,015 (5.7%)	15 (8.8%)	-
Sales	9,350 (6.7%)	10 (5.8%)	-
Service	10,760 (7.7%)	30 (17.6%)	10 (9.1%)
Primary	19,625 (19.1%)	55 (32.4%)	15 (13.6%)
Processing	12,510 (9.0%)	20 (11.8%)	25 (22.7%)
Machinery, etc.	11,885 (8.5%)	-	15 (13.6%)
Construction	19,810 (14.2%)	20 (11.8%)	15 (13.6%)
Transport	10,755 (7.7%)	10 (5.8%)	10 (0.1%)
Other	1,085 (7.9%)	10 (5.8%)	10 (9.1%)
Females employed (15yr.+)			
all occupations	80,005	75	100
Managerial, etc.	3,195 (4.0%)	-	15 (15.0%)
Teaching, etc.	6,675 (8.3%)	-	10 (10.0%)
Health Occupations	7,745 (9.7%)	-	10 (10.0%)
Technology, social, etc.	2,210 (2.8%)	-	-
Clerical	24,880 (31.1%)	15 (20.0%)	35 (35.0%)
Sales	8,465 (10.6%)	10 (13.3%)	-
Service	14,430 (18.0%)	5 (6.7%)	5 (5.0%)
Primary	905 (1.1%)	-	-
Processing	9,385 (11.7%)	45 (60.0%)	20 (20.0%)
Machinery, etc.	535 (6.7%)	-	-
Other	1,585 (2.0%)	-	5 (5.0%)

occupational structure in most areas has been the employment of women. In the census division that includes South Dildo, women constitute 46.7% of the adults employed; in Fermeuse only 30% of the employed adults are women. In Fermeuse, of those women employed, 60% are in processing occupations (presumably the fish plant). Just considering the division of the sexes in the fish plants involved in this study, there is also a striking difference. With respect to the two plants in South Dildo, 65-75% of the plant workers are women, while in Fermeuse, the proportion of women employed in the plant is 42.5%.

As with men, women in these communities are engaged in subsistence activity, women being involved in baking, preserving, and possibly, gardening. Occupational pluralism adds to flexibility and therefore strength on this dimension.

As observed in Chapter 6, the fishery has been the economic pivot in both regions throughout their histories. The occupational skills in the fishery, whether as fishermen or plant workers (excluding consideration of maintenance and management personnel), are not particularly transferable. Since there is a good "fit" between the local economy's needs and skills available, this dimension could be considered as have medium-high. However, should the economy change drastically, strength on this dimension would plummet drastically.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. Since it is not certain what will happen with the fish plants or the fishery in the long run, the 'fit' of skills to the nature of the economy will be considered to be unchanged. However, as indicated above, this dimension's strength is critically at risk. Further, other types of work provided in these communities (e.g. service and sales occupations, and eventually

transportation and construction occupations) would be affected through continued economic deterioration. "For every fish that's hauled out of the water, twelve people gets a job."

22. Sources of Income other than Employment

There are two primary sources of income other than employment, regular pensions and allowances; these are unemployment insurance benefits and social assistance. Pensions, allowances and UI benefits are among the innovations which came with Confederation and transfer payments. There are, therefore, many people who contrast the way of life before and after their implementation.

a. Unemployment Insurance Benefits (UIC)

Unemployment insurance is a long-standing and vital part of life in many outports where employment is primarily seasonal for both fishermen and plant workers.

No less than a third of the labour force (...[in] 1957), urban as well as rural, was dependent upon unemployment insurance benefits as a major or only source of income during the winter months. (Wadel, 1973, p. 10)

Inshore fishermen began to receive UIC in the late 60's. It is received during a fixed period (November to May) providing a fisherman is eligible by virtue of having worked for a minimum of ten weeks of the fishing season. Virtually all of the fishermen in both communities under study are inshore and, therefore, seasonal workers. Additionally, all of the fish plants along the Trinity South shore are seasonal plants. Therefore, plant workers who have a minimum of ten weeks work per year ("ten stamps") are eligible for UIC on the same basis as any other worker in Canada. UIC in Trinity South is, therefore, virtually taken for granted

as a way of life. Fermeuse, however, is another story with respect to plant workers. The Fermeuse plant has had a variable history with respect to the number of weeks of operation per year, but for the past number of years (at least seven) there were between nine and eleven months of work annually for its employees. Therefore, UIC is new for them and many people are very ambivalent about being a recipient. People in the region who are not plant workers are also "mixed" in their views of UIC. One plant worker commented: "I'm not a believer in UIC and I feel badly about it!" A plant worker's wife stated: "It's like everyone is living on social assistance. UIC feels like social assistance... People aren't used to it." "Some would go back and work for nothing. They don't want UIC - they want to work. UIC will put them in a welfare mentality," said a professional person from the region. There were also those in the same area who had views such as are expressed by two business people from the area who said: "Without UIC you'd have crime with youth because this generation wants what they want when they want it." "Without UIC, the fishery would be gone." Apparent misuse of UIC is frowned on and is a potential source of disrespect. An example of this would be the fisherman who stops fishing after ten weeks, whether there are fish or not. A UIC regulation changing the setting of the amount of the benefits on the ten best weeks instead of the last ten weeks may alleviate this problem somewhat. Another use of UIC that is criticized is what one person called the "LIP-UIC cycle" as mentioned above. It is respectable for a "good fisherman" to supplement his income with UIC but when the only source of "employment" is a works project in order to qualify for UIC, it is seen as "living off the government" and not respectable. (This topic

will be discussed further in the section below, entitled, "Work Values".) The one thing that everyone can agree on is that UIC is better than social assistance.

b. Social Assistance

Most plant workers did not "get their stamps" at the two largest plants in South Dildo (the workers from which were interviewed in the individual portion of this study) in either 1982 or 1983. Most workers got a maximum of five weeks work "at the caplin". What ensued was a frantic search for the remaining stamps anywhere they could be found, by men especially. Many of the women could not find their remaining stamps, so in order to qualify for UIC another year they will require twenty-weeks of employment. The only alternative to employment and UIC is social assistance. Wadel (1973) describes that prospect as follows:

...the man who has been on welfare is in a somewhat comparable situation to the one who has been in jail. (p. 35)

...lack of initiative is taken to be the cause of being on welfare in the first place and not the result of being on welfare. ...Welfare is considered to be due to individual moral deficiency rather than to a structural deficiency. ...The longer he stays on welfare, the more likely is his 'character' to be questioned. (p. 41)

When asked what would be the worst scenario possible out of the present uncertain situation with the fish plants, a number of respondents, particularly on the South Shore, stated immediately: "That the plant would close completely and the whole area would be on welfare."

A spokesperson for the social service department on the Southern Shore stated: "In the whole district, there are a tremendous number of new families on short term social assistance as of November, 1983,

by people who had never had to do it before. A lot of crying." None of these, however, were plant workers in Fermeuse since the plant stayed open long enough to "give almost everyone their stamps." The UIC benefits were much lower this year, however, and people are concerned about what will happen next year.

In South Dildo, there are only several people on short term social assistance and there has been no increase during the period of this study. There were, however, changes in the eligibility regulations making it slightly more difficult to qualify. If this had not been implemented, there may have been an increase. Additionally, the social services department is reported to subsidize wages for workers, in some cases, to maximize the possibilities of eligibility for UIC.

The existence of these sources of income as alternatives to employment may be considered vital to existence in outports. The fact that, in a number of instances, recipients are regarded with less respect within the community is a source of division and, therefore, weakness of the community. The strength of this dimension in both communities, then, might be considered medium.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. The employment loss in plants has high-lighted both the importance and the difficulties with these sources of financial support. There has not been either a change in availability or attitudes toward them, though, so strength on this dimension is unchanged.

23. Education and Skill

As with the rest of Canada, the number of years of formal school-

ing has increased dramatically over the past thirty years. However, as indicated in Table 7.7, the level of formal education for the outport communities in this study is far below the more urban, St. John's. Fermeuse has a slightly higher proportion of residents who have not completed high school (64.3%) than the provincial norm (59.4%). Census Div. 1, Subdiv. I containing South Dildo has a slightly lower percentage (57.9%) than the provincial norm but it must be remembered that Harbour Grace, a larger centre, is also included in the census subdivision. The proportion of Fermeuse residents who have entered (not necessarily graduated from) a non-university, post-secondary educational institution (trades school and the like) is about the same as the provincial norm (17.8% and 18.4%, respectively). The much higher proportion in this category from the Div. 1, Subdiv. I census region (26.2%) is not likely a reflection of what is the case in South Dildo. Fermeuse is also below the provincial proportion (12.%) who have entered university with 5.5%.

In recent years, young people have tended to finish school. A spokesman for the schools in Trinity South stated: "The drop-out rate from high school is significantly lower. An alternate tendency has been to leave school for the lure of a cash income in the plants.

Table 7.8 shows the choices of persons from Renews-Fermeuse upon graduating from Baltimore Regional High School between 1979 and 1982. It shows a decline in emigration out of the province and in "going fishing". The post-secondary education options have fluctuated in popularity in the past four years but with the remarkable proportion of students who continued in school in 1982 (61.9%) have increased over all. The proportion choosing to "go on the plant" have been 38.1%,

32.1%, 42.1% and 21.1% in the four years. The increase in continuing schooling and the decrease in working at the plant occurred before the major plant reductions in Fermeuse in August, 1982.

While this detailed breakdown is not available for St. George's Regional High School which serves people from South Dildo, 50 out of 70 graduates in 1982 (71.4%) continued in some form of postsecondary education. It is important to note that this figure represents a period after plant reductions in the region, specifically South Dildo, had begun.

Unfortunately, this past year was the year in which Grade 12 was instituted in the Newfoundland school system, so there are no figures for 1983.

Continuing with their education may be problematic for young residents of outports. Even in more prosperous times, job opportunities in these communities are limited in type as well as number. If "home" is important, further education may mean a difficult choice between career and "home". There are also 'subcultural barriers' as well as geographical barriers to post-secondary training and education, since these opportunities are in an urban setting. Finally, for some time the number of post-secondary graduates in Newfoundland has exceeded the job opportunities. One person recounted how only about five people out of his accounting class were doing work related to accountancy. Another person observed dryly that, by now "every family in Newfoundland has got a welder into it!"

With respect to people in other age groups who make their living "at the fishery", both fishermen and plant workers have developed skills which pertain to their particular work. While it would be

Table 7.8: HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING OF PERSONS OVER 15 YEARS

	Newfoundland	St. John's	Fermeuse	D.I.S.I.
less than Grade 9	120,750 (30.5%)	11,125 (17.5%)	130 (35.6%)	140 (31.8%)
Grade 9-13 without certificate	114,515 (28.9%)	17,995 (28.3%)	105 (28.7%)	115 (26.1%)
Grade 9-13 with certificate	40,340 (10.2%)	6,190 (9.7%)	40 (10%)	45 (10.2%)
Trades Certificate	8,355 (2.1%)	1,155 (1.8%)	10 (2.7%)	10 (2.3%)
Other non-university without certificate	11,990 (3.0%)	2,720 (4.2%)	5 (1.4%)	25 (5.7%)
Other non-university with certificate	52,720 (13.3%)	9,245 (14.5%)	50 (13.7%)	80 (18.2%)
University without degree	29,350 (7.4%)	8,720 (13.7%)	20 (5.5%)	20 (4.5%)
University with degree	18,460 (4.6%)	6,390 (10.1%)	-	10 (2.3%)

Table 7.9: POST HIGH SCHOOL CHOICES OF FERMEUSE-RENEWES GRADUATES

	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
Total:	20	23	15	21
Out of Province	3	2	1	0
Fishing	2	1	0	1
Fish Plant	7	7	6	4
Off-Shore	4	7	7	4
Post Secondary Non-University	4	7	7	4
University	4	6	1	9

typical for plant workers to have had a number of jobs within the plant, their skills (except for those of maintenance, office and managerial positions) are not transferable to other settings. The support for continuing vocational education in outports is minimal. Adult education programs now offered at regional high schools are limited to courses offered in the high schools in both regions which include basic high school up-grading, typing and crafts (sewing, crochet, etc.). Memorial University Extension Service and the College of Fisheries have a mandate to provide "off campus" courses on request in both communities. To date, there have been no offerings in the Fermeuse area (the

closest off-campus courses being in Trepassey, 67 km. away). Off-campus offerings are in place in Whitbourne, within 15 km. of South Dildo.

Considering present formal educational levels and transferability of present skills, the strength on this dimension of both communities is estimated at **medium-low**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on This Dimension. Several educators in these regions stated that they thought the fish plant problems may have the eventual effect of encouraging more students to remain in school and decide against looking for their livelihood in the plants. In the Trinity South area, it was observed that all but one of the Grade 11 students returned this year to the new Grade 12. A consideration contrary to that tendency may be financial considerations. The costs of attendance at university are estimated at \$3,500-4,500, College of Fisheries \$2,000-2,500, Trades College \$1,000 (without room and board), St. Claire School of Nursing \$1,200, and Royal Newfoundland Constabulary no cost. Strength along this dimension in both communities is **unchanged**.

24. Work Values

A study of work meanings and values and of unemployment in Newfoundland was completed by Robert Hill in 1983, the project having been sponsored by the Community Services Council of that province. He noted that, even when there were no jobs, there was "a great emphasis placed on work." (p. 59)

People are not respected if they are not exerting an unspecified amount of work time which qualifies them as industrious or if they have the reputation of engaging in 'idle' behavior. (p. 60)

...Work is not just the principle means of providing for the necessities of life. It is the main criterion for achieving legitimate adult status in the community and a major defining element of personal identity. Work is not, however, synonymous with employment. (pp. 61-62)

If the proportion of spontaneously expressed* concern by community leaders and representatives (including fishermen, plant workers, businessmen, and professional people) in both regions is any indication of the strength of the value of work, there would be no doubt of its continuing importance in rural Newfoundland. Their discussion, however, focussed primarily on negative perceptions they had about the work values and habits of others in these communities.

There were some differences in the comments between the regions. For example, eight people in Trinity South spontaneously stated that people in the community were "not keen on working", happy to collect UIC with ten weeks work, while only three people in the Fermeuse area observed that there were those who seemed "uninterested in work". Another difference is that the negative perceptions of the spokesmen on the Southern Shore were directed primarily at the young, while people in Trinity South did not make the age distinction for the most part.

People in both areas expressed support for the seasonal subsistence way of life and concern about what they saw as a deterioration of work habits and values. The majority of respondents felt that this was due to various government programs, the most often mentioned being UIC and works programs. "Free-bees from the government ruin the work ethic." "If something doesn't happen, they're killing the incentive of the people." "LIP programs are soul-destroying. People get used to getting something for nothing. They don't work on LIP programs." "UIC has taken away their energy and vigour." "LIP grants are the thing that made Newfoundlanders crazy. Get ten weeks work and go for

*The interview guide did not include a question about this topic so any discussion of it was initiated by the person being interviewed.

another fifty on UIC. Young men with families are just waiting for it." Several people related their concerns to the eventual loss of their independence. "Government safety nets are there... [There is] an ingrained attitude that someone is going to take care of us." "We're losing our independence. Are we going to live on welfare? Are we going to work for a living?" There was almost as much concern about what was seen as negative impacts of government programs to provide financial assistance to people as there was to employment loss from the plants. Several people mentioned other sources of deterioration in work values. One mentioned that unions had lowered productivity.

Work values as expressed on the job. Among the plant workers interviewed in the individual portion of the study in both communities, "work" was second in importance only to family. While we must remember that "work" does not always mean "employment", work activity is important wherever it occurs. Further, one small plant owner stated unequivocally, "People want to work. I could have a work force on that floor by tomorrow if I wanted to (interview occurred off-season, in December)." With respect to the question of productivity on the job, the comments of a number of people interviewed at the community level, including several small fish plant owners, suggest that how a plant management accounts for lower levels of productivity, more so than incompatible values of the worker. Where there is high contact and good working relationships between the manager and employees, such as exist in some small plants, productivity has not been a problem. One plant owner estimates that the productivity of cutters in the largest plant of the region was less than half of what it was at his plant. It may

be that the large plants which function in an impersonal, industrial fashion fall short of tapping into the best that workers have to offer. Another comment from a small plant manager was that carelessness of large plant management (mistreatment of the raw material, poor management decisions, etc.) sets a pace for workers. This was supported by a spontaneous comment by one of the large plants employees who stated: "The work attitude has changed. I'm not sure whether to give an honest day' work because we have been lied to so often and you see so much money wasted."

Work values and the unemployed. Hill (1983) quotes the Economic Council of Canada's report that "for 41.6% of the unemployed in Newfoundland there was at most only one potential local employer ...[and] for a further 33.2% there were between two and six employers." (p. 101) Hill identified what he called the "discouraged worker", namely, someone who had stopped looking for work. He distinguished between two kinds of "discouraged workers", the person who genuinely wants employment but has abandoned the search knowing there is none (Type 1) and those who were not sure they wanted a job even if there was one (Type 2). In his survey of the province (the data collected in 1981), Hill found that there were 7.8% of Type 1 discouraged workers and 2.1% of Type 2. (In his sample, Hill noted that 42.6% were officially unemployed, that is, continuing to look for employment.) It is difficult to separate out apparent lack of interest or ambition from discouragement. It seems apparent that people adapt to the labour environment. In this study, many community representatives reported a "contentment" with seasonal work and UIC most often where there was virtually no year round work outside of social institutions. In the

area where there has been nearly full year functioning of the plants, there was less comment about people not wanting work. The valuing of employment (as distinct from "work") may adjust to its availability.

Interestingly, Hill's study included an intensive study of Aquaforte next to Fermeuse. He noted that there was a generational difference in what "work" means. The older residents regard work as physical labour which is involved in providing for one's family, while to younger residents "work" meant "paid employment". This may account in part for focus of the concerns expressed on the Southern Shore being directed at youth.

Employment is not the source of one's identity but rather one's place in the community which is contingent on how one is perceived as a worker. The most deeply disruptive aspect of employment loss is not being unable to hold a particular job as it is for urban people, but rather in being unable to provide for one's family. As reported in Chapter 3, work and employment are not ends in themselves, but rather means.

Strength along this dimension in relation to the question of productivity in the community's economy is estimated at medium-high.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension Since values change relatively slowly, it is not likely that there are actual effects from recent reduction in plant operations so strength is assessed to be unchanged.

25. Material Needs and Aspiration

While these, like values, vary somewhat from individual to individual, there appear to be some common expectations and perceptions of

need among outport residents. Outports contrast sharply with metropolitan industrial settings in that material costs of living are much less. As discussed above, cash income can be supplemented with natural rather than commercial food supplies and fuel. Housing costs are less expensive and property taxes are low in Fermeuse (just having been raised from \$40 to \$60/yr.) and nonexistent in South Dildo. It is very difficult, however, to live without a car (see distances to commercial and social services), and gasoline is extremely expensive (about 53¢/litre). Also, material goods tend to be more expensive than on the mainland and sales tax is high (12%). School supplies and equipment for leisure activity for children and youth have increased in cost tremendously. Through media, outport residents share a world with industrial North America. Visions of possibility are opened up including travel and goods (as discussed in the section above, entitled "Cultural and Value Similarity"). This seems especially true for younger adults who are forming a way of life. Nevertheless, what an outport family wants materially is much more modest than urban families. (e.g., there are few dishwashers and fewer radiation ovens.) People would no longer be happy to live a subsistence life but they would expect to augment wage employment.

To the extent that residents of these communities expect to live a life style which is, relative to urban standards, less costly, and to the extent living costs are lower, there is more flexibility in times of change. Strength along this dimension is estimated as medium-high.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. Certainly, loss

of income from employment has faced residents of both areas with the prospect that they will have to live with less (materially). While every plant worker has reported modifications to family living which reduce costs, the uncertainty of the future of the local economy has meant that expectations about lifestyle have not been significantly altered. Further, the living costs and lifestyle have not been altered to the extent that there is no financial strain. Strength along this dimension, for the most part, remains unchanged.

**SALIENT THEMES RELATED TO STRENGTHS ALONG
DIMENSIONS OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY**

Table 7.6: COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY DIMENSION
ESTIMATES OF STRENGTHS AND EFFECTS OF PLANT REDUCTIONS*

Dimension	Fermeuse	South Dildo
15. Natural Resources	? (-)	? (-)
16. Markets for Products	? (-)	? (-)
17. Autonomy	* (0)	** (0)
18. Employment Sources	*** (-)	** (-)
19. Commercial Enterprises	** (0)	*** (0)
20. Subsistence Resources	***** (0)	***** (0)
21. Occupational Structure	**** (0)	**** (0)
22. Nonemployment Sources	*** (0)	*** (0)
23. Educational Skills	** (0)	** (0)
24. Work Values	**** (0)	**** (0)
25. Material Needs and Aspirations	**** (0)	**** (0)

*Key - (repeat)

The source of the communities' problems have been, of course, the economic problems of the Atlantic fishery which have drastically reduced employment income. The dimensions which have become problematic by virtue of loss in strength are:

- . natural resources
- . markets for products
- . employment sources

A dimension in which loss of strength seems imminent if economic strain continues is:

- . commercial enterprises serving the communities

These economic viability losses have dramatically highlighted vulnerability in the dimension of autonomy industries and of strength on the dimensions of subsistence resources.

While none of the levels of strength along dimensions of community member's contributions to economic viability have changed, the plant reductions have produced conflict and controversy within dimensions of:

- . Nonemployment sources of income
- . Work values

These changes have potential to negatively affect dimensions of community strength through augmenting existing intra-community divisions such as generational value differences (see "Cultural Value Similarity") and socio-occupational subgroups (see "Power Distribution"). The controversies highlighted also include the role of women as "income earners."

Strength in occupational structure is potentially deceiving as depicted here since it will only persist on the basis of a economy centered around the fishery.

Finally, an important point to bear in is mind that, as some community representatives have observed, the regions are extremely dependent on government sources of income at this point in time. This source of support may "mask out" the extreme economic vulnerability of these communities.

POLITICAL EFFICACY

Dimensions discussed in this section (outlined below) are intended to indicate the degree to which the community is organized to solve internal problems and represent its interests in the larger context

Category #5: Community Contributions to Political Efficacy

26. Boundary Clarity
27. Community Confidence
28. Power Distribution
29. Sources of Competent Community Leaders
30. Decision-Making Capability
31. Conflict Resolution Capability
32. Effective Management of Relations with the Larger Context
33. Effectiveness of Intra-Community Communication

Category #6: Community Member Contributions to Political Efficacy

34. Community Commitment
35. Clarity of Differences among Sub-groups
36. Political Participation
37. Support for Community Leadership
38. Expression of Genuine Concerns

Category #5: Community Contributions to Political Efficacy
26. Boundary Clarity

"The community" here is considered to be an identifiable social unit of inter-related "component parts". Consensus and clarity about where "the community" begins and ends, in the light of the realities in this study, will be considered on three "levels": (a) the meanings and interpretations of residents; (b) existing social and political structures; and (c) current issues.

a. The Meanings and Interpretations of Residents

As described in Chapter VI, until recently, each community within both regions was relatively isolated until the advent of motor vehicles. With several hundred years of a "head start" and virtually no new "waves" of immigration from outside the province, it is not surprising that residents of these communities identify themselves with their communities and not equally with residents from other communities within the region. As stated previously, even family names can be associated largely with particular communities, though women would be likely to have grown up as residents of other communities, at least on the Southern Shore (Porter, 1983). There are several recent indications that people maintain the boundaries of their specific communities and personally identify with them. In Trinity South, the community of Old Shop published its history with a map of the community that included South Dildo. Residents of South Dildo took up a petition to have the error corrected. On the Southern Shore, a spokesman of the high school reported that, even though the high school has been regionalized for over a decade, the tendency for students to associate in groups from the same community is just recently "breaking-down". People throughout the both

regions often refer to communities in the region by noting their distinctive characters and reputations.

b. Social and Political Institutions

On this level of consideration, there are differences between the Fermeuse area and the South Dildo area.

On the Southern Shore, the existing situation on this level is considerably complex. Fermeuse (including Kingman's Cove) has its own Municipal Council and trap committee (instead of fisherman's committee) as do Renew's, Port Kirwan, Ferrryland, etc. The Women's Institute and the Athletic Association are organizations within Fermeuse. While Fermeuse has its own church (shared with the smaller communities of Port Kirwan and Kingman's Cove), it exists in a parish which also includes Renew's and Cappahaydn. Indeed, the rectory of the parish is in Renew's. The Catholic Women's League is parish-wide (15 of the 40 members are from Fermeuse), and the Kinsmen and Kinettes are shared with Renew's (3 members in each are from Fermeuse). The fire brigade is also shared (equal membership) between Renew's and Fermeuse. Children's organizations such as Guides and Scouts are also shared between these communities. A wider area of the shore is represented by the Southern Shore Rural Development Association (Cape Broyle to Cappahaydn) as well as social, health and protection services which each serve slightly different sections of the region. The schools are regionalized with Baltimore Regional High School located in Ferrryland serving the largest area on the shore.

In the case of South Dildo, there is no community institution which exclusively represents members of that community. The Women's

Involvement Committee (WIN) of the region has a local subcommittee in South Dildo. Other than a small chapel in South Dildo of the Anglican parish, residents attend church services outside the community with residents of Green's Harbour, New Harbour, Dildo, Old Shop, Blaketown, and Norman's Cove, and these in different combinations depending on which one of the half dozen churches there are. The fire brigade is shared among Old Shop, Dildo and Blaketown. At the regional level, is the Upper Trinity South Rural Development Association which represents communities from Blaketown to Heart's Desire. Again, social and protection services cover the region in an overlapping but not coinciding fashion. Also schools are regional, the St. George's High School located in New Harbour covering the widest area. Even the provincial electoral districts divide the region served by the Rural Development Association. Strictly speaking, the Upper Trinity South electoral district is from New Harbour North and South Dildo, Dildo, Old Shop, etc., are in Belleview electoral district.

c. Current Issues

The most important current issues in both areas is, of course, the reduction in operation of the plants in these regions. On the Southern Shore, the Fermeuse plant employs individuals from Admiral's Cove, Cape Broyle, Calvert, Ferryland, Aquaforte, Port Kirwan, Kingman's Cove, Fermeuse, Renews and Cappahaydn. In Trinity South, the two largest plants in South Dildo employ people from Markland, Whitbourne, Blaketown, Norman's Cove, Chapel Arm, Belleview, Old Shop, South Dildo, Dildo, New Harbour, Green's Harbour, Cavendish, Whiteway, Heart's Delight-Islington, and Heart's Desire. The Trinity South union locals, then, do not coincide exactly with any social or political institutional area. In

Fermeuse the plant union membership coincides with the Rural Development Association and almost with the combined Renews-Fermeuse and Ferryland parishes (except for Admiral's Cove and Cape Broyle).

Other current issues on the Southern Shore recently have been offshore oil effects on the region for which the Southern Shore Impact Committee was formed and an Alcohol and Drug Addiction Committee was also formed within two or three communities on the shore.

In Trinity South, the petition to retain the Markland Hospital covered a much wider area than even that region, while an 'access-to-Crown-land' issue involved residents principally from South Dildo and Blaketown.

On the basis of the foregoing, it appears that, while there are problems with "community boundaries" changing on the basis of different organizations and issues, South Dildo seems the weaker of the two on this dimension given that there is no social institutional representation of residents' identity with the South Dildo per se, nor is there a social institution which is coincident with the boundary of the current issue of plant reductions. The estimate of strength on this dimension is South Dildo as **low** and Fermeuse as **medium**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. Lack of clarity about community boundaries is less an effect of plant reductions than a condition which employment and primary industry loss as social problems are affected by. Therefore, on this dimension there has been **no change**. In Fermeuse collective action on the employment problems was first initiated by a regional Action Committee which represented communities throughout the region. A year later, the Fermeuse Town Council

had undertaken the problem of the plant as its own project. These changes and the differences in view that exist about who should be giving leadership to action on the problem reflect the lack of clarity about where the community, for action purposes on this issues, end and begin.

27. Community Confidence

The present challenges to Newfoundland communities are set against the backdrop of several centuries of survival through extremely difficult times. This history of survival provides a reassuring context for the threats to communities of primary industry loss in both areas under study. There is, however, a counter-trend which is particularly evident in the South Dildo area. A number of people explicitly stated that they did not expect to be heard in decision-making forums outside the community. In the past twenty years, there has been a series of instances where with regionalization of social institutions, residents of South Dildo have come to feel they have no influence over events that affect their community. These instances have occurred with respect to schools and churches as well as plant operations. Policies and decisions are taken which, even if the residents were consulted, are often contrary to their wishes. In speaking about the church changes, one person said, "Whatever they've got in their minds, they'll do it anyway. That's what they did twice, even though they met with people." The most recent event was the removal of the cottage hospital in neighbouring Whitbourne. While residents of Fermeuse have sometimes expressed doubts about the future and their community's capability to deal with it, there is more confidence in its strength and the strength of

the people of the region than has been expressed in the Trinity South area. When asked "On a scale where +10 represents 'certainly will' and -10 represents 'certainly won't', how would you rate the likelihood that the community will pull together to deal with this?", community leaders and representatives who answered this question in the Fermeuse area averaged +6.6 and in the South Dildo area, +4.1. Strength on this dimension is assessed as medium-high for Fermeuse and medium for South Dildo.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. To date in neither community has there been resolution of the fish plant problems in a favourable way for residents of these communities and the respective regions. In South Dildo area there have been two petitions to the provincial government within the last year in relationship to plant closings. Neither has received a positive or partially positive response. In Fermeuse, there has been an Action Committee which organized delegations to meet with the provincial and federal ministers of fisheries as well as Michael Kirby of the federal task force and their parliamentary and assembly representatives. Since the municipal council has initiated activity on the problem, there have been series of communications to the federal fisheries minister. While having been named under the aegis of the new "super company" to receive winter supply fish to supplement the inshore fishery, the Fermeuse plant has been closed throughout the winter months to date. It is inevitable that continued reductions in these plants operations will erode, at least situationally, these communities' consensual level of confidence in themselves as social entities. At this point in time, however, it is not possible to detect major community-wide changes in this dimen-

sion and strength along this dimension is assessed as **unchanged**.

28. Power Distribution

As noted in Chapter VI, power and influence in Newfoundland communities was concentrated in the merchants and professionals, particularly the clergy. The differences between Trinity South and the Southern Shore are related to the more prominent role of the church in the latter. There have been gradual changes in this pattern particularly over the past fifteen or twenty years in both regions which appear to be associated with the establishment of local government and local development associations. These organizations have facilitated the involvement of other occupational groups such as fishermen and plant workers. Nevertheless, in these regions, both the "traditional" and the "contemporary" styles exist in a mixture which is considerably complex and sometimes conflictual. In Trinity South, the Rural Development Association is an expression of the "contemporary" style, in that it involves "mostly fishermen, plant workers, then also tradesmen and labourers." In both areas there is a distinction between people whose businesses involve more than one generation of their family and those who have started their own business recently. The latter are involved in the Rural Development Association, the former are not. This pattern tends to be the case on the Southern Shore as well. "Businessmen are connected to churches and lodges (in Trinity South). They've got their own class of people. A few mix with ordinary people." "The business people stick together."

While the role of the church on the Southern Shore has been described as having "fallen off" some, it is still a very strong and

credible institution particularly as far as those over about 40 are concerned, though much depends on the qualities of the specific priest appointed to the parish. It is normative for the priest to be involved in the affairs of the community. The community's response to plant troubles in the early 70's was initiated by the priest. As recently as 1973 Barnable notes that "an informal agreement was reached between the clergy (still powerful in the area) ... [that] school-aged applicants a refused employment until examination time is passed." More significantly, one person reported that in the early 70's the Fermeuse plant changed ownership. "...There was some uncertainty. The parish priest got involved and all the people got behind him and demanded it be operated."

Fishermen, particularly 'good fishermen' (successful and hard-working), are a respected sub-group within the community. This is especially evident on the Southern Shore where the economy is exclusively fishery-related.

Barnable (1973) observes that property ownership (not only homes, but trap gear, etc.) distinguished people in Fermeuse from one another in an important fashion at the time of the plant opening in the 50's. It was those who did not own fishing gear who left the fishery to work in the plant. Plant work is not esteemed in the way fishing is. While 'hard workers' are respected in the community wherever they work, plant work is less prestigious. While there is a union in plants in both communities, it has not been a powerful local force. All this considered, plant workers, as a rule, seem to have less influence at the moment in the communities and regions than other groups of working people.

Finally, women of any socio-economic group have had little power

(in a direct way) in community matters. There are no women on the Fermeuse Town Council; there was one woman on the Action Committee, who was also on the sub-committee that represented the community at external meetings. The pattern in Trinity South is similar but changing. The Rural Development Association's community representatives are 70% men. However, women plant workers began to get organized in 1982 and formed a Women's Involvement Committee (WIN) which is associated with the Rural Development Association. The committee, with the help of M.U.N. Extension personnel, organized a conference for women plant workers in South Trinity which was reported nationally. During the past year, local committees of WIN have been organized in each community and a works project was managed by the group. This surge of activity by women has begun to draw criticism. "Women organize themselves on all the boards. Women get all the jobs." Women's involvement in community affairs is novel and controversial.

When considered within the context of dealing with community issues and problems, this complex form of power distribution split between traditional and contemporary forms is a potentially weakening feature. This "mixed" configuration could foster internal rifts which diminish possibilities of concerted action and resolute representation to external agencies. Strength is estimated for both communities as **medium-low**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension. One of the occurrences in the South Trinity region in association with the plant reductions has been the emergence of women as a potential contingency on public issues in the community. Also, it has been observed that the

"failure" of the large unionized plants and the present survival of the small family owned plants may reverse the trend back to traditional forms of power distribution. "This will make people crawl. Powerful community members have others crawling for them. This will destroy the community. I have seen this jockeying this summer." If this is beginning, it is not evident on a major scale with far-reaching consequences as yet (e.g., deterioration of contemporary community institutions), so this dimension will be assessed as **unchanged**.

29. Sources of Competent Community Leadership

As indicated in the section on "power distribution", community leaders in both areas have been drawn primarily from the male population to date and traditionally from the ranks of businessmen, clergy and other professional residents. These remain the important sources of leadership in both areas at present, but fishermen and plant workers as well as tradesmen and contractors have also become involved as community officials and representatives. It should be mentioned that, in some cases, men who own businesses in the area choose not to participate actively in the community. Some maintain that it is impossible to do so without risking loss of clientele. In both areas, it appears to be businessmen who have started their own business (new businessmen) rather than those who are continuing a family business, who participate in community problem-solving and decision-making organizations. Both regions are in the midst of changes in sources of leadership which include not only "traditional" but "contemporary" origins (paralleling the power distribution changes discussed above.) There are differences between the two areas in this respect.

In Fermeuse and region, the clergy have been much more recently active in community affairs. In fact, both priests from the area were members of the action committee during this crisis. However, there is also the perception that "church leadership has fallen off. It's gone, dried up. People got used to sitting back and being told what to do. Right now there's no strong leadership coming from the church.... It leaves a vacuum." This person also states that the pattern in the neighbouring parish is different, where another person said, "The priest, if they see fit to leave him with us, may get more people involved. He's very good." On the Southern Shore there is a noticeable generational 'split'. The traditional politically influential men and those who would identify most strongly with the church are older. "The church has a good organizational base but it is drawing on people thirty-five to forty plus." The Fermeuse Municipal Council recently elected consists of seven members whose average age is about 27 years. As mentioned earlier, women rarely participate directly as community representatives. One spokesman stated that, even then, their participation is often not sustained over a period of time. Porter (1983) describes what she observed on the Southern Shore to be a very different political culture (with respect to leadership, how and by whom it is assumed) among women than men. Both, she states, are struggling differently with the changes between an egalitarian ethic in which no members of the community were official leaders; official leaders were "outsiders". (This is discussed further in the section below entitled "Support for Community Leaders".) One person thought that Fermeuse had "some smart people but they won't step out." A number of people interviewed stated that only about 5% of the community were active as lead-

ers in any kind of organization. "Most of the top brass are mainly the same."

In Trinity South the community leadership pattern is similar but more extreme with respect to the "divisions" between traditional and contemporary forms and with respect to availability of leadership in some communities. Among the traditional influential businessmen, there tends to be the view that things should be done through businesses, such as job creation, etc. While this view was expressed by one person on the Southern Shore, it seems to be a more prevalent attitude in Trinity South. "Anything with voluntary leadership doesn't go anywhere." There appears to be conflict between the traditional leaders and the more contemporary form of leadership in the form of disagreements about what kinds of organizations should sponsor works projects. The 'split' in forms of leadership which exists simultaneously in Trinity South may be more along 'occupational' lines than generational lines as in Fermeuse. Finally, the availability of leaders in communities in Trinity South seems to be even more of a problem than on the Southern Shore. A number of people stated that there were "no leaders", though with some differences among communities. "I have lived here over thirty years. Nobody has ever showed much leadership. Old Shop and Dildo are active; South Dildo and Blaketown are inactive. New Harbour is in the middle. The smaller communities with leadership are the best for getting things done." South Dildo has not been able to form a local committee for Rural Development. "South Dildo committee organization is not working."

As an additional note, it appears that, once involved in their

community's concerns, a number of municipal and regional representatives have acquired considerable skill through managing considerable amounts of money and supervising numbers of people on works projects of various kinds.

On the basis of the foregoing, strength along this dimension for Fermeuse is estimated at **medium** and for South Dildo at **low**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension The major consequence of the major decrease in employment in the plants in South Dildo and area was the emergence of a formal organization in which women are involved in community problem-solving, the Women's Involvement Committee (WIN). This organization has been considerably active throughout the year. There have also been issues and controversies raised in relation to their activity during the year, but they are a visible and active presence on the shore. In the Fermeuse area, it was women who were reported to have initiated the picket around the plant which occurred in September, 1982. However, the leadership in ongoing community organizations, such as the Council and Rural Development Association, has not changed appreciably. Another kind of a change is the extra strain that has been on community leaders. (This is discussed below in the section, entitled, "Support for Community Leaders".) In Fermeuse this dimensions' strength has remained **unchanged** and in South Dildo it has **increased**.

30. Decision-Making Capability

Two aspects of a community's capability to make decisions about matters which affect its future will be discussed here, namely, social structures which are in place for this purpose and norms which facili-

tate effective decision-making.

a. Social Structures

There are major differences between the two communities in this respect. As mentioned above, South Dildo per se has no social structure of any kind which represents all and only its members. There has been a tradition of opposition in the Upper Trinity South area to the establishment of municipal councils. Negative consequences as perceived by residents include the need to pay taxes when the community is incorporated. Another objection is regulations and "government interference" and the view that "the community never works on problems. It can't be done other than free enterprise." Others in the area see the "good points". "There are no incorporated towns along here - no control of animals, problems with garbage collection. We're at the mercy of the highway department's whims. No water system." There is a community service district formed in Old Shop, established in response to a specific community problem, "cabins encroaching on the town." Even within this "anti-organization" area, South Dildo seems to be viewed as one of the least active as a community. In this region, perhaps, the most active community structure is regional, namely, the Upper Trinity South Development Association. This organization has elected representation from communities along the shore. One of its primary activities has been job creation. It was under the auspices of this organization that the nationally reported conference which was organized to promote the interests of women plant workers was organized a year ago. The Women's Involvement committee (WIN) is now an ongoing committee within the Rural Development Association and has local committee in each com-

munity also.

Fermeuse, like most of the communities along its particular section of the Southern Shore, has been incorporated for some time (1967). As such, community utilities and concerns as well as community works projects are handled through this body. Under its sponsorship and supervision, Fermeuse is constructing a community centre. The Rural Development Association in the area has not been a strong forum to date, though during the past year there has been a reorganization and regeneration of this group - "Rural development is starting to come back again."

b. Norms

Data on this aspect of decision-making capability was not sought directly and would be difficult to gather. One person on the Southern Shore, however, commented that members of one particular community organization are "not initiating". "They're afraid of hurting feelings. You have to leave the feelings in the meeting when you leave it. It's the problem in small towns." Leaders are in an 'institutional' relationship with community organizations as well as in 'personal' relationships to the same people as neighbours, relatives and friends. Decisions which may be in the interest of the community as a whole but contrary to the interests of particular individuals are much more difficult to make in small communities.

Strength along this dimension of Fermeuse is estimated at **medium** and for South Dildo is **low**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension In both areas, ad hoc groups have been formed to deal with the plant reductions. In

Fermeuse, however, the Action Committee had a more formal and enduring character than the several groups who circulated petitions in the South Dildo area. It included clergy, municipal representatives, businessmen and plant workers from a number of the communities affected by the closure besides Fermeuse. As mentioned in the section on "boundary clarity", even in Fermeuse, there does not seem to have been a clarity about which decision-making body should take the leadership in directing the community/region's efforts on the employment loss issue. It is, again, not so much that the plant reductions have affected decision-making structures and procedures in the community but that the occasion has high-lighted present boundary ambiguities.

The plant reductions in Trinity South also generated ad hoc groups, but with an important difference. The groups formed tend to be from the work place, not as representative of the community or region. In virtually every case, the community-wide aspect is as signatures on a petition. This means that there is a new committee formed for every specific crisis or problem. The communities's strength along this dimension seems to be unchanged.

31. Conflict Resolution Capability

Cultural prohibitions against the expression of open conflict appear to prevail in both regions as they do elsewhere. Conflict is avoided if at all possible. Authority-centered social institutions have traditionally made it possible for most people to avoid dealing with conflicting views in issues with neighbours and peers with whom one lives from day to day. However, we really have no data whatsoever on this dimension for these particular communities.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension In Fermeuse where there is some ongoing structure for involvement in decision-making and planning, there is more of a demand on the need to deal with different views and preferences than in South Dildo where there is virtually no public forum for discussion. Again, the plant reductions have not affected this dimension so much as they have called upon the need to develop ways to promote expression of different views and resolution of differences.

This dimension is probably **unchanged**.

32. Effective Management of Relations with the Larger Context

In both areas formal representatives to federal Parliament and to the provincial House of Assembly appear to be perceived by residents to be their primary resource in dealing with the larger context. In both regions delegations or petitions go to or through "the member" from the community. Other channels are to government departments and officials both provincially and federally. Particularly in the Trinity South region, both Rural Development representatives and consultants, and Memorial University Extension personnel have been sources of assistance, information and contacts for the region. With respect to policy decisions at governmental levels, one person from the Southern Shore observed that an inherent problem in relating to the larger context is "we don't have political clout. A lot will be based on the amount of votes."

The fisherman's union (NFFAN) has not emerged to date as a major channel for the community to the larger arena. The union had at least "mixed" reviews from members of the community, even if they were union members. Some saw the union as "hampering productivity" rather than of it as a source of assistance.

Several people mentioned having given up the best part of the fishing season in a good year for a strike in which the union was unable to obtain an increase in the price of fish much lower than the striking fishermen has been assured they would get.

As observed above, the notion of "community/region as a whole" is a much less relevant notion in Trinity South. People appear to go to their member more as individuals or ad hoc groups. One businessman said that, as an alternative to community councils, "You have to fight your own battle. Survival of the fittest. Or maybe you could go to your member."

Deriving from the absence of community-wide representative structures, South Dildo is seen as having **low** strength on this dimension. With community structures which permit community representation and the fact that there is a 'closer' relationship between the community council and one of its members, Fermeuse is seen as **medium-high**.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension In Fermeuse the MHA was a member of the Action Committee. This and the fact that there was much more spontaneous discussion about "the member" in the interviews from the Southern Shore suggest that there is a closer relationship between the representative and residents in the area. "Politicians are the ones who can bring pressure to bear. Only politicians (the members) can be more outspoken. This is political now." Nevertheless, there were mixed evaluations of this representation of their interests. "The member is moving up the ladder (now a provincial minister), he'll respond. They didn't let Witless Bay close down." There were more negative comments. "You have to have your members working for you. Those two guys don't care. The provincial member hasn't made a statement,

hasn't said a word on the Fermeuse plant. Crosby has said several things." "He (MHA) was the only one (of the provincial representatives) who wasn't singing out about it." "Within the next six months, it'll be interesting to see what Roger Simons' district is doing (Burin). The money will be spent there."

Again, plant reductions have served to point up the ways in which these communities have related to the wider context, so, on this dimension, strength will be considered **unchanged**.

33. Effectiveness of Intra-Community Communication

There are no local newspapers or tabloids which exist in either community. In a survey conducted in Renews by a Noel O'Deay (1972), every resident polled "strongly agreed that a newsletter or paper should be published periodically, perhaps on a quarterly basis, to increase the sense of community awareness and participation." (p. 16) Information is communicated by word of mouth. Since both communities are quite small (under 300 adults) in many ways it is possible for news of major concerns to be communicated throughout the community quite rapidly. Theoretically, there is a greater risk of information being distorted through repetitions in the network. Nevertheless, as a consequence of talking to individuals throughout each community, there is a remarkable degree of consensus of what has occurred (not what should occur). The considerable communication gaps seem more likely to occur between the community and its larger context than within the community.

Strength along this dimension is speculated to be **medium-high** in both communities.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension One of the complaints several community members had of the Action Committee in the

Fermeuse area was that members of the committee were too closed-mouthed about their activities during the meetings which they were conducting with officials a year ago. This seemed to have been a deliberate choice rather than an incapability in the community's communication network.

Category #6: Community Members Contributions to Political Efficacy
 34. Community Commitment

A major portion of residents of both communities have strong attachments to their "home towns". As discussed in the previous section, entitled "Demographic Composition", members of the community belong to families that have lived in these particular communities for generations. Also to repeat an earlier comment, when families move to other areas of the province or country, the tendency is to rent their homes rather than sell them, since they at least "half-expect" to return. There is a remarkably strong attachment of people of all ages to these communities. It is common, for example, for unmarried young people who work or study in St. John's to return home for the weekend. On the other hand, individuals who are ambitious and possibly achievement-oriented leave. A spokesman on the Southern Shore stated that men who get an education are more likely to remain in the community than women who get an education past high school as they have in increasing numbers recently. Strength along this dimension will be considered **medium-high** in both regions.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension There does not seem to have been a change in people's feelings of attachment to the

communities in either area. However, there is major change in their willingness to invest materially in their homes and businesses since the plant reductions. People, particularly in Fermeuse, have stated that they have regretted major investments made recently such as new homes and businesses. As the uncertainty of these communities continues, it seems inevitable that tangible commitments to the community will be withheld more and more. Since there remains a strong preference to remain if the community economy permits, commitments to ameliorative initiatives for the communities would seem to be likely. The withholding of further investment constitutes a slight decrease in strength along this dimension in Fermeuse. In South Dildo there has been no change. However, as reported in Chapter 3, 84% of the plant workers interviewed said they would leave the community if they had to, to find employment.

35. Clarity of Differences among Sub-Groups

Perhaps for similar reasons conflict resolution does not appear to be a major strength, the awareness that community members express with respect to differences in the interests of various sub-groups in the community, is medium in Fermeuse and mediumlow in South Dildo. There was much variation among people in the South Dildo region who are not plant workers in their awareness of the plant workers' and their families' experiences over the past several years under conditions of employment loss. The perceptions ranged all the way from a close understanding of the situation (with lots of "for instances") to a perception that there was no problem. On the Southern Shore there was a more pervasive awareness of plant worker's problem.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension It is further estimated that there is no change on this dimension, though, in addition to not having gathered data in a direct way on this dimension, it is difficult to say what was known among different sub-groups before this study began.

36. Political Participation

Along with vulnerability along the dimension of "Sources of Community Leaders" both regions have important difficulties with getting participation by members of the community in community matters and issues. Communities in Trinity South vary somewhat along this dimension, Old Shop and Heart's Delight-Islington being more active. Community leaders' comments were: "People don't come out to meetings. It's the same all over." "They will stay away when they think they have to do something." "About 20% are active." "Instead of participating, people are sitting at home and complaining." "They always wait for government to do something and if anything goes wrong, blame it on government." Speculations as to why this was the case included: a view that people were uninterested in anything that did not directly serve their own self-interest ("If you get a grant, there's no trouble to hear from all of them"); people may respond if it's a specific issue ("There was a big turmoil for the meeting on the 'woods problem' - maybe 80-90 men - and a number hadn't heard about it."); meetings aren't seen to be productive ("A lot of people got the idea nothing can be done by meetings. I don't feel that even though I haven't seen a great lot from it."); people don't want to put energy into things ("They will

stay away if they think they have to do something."); it is costly to participate especially for women who need a baby-sitter.

The story in Fermeuse is similar. Participation in community affairs is estimated at 5-10% in activity outside the church, namely, people who assume leadership primarily. "A lot of people are complaining but no one is doing anything." "If money comes for work, everyone is there." "Unless directly involved, people won't get excited."

Along this dimension, Fermeuse and South Dildo are estimated to be low.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension As discussed above, the involvement of members of the region around South Dildo with respect to the plant reductions have been in the form of signatures on petitions. In the Fermeuse area there was an occasion for people to participate in a picket line to prevent the removal of equipment from the plant after the August, 1982, closing. Several spokesmen from the community stated that it did not last long enough due to dwindling participation in the task by even plant workers themselves. "People working in the plant didn't even show up when it came time for their turn." "We're strictly in the hands of the bureaucracies. You won't see any smoke around here. There's no militancy around anything." "The young people have to get involved and they're not. It's an 'I don't don't care' situation." "From sitting on the action committee, I never had a call from someone working on the plant. I thought I would be deluged." "The community council has to get something going and get people involved." The plant reductions have not appeared to affect the participation pattern in these communities. There seems to be no change in

strength along this dimension.

37. Support of Community Leaders

As indicated above, there are virtually no formal community leaders in South Dildo. Leaders from other communities in the area reported their positions as very difficult. As discussed above, community member involvement is limited in ongoing community meetings, planning and organization. One leader stated: "Sometimes I get tired of pouring in work and running into a brick wall (no follow-up activity from members). ...People won't do anything then they tell you what you should have done. They'll be with you if it's going right ... but you're responsible if it goes wrong. ...You get very pessimistic." "There's not a project you can get going in any community without someone kicking up a stink. You have to have a tough skin. This turns people off leadership."

A similar experience of leadership was reported in Fermeuse and area: the themes being that people may look for the benefits without having contributed energy; passivity ("...people waiting for something to happen"); and criticism for initiatives taken ("You're going to get ridiculed and criticized anyway, so you just do your own job."). Another comment in that region was, "People are skeptical and doubtful. They suspect leaders of getting something out of it for themselves."

As discussed in the section above, entitled, "Decision-Making Capability", the difficulties of assuming leadership in small communities, derive from the dual roles that individuals have when assuming leadership positions. One person observed, "When you are a community leader, you are seen differently. You're always up for public scrutiny

and labelled." This profile and the job of making tough decisions among people with whom leaders live from day to day discourages people from taking leadership responsibility.

Both communities are estimated to be **low** in strength on this dimension.

Effect of Plant Reductions on this Dimension Leaders in both areas have been under increased criticism during these periods of high unemployment. Particularly in Trinity South, where plant workers were unable to qualify for UIC through work on the plants and where one of the only alternative sources of "stamps" are works projects, people in community organizations who are sponsoring these projects are deluged with applications. It does not seem possible for project supervisors to choose among the many for the limited numbers of jobs without provoking anger from those who are not chosen. One person stated: "I won't be involved in the hiring process anymore. ...The sponsors get the flack. It's a very hard decision to make. You have to live in that community." Further, on the Southern Shore where communities are incorporated and where residents are struggling with depleted personal budgets, councillors have reported that there is increasing difficulty in collecting much-needed municipal taxes. Also with the loss of corporate tax contributions from the plant, the Fermeuse council judged that they had to raise the taxes to residents by 50%. Finally, on the Southern Shore, where there is more focused responsibility on community leaders for planning and implementing activity in response to the reduction in operation of the plant, there is yet another occasion which is a potential source of criticism. We would expect **no change** on this dimension.

38. Expression of Genuine Concerns

As part of a trend along with approaches to conflict resolution and awareness of sub-group differences, data were not sought directly on this dimension. There is a widespread prohibition against being direct about controversial matters. It might be expected that this would apply especially in a small community where risks of provoking anger and "hurt feelings" are higher by virtue of the fact that people are in close proximity to each other on an ongoing basis. One community leader in the Trinity South area commented directly on this dimension saying, "People never come to your face and say something to you. You're lucky if you hear about it." (Presumably, this is not the case with high tempers about not getting on works projects as discussed above).

Speculation as to the strength on this dimension in low areas would be low.

Effects of Plant Reductions on this Dimension It is further speculated that there would have been no change on this dimension as a result of recent employment stresses.

**SALIENT THEMES RELATED TO THE STRENGTHS
ALONG DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY**

Table 7.11: COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF POLITICAL EFFICACY DIMENSION
ESTIMATES AND EFFECTS OF PLANT REDUCTIONS*

Dimension	Fermeuse	South Dildo
26. Boundary Clarity	** (0)	* (0)
27. Community Confidence	**** (0)	*** (0)
28. Power Distribution	** (0)	** (0)
29. Sources of Leadership	*** (0)	* (0)
30. Decision-Making Capability	*** (0)	* (0)
31. Conflict Resolution Capability	? (0)	? (0)
32. Management of External Relations	*** (0)	* (0)
33. Intra-Community Communication	*** (0)	*** (0)
34. Community Commitment	**** (-)	**** (0)
35. Clarity of Subgroup Differences	*** (0)	** (0)
36. Political Participation	* (0)	* (0)
37. Support for Community Leaders	* (0)	* (0)
38. Expressions of Genuine Concerns	* (0)	* (0)

*Key - (repeat)

There are three major observations which stand out in a summary of strengths along dimensions of political efficacy for the two communities. The first is that of the three areas, **political efficacy is the area of greatest vulnerability (least strength) in both communities.** The second is that, while there have been differences between the two communities in areas of social vitality and economic viability, the differences between the two communities are greater in there are greater distinctions between the two communities along these dimensions of political efficacy, South Dildo being the most vulnerable. And third, plant reductions seem to have affected these dimensions very little in either

community, one of the notable exceptions to this being the only increase in strength in any dimensions, namely, the emergence of some leadership from women in the region.

The dimensions which most distinguish the communities with respect to strength in this area, all of which are community contributions to political efficacy, are...

- .sources of competent leaders;
- .decision-making capability; and
- .management of relations with the larger context.

Both communities are vulnerable with respect the following two areas contributed by community members...

- .political participation;
- .expression of genuine concerns; and
- .support for community leaders.

The above dimensions taken together reflect extreme vulnerability in South Dildo, and considerable vulnerability in Fermeuse.

These observations, especially in the case of South Dildo, contradict the level of confidence in the community to "pull together" in order to deal with the community's most serious problem, primary industry loss. Nevertheless, based on community perceptions, the strengths in both communities are...

- .community confidence; and
- .community commitment.

In addition to noting that the contradiction mentioned above needs further investigation, it is important to observe that, while community commitment (desire to remain and tangible investment in the community) is high in both areas, a high percentage of plant workers have stated that they would leave to find work if they had to do so.

The leadership from women which has appeared in the Trinity South area is the only change along any dimension discussed in this chapter associated with plant reductions which has a positive direction. There

is also a caution here, however, since there are signs that would suggest that integration of women's leadership may be difficult in a region where even the existing power distribution is problematic. This development could be extremely helpful if women's involvement can be constructively included in the region's problem-solving efforts.

INTEGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY ADAPTATION TO FISH PLANT REDUCTIONS

An Integrative Overview

As observed earlier in this report, our task was to identify probable dimensions of strength/vulnerability which may be significant in the way a community deals with primary industry reductions and losses. The foregoing application of the identified dimensions is an exploratory one. It affords an affirmation of the potential relevance of each dimension and is suggestive of the types of data that should be sought in further, more systematic community studies of this kind. Given the incompleteness of the data on the dimensions, both with respect to the present and as to how they vary over time, assessments of strength must be taken as rough estimates. However, there are broad trends in their profiles of strength/vulnerability which can be observed.

To briefly review, we have categorized aspects of the community as a social unit into three major areas:

- .**Social Vitality**: dimensions that contribute to providing a physical and social environment which promotes a quality of day to day living;
- .**Economic Viability**: dimensions which contribute to providing for the material needs of its members;
- .**Political Efficacy**: dimensions which contribute to the solution of internal problems and representation of its interests in the larger context.

Each of these three areas was further divided into:

- .Dimensions Contributed by the Community qua Community; and
- .Dimensions Contributed by Individual Community Members.

Thirty-eight dimensions of community life which fall into these six categories have been applied in describing the two communities under study. In that description, there has been an attempt to distinguish between:

- .normative characteristics of dimensions of community life over recent years; and
- .the effects of the plant reductions on each dimension.

We should note that this distinction is speculative for some dimensions where there were no normative data available for the period prior to the plant reductions.

Normative Characteristics of the Communities. On the basis of the rough estimates in this study, the areas of strength in the two communities (see Table 7.12) are in dimensions of social vitality. The economies of the two regions, being almost wholly dependent on the fishery, is such that economic viability follows the vicissitudes of that industry. As depicted in Table 7.12, dimensions of economic viability represent the "good years" prior to this recent down-turn.

Outports appear to be considerably desirable and healthy places for their residents. Major social vitality assets are the opportunities for social contact (social structures), reasonable housing expenses with opportunity for property ownership, mutual support and problem-solving. The apparent high levels of strength in the areas of physical health and mental health (as based on data primarily from the individual interviews) are supportive of this assessment.

The strengths of the fishery are represented in the dimensions of "natural resources" (ample stocks) and "markets". Strength along the

Table 7.12: DIMENSIONS OF GREATEST STRENGTH IN THE TWO COMMUNITIES

Dimensions	Fermeuse	South Dildo
SOCIAL VITALITY		
• Social Structures	*****	*****
• Housing & Utilities	*****	*****
• Community Sources of Esteem...	****	**
• Social Support	*****	*****
• Social Participation	****	***
• Physical Health	****	****
• Mental Health	****	****
ECONOMIC VIABILITY		
• Natural Resources	(considered here to be under favorable conditions)	
• Markets	(" " " " " " " ")	
• Subsistence Resources	*****	*****
• Occupational Structures	****	****
• Work Values	****	****
• Material Needs...	****	****
POLITICAL EFFICACY		
• Community Confidence	****	***
• Community Commitment	****	****

dimension of "occupational structure" is, by definition directly dependent on the strength of the fishery. This dimension has been rated strongly here because of its "fit" with the present fishing economy. The dimensions of community strength related to economic viability which are more independent of the fortunes of the fishery are:

- Subsistence Resources
- Work Values
- Material Needs and Aspirations.

Dimensions of strength in the area of political efficacy are few. Further, when considering one of the two, "community commitment", it must be remembered that 84% of the plant workers interviewed in the

individual portion of the study stated that they would leave to find employment. (Whether this would involve commuting or moving entirely was not clear.) Nevertheless, this dimension appears highly reliant on economic strengths.

If we reverse the perspective now and focus attention on the dimensions of community life along which there is the most **vulnerability**, it is immediately evident that the area of least strength in both communities is political efficacy (see Table 7.13.). As stated earlier, the greatest variation between the two communities lies in this area as well. Therefore, where both communities appear to be vulnerable with respect to...

- .political participation;
- .expression of genuine concerns; and
- .support for community leaders.

...South Dildo is even more vulnerable than Fermeuse with respect to...

- .sources of competent leaders;
- .decision-making capability; and
- .management of relations with the larger context.

The difference between the two communities on the last three dimensions is that there is no ongoing community decision-making, problem-solving structure in South Dildo, while Fermeuse is incorporated as a municipality.

The only dimension which contributes to social vitality, on which both communities lack strength is "recreation resources and facilities" This dimension and one of the economic dimensions of vulnerability, "commercial enterprises serving the community," are less serious when community members can afford transportation to larger centres. The second economic dimension of vulnerability which is not contingent in a direct way on the strength of the fishing industry is the dimension of

Table 7.13: DIMENSIONS OF GREATEST VULNERABILITY IN THE TWO COMMUNITIES

Dimensions	Fermeuse	South Dildo
SOCIAL VITALITY		
• Recreation Resources	*	**
ECONOMIC VIABILITY		
• Autonomy	*	**
• Commercial Enterprises	**	***
POLITICAL EFFICACY		
• Boundary Clarity	**	*
• Power Distribution	**	**
• Sources of Leaders	***	*
• Decision Making	***	*
• Mgnt. of External Relations	***	*
• Political Participation	*	*
• Support for Leaders	*	*
• Expression of Concerns	*	*

"autonomy" of economic enterprises.

Effects of Fish Plant Reductions on Dimensions of Community Life. The two dimensions which represent "strength conditions" for the fishery and on which **loss of strength** has precipitated the threat to communities are:

- .Natural Resources and
- .Markets for Products.

Since the fishery (and large fish plants which are of primary concern in this study) is the major employer, the consequence of these events was drastic loss of strength on the dimension:

- .Sources of Employment.

Dimensions along which both communities were assessed to have lost strength following reductions in plant operations were:

- .Social Structures which Promote Interaction....;
- .Housing and Utilities;
- .Recreation Resources;
- .Community Sources of Self Esteem and Social Worth;
- .Social Participation; and
- .Mental Health.

Fermeuse, but not South Dildo was assessed to have lost some strength on the dimension of "community commitment".

The outstanding observation to be made here is that, with the exception of the last dimension pertaining to Fermeuse only, **all of the loss of strength has been along dimensions of social vitality.**

Dimensions which, although change had not occurred (as defined in Chapter 4), but along which there are indicators that strength may soon decline are:

- .Physical Health;
- .Demographic Composition; and
- .Commercial Enterprises Serving the Community.

Dimensions which seem not to have been affected negatively by the plant reductions are:

- .Health and Social Services;
- .Educational Resources;
- .Protection Services;
- .Mutual Support
- .Mutual Problem-Solving;
- .Cultural Value Similarities;
- .Autonomy (of Enterprises);
- .Subsistence Resources;
- .Occupational Structure;
- .Education and Skill;
- .Work Values;
- .Material Needs and Aspirations;
- .Boundary Clarity;
- .Community Confidence;
- .Power Distribution;

- .Decision-Making Capability;
- .Conflict Resolution Capability;
- .Management of Relations with the Larger Context;
- .Intra-Community Communication;
- .Clarity of Differences among Sub-Groups;
- .Political Participation;
- .Support for Community Leaders; and
- .Expression of Genuine Concerns.

The only dimension which was assessed to have increased in strength (in Trinity South only) was "sources of community leaders". This gain was assessed in light of the emergence of women leaders in the region. It seems important to note that this change occurred with the involvement of resources from outside the community and region.

Adaptation Process as Applied to Communities

The study of communities as proposed was intended to be not only an exploration of dimensions of strength/vulnerability of communities in dealing with plant reductions, but also a study of the adaptation process of communities to employment loss and primary industry reductions or loss. As with individuals and as discussed in Chapter 4, we hypothesized that it would be possible to identify common features and phases in communities' response to change. More importantly, we considered that, again as with individuals, there are constructive and destructive ways of responding (or not responding) to loss. Further, if we understand community change process patterns there may be critical points at which initiatives need to be taken (by the community itself, its representatives, or outside agencies) which maximize the probability of a constructive direction to the change process. Since we expected that responding constructively and effectively to these economic changes and conditions would require some changes in traditional attitudes and ways of doing things, we wanted to explore the relevance of

the Taylor change process model at the level of the community qua community.

There have been no communities that have experienced a complete loss of their fish plant in the province, including the two communities under study. Rather, there has been an air of uncertainty about what the problem will actually turn out to be. We expected the loss or radical reduction of the plant operation would be the precipitating event in a community change process. If this is so, this change has not proceeded extensively, perhaps, partially because of the inherent lack of definition in the problem. There are some observations to be made, however.

In Fermeuse, the plant was abruptly closed in early August, 1982, ostensibly due to marketing problems. While employees were told it would re-open in October, it opened only for the inshore fishing season at the beginning of June, 1983. Due to a poor fishing season, the plant workers did not get full weeks of work after August, though it remained open until the end of October. Several weeks after the initial 1982 closing, workers and members of the community participated in a picket (organized by women) to prevent removal of equipment from the plant. This was reported to have continued for approximately two weeks but gradually lost participation. Later in the fall, an Action committee involving plant workers and representatives of communities in the immediate region was formed. A sub-committee of the Action committee met with provincial and federal politicians and officials to present the case of the Fermeuse plant and to learn as much as possible about the disposition of these individuals and agencies toward their plant. No definitive answers were given, pending the report of the

Kirby Task Force and the subsequent restructuring decisions announced in July 1983. At that time, the Fermeuse plant was designated as an inshore plant and eligible for "resource short winter fish". This announcement did not remove the uncertainty in the situation for employees of the plant and people of the region since it did not establish how much "winter fish would be received. Indeed, there have been no dragger fish delivered to Fermeuse this past winter. In September, the Action committee was disbanded and the task of dealing with the plant problems taken on by the Fermeuse Municipal Council.

The events which have occurred in the past twenty months can be seen to reflect some of the **qualities of the "divergence-disorientation" phase** manifest by the community as a social entity. There has been some confusion and ambivalence which is represented in different viewpoints among people about what should be done and by whom. While this is not acute, it seems to be present. The first level of confusion is with respect to who should be dealing with the problem, as evident in the shifting of the problem from a regional Action Committee to the Fermeuse Council. There is also division on the issue of how the matter should be addressed. The Action Committee's approach of meeting with officials and awaiting responses is seen by a number of community representatives interviewed as having been an appropriate strategy. "What's being done is what can be done." "They did as much as they could." Others, however, were critical. "The Action Committee didn't get far. Burin did though. Everyone knows it was too quiet." "I don't think they reacted enough. If we reacted like Burin, something would be happening now. They should have got together. ...They should

have done it when everything was hot." Additionally, the focus throughout has been primarily on what the governments are going to do. This tendency is exacerbated by the lack of a definitive statement by government and by the new company which now, under the restructuring agreement, owns the plant. Nevertheless, there seems to have been little planning for alternative possible outcomes or strategizing to influence them. The problem has not yet been named in a way that the community (with some level of consensus) can go forward to deal with it.

In the Trinity South area, the plant problems have been experienced differently. The operation which is normally an inshore proposition, has been reduced gradually over the past three years from a twenty to thirty week operation to five weeks. The problem behind the reductions is the lack of raw material. The largest of the plants is a pelagic fish plant. There is a ban on fishing herring; squid are in the "low ebb" of their cycle; and there mackerel are scarce. The only processing has been of caplin. Additionally, the inshore cod fishery in Trinity Bay has been poor. The Upper Trinity South Development Association has been the community representative organization which has been attempting to address the problems of regional unemployment. This has been largely in the form of small industry development (mink ranch and trout farm) which could eventually provide employment of a number of people. There have also been works projects which are seen as a temporary solution. As described earlier, women plant workers organized themselves into the Women's Involvement Committee as a subdivision of the Rural Development Association. They organized major conference in the area in May, 1982, and have formed ongoing local committees in each

community. Several petitions have been circulated by ad hoc groups of workers. There are few incorporated towns along the Trinity South shore and, as reviewed earlier in this chapter (the section discussing "power distribution"), there appears to be much less contact among occupational subgroups within communities. Within this context, leadership initiatives taken by Rural Development have met with opposition with respect to works project sponsorship. The divisions within the region and communities seem "deeper" and the social cohesion in the area much lower than on the Southern Shore. To our knowledge, existing sub-groups on the Southern Shore are not actively opposing one another, whereas in Trinity South there is some evidence of this. South Dildo as a community has, as a social entity, made no response to the employment problems and, as we have seen, has no social structure for doing so. The region as a social entity is in a better position to respond though the regional organizations which could and are doing so does not seem to be fully supported by important groups within the region. We could interpret region as being in a more the difficult **protracted divergence-disorientation phase** characterized by conflict and competition. The behaviour of South Dildo as an entity is one of resignation and lack of hope in the virtue of initiatives.

It is important here to recall the historical context of these regions as a backdrop against which to better understand present events and problems. As described in Chapter 6, both regions were in relative isolation until the 1940's. The stable, quiet little inshore fishing communities were then beginning to be interrupted by exposure to an urban-industrial world. Their boundaries were then "blurred" by regionalization of schools, and in some cases, churches. The intro-

duction of fish plants and a cash income economy brought industrial realities right to the communities. The introduction of local government (and possibly, unions, to an extent) has fostered the development of what has been called earlier in this report, a contemporary form of leadership which now exists along side the traditional sources of leadership and influence. The disorientation phase of a socio-cultural change process, then, can be seen to have begun with these major social shifts much earlier. Problems which challenge communities and regions then "land" in the midst of this much larger pattern. We refer the reader to sections of this chapter which describe response to forms of government assistance and job creation ("Non-employment Income Sources" and "Work Values") as an example of the intensity of the conflict and ambivalence between traditional thinking and present realities.

Disorientation and confusion are necessary features of change. When an existing way of being or way of thinking is lost and the challenge to develop new ways presented, confusion, ambivalence and conflict are the necessary consequences, for a time at least. **The important observation to make here is that for any social entity at this phase in a change process (individual or community) there is tremendous vulnerability.** There is an inability to act and react coherently and expeditiously on events which occur. We believe this is a vital consideration, not only for the communities themselves, but also for agencies of governments and other external organizations that may be involved.

Implications for Intervention

In light of both the review of dimensions of strength/vulnerability and of the foregoing interpretation of present realities as related to the adaptation process, we offer the following intervention recommendations:

1. As stated in Chapter 3, that the levels of uncertainty about the future of fish plant operations be reduced as much as possible as soon as possible with respect to plans, decisions and priorities about fish plant operations which have been made by DFO and, where possible, by the new company.

In addition to the fact that protracted periods of uncertainty are extremely stressful, a lack of clarity about the nature and proportions of the problem their communities are facing impedes involvement in efforts to constructively deal with it.

2. That the opportunity to present our findings (both at the individual and community levels of the study) to people in the two communities under study be considered an occasion to explore the relevance of both the findings and the intervention suggestions with both outport residents and relevant agencies in the province.

This proposed follow-up project would involve: (a) presentation of trends in the findings to people in these two communities and regions who participated in the study with a view to making the project results useful to them, checking our perceptions and interpretations, and learning what they see their needs to be in the light of this kind of discussion; (b) discussing our findings and perceptions with relevant agencies in the province with whom we have established relationships during the course of the study; and (c) on the basis of (a) and (b) development of ways to use the results of these findings in other communities throughout the province.

3. That resources be made available, where requested by local organizations, for educational resources which would aid the development of strengths in internal problem-solving and representation of its concerns in the larger context (political efficacy).

As indicated in the integrative summary above, the social well-being of these communities is deteriorating, but from a position of considerable strength. Social vitality in these communities is the "strong suit". Economic well-being appears to fluctuate with the fortunes of the fishery. There is, however, an historically understandable vulnerability in both communities on dimensions of political efficacy, the capability of communities to engage productively in problem-solving and to represent their best interests in larger arenas of discussion. On the basis of our involvement in the communities, we believe that augmented problem-solving capabilities at a community level will benefit other aspects of community life including the well-being of individual residents.

4. That existing agencies who provide resources to communities to develop and support leadership and problem-solving skills in Newfoundland outport communities (e.g. MUN Extension Service and the Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development) be consulted and involved, if possible, from the beginning in efforts to develop proposal #3.

To our knowledge these agencies are the primary resources for communities with respect to leadership and problem-solving, with field staff throughout the province. Their judgements and practical knowledge as well as their support would be essential to the success of any such proposal.

•Taken as a whole, these proposals could be developed into a demonstration project which would enable DFO to build a detailed understanding of how the department might best relate to fishing communities facing serious employment loss.

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APPENDIX 1

EMOTIONAL CHECKLIST

In this section you are asked to indicate HOW OFTEN you experienced certain emotions BOTH BEFORE and AFTER the time when your employment status changed. For each emotion listed you are asked to provide two (2) ratings using the scale listed below. First, consider the period of time before your employment status changed and answer HOW OFTEN you felt this way by writing in the corresponding number in the space to the left of the emotion. Second, consider the period of time after your employment situation changed up to the present and answer HOW OFTEN you felt this way by writing in the appropriate number in the space to the right of the emotion.

- 1=never or a little of the time;
- 2=some of the time;
- 3=a good part of the time;
- 4=most of the time.

BEFORE

AFTER

_____	NERVOUS	_____
_____	SAD	_____
_____	JITTERY	_____
_____	USEFUL AND NEEDED	_____
_____	CALM	_____
_____	UNHAPPY	_____
_____	CONFUSED	_____
_____	TENSE	_____
_____	FRUSTRATED	_____
_____	LONESOME	_____
_____	GOOD	_____
_____	DEPRESSED	_____
_____	ANGRY	_____
_____	TIRED FOR NO REASON	_____
_____	FIDGITY	_____
_____	BLUE	_____
_____	AGGRAVATED	_____
_____	CHEERFUL	_____
_____	IRRITATED OR ANNOYED	_____

CHRONIC PHYSICAL DISORDERS

In this section you are asked to indicate the existence and severity of any chronic disorders you may have. If the illness or disorder described does not exactly match your symptoms, please take a moment and write in your description of the physical problem. Also, if you have an illness or disorder which is not listed, please write it in at the bottom in the spaces marked "other". First, indicate when the illness or disorder began (approximately). Then, place a check under one of the columns to the right indicating HOW SEVERE the problem is NOW.

WHEN DID IT FIRST OCCUR (Month/Year)	ILLNESS OR DISORDER	VERY SEVERE	SEVERE	MILD	VERY MILD
_____	AMNESIA	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	ASTHMA	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	ARTHRITIS	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	BRONCHITIS	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	CANCER	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	LIVER TROUBLE	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	DIABETES	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	EPILEPSY	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	HEART TROUBLE	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	KIDNEY TROUBLE	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	STROKE	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	TUBERCULOSIS	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	ULCER	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	A SERIOUS ACCIDENT	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	PARALYSIS	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	ALLERGIES	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	SKIN DISEASES	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	Other _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	Other _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	Other _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Please add any comments or clarifications here: _____

LIFE STRESSES

Listed below are many events in life that have been found to produce individual stress reactions. Consider the period of the PAST FIVE (5) YEARS. If any of the events happened to you during the PAST FIVE (5) YEARS, WRITE IN THE YEAR WHEN THIS EVENT OCCURRED. If this kind of event happened to you more than once, WRITE IN THE YEAR OF EACH OCCURRENCE (if it happened two or more times in the same year, WRITE THE YEAR FOR EACH OCCURRENCE. For example, if a death of an immediate family member occurred once in 1983 and twice in 1979, you would write 1983, 1979, 1979 on the line next to that item).

YEAR(S)	EVENT
_____	DEATH OF SPOUSE
_____	DIVORCE/BREAKUP OF FAMILY
_____	JAIL SENTENCE
_____	MARITAL SEPARATION
_____	UNWANTED PREGNANCY
_____	DEATH OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER
_____	UNEMPLOYMENT OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
_____	ATTEMPTED SUICIDE OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER
_____	INCURRENCE OF DEBT YOU COULD NOT REPAY
_____	ONSET OF HEAVY DRINKING PROBLEM OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER
_____	MISCARRIAGE
_____	SERIOUS ILLNESS OR INJURY REQUIRING HOSPITALIZATION
_____	ABORTION (VOLUNTARILY INDUCED)
_____	JAIL SENTENCE IMPOSED ON IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER
_____	NEW PROBLEM RELATED TO USE OF ALCOHOL OR DRUGS
_____	SERIOUS ILLNESS SUFFERED BY IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER
_____	SEX DIFFICULTIES
_____	DEATH OF CLOSE FRIEND
_____	SUDDEN INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS WITH SPOUSE
_____	PERIOD OF HOMELESSNESS
_____	BREAKUP WITH STEADY BOYFRIEND OR GIRLFRIEND
_____	MARRIAGE
_____	SERIOUS RESTRICTION OF SOCIAL LIFE
_____	MY OWN/MY WIFE'S PREGNANCY
_____	PROBLEM WITH MY CHILDREN
_____	ONSET OF PROLONGED ILL HEALTH REQUIRING TREATMENT BY MY OWN DOCTOR
_____	NEW JOB IN NEW LINE OF WORK
_____	DECREASE IN NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS BECAUSE SON OR DAUGHTER LEAVES HOME
_____	SUDDEN INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FAMILY ARGUMENTS
_____	ADDITION OF NEW IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER
_____	PURCHASE OF HOME (TAKING OUT MORTGAGE)
_____	MOVE TO NEW HOUSE
_____	INVOLVEMENT IN PHYSICAL FIGHT
_____	SPOUSE'S JOB BEGUN OR ENDED
_____	MINOR VIOLATION OF THE LAW
_____	NEW JOB IN SAME LINE OF WORK
_____	CHANGE OF HOURS OR CONDITIONS IN PRESENT JOB
_____	VACATION AWAY FROM HOME
_____	QUARREL WITH NEIGHBORS
_____	DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP WITH NEW NEIGHBORS
_____	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____
_____	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____
_____	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____

COPING METHODS AND STRATEGIES

In this section you will find a number of ways in which people spend their time. These activities or emphases may also help in reducing tension and stress. Please indicate whether you engage in each of the items listed by writing in the AMOUNT OF TIME PER WEEK that you engage in each of the activities. If you never participate, you would write "0". If you participate some weeks but not others, try to estimate the AVERAGE AMOUNT OF TIME PER WEEK OVER THE COURSE OF A YEAR. If any of your activities are not listed, please use the spaces indicated by the word "OTHER" to write in these activities.

Activity	Amount of Time Per Week (Hours/Minutes)
TALKING TO FRIENDS	_____
TALKING TO RELATIVES	_____
PHYSICAL FITNESS EXERCISING	_____
READING BOOKS OR MAGAZINES	_____
READING THE NEWSPAPER	_____
RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	_____
PRAYER	_____
HOBBIES (knitting, model building, etc.)	_____
HOME REPAIRS	_____
LEARNING A NEW SKILL OR HOBBY	_____
PARTICIPATING IN COMMUNITY GROUPS (e.g., Kinsmen, Women's Institute, Lions, etc.)	_____
HELPING WITH COMMUNITY PROBLEMS (e.g., Action Committee, Development Organization, etc.)	_____
GOING TO CLUBS OR SOCIAL EVENTS (dances, darts, etc.)	_____
LISTENING TO MUSIC	_____
WATCHING TELEVISION	_____
TALKING TO A COUNSELLOR	_____
TAKING A WALK	_____
WORKING OUTSIDE (e.g., cutting wood)	_____
SPORTS (hockey, softball, etc.)	_____
REPAIRING THINGS (equipment, tools, boats, machines, etc.)	_____
OTHER _____	_____
OTHER _____	_____
OTHER _____	_____

Interview Format:

1. Explanation about what you will be asking about in the interview: A conversation in which you want by the end of it to understand in as much detail as possible, what it was like for them to experience the period of employment reduction or loss--that you need to understand what went on for them, over time, both around them (important events, etc) and within them (thoughts, feelings, etc.)...Explain that you will help them by asking questions as you go, but that you don't have a list of questions as much as you want to hear their account. ...But before they start, you have some background questions...

2. Background questions:

a. History with the plant:

What job?

How long at the plant?

Why did they start working there?

What's good about it? Bad about it?

Do they gain anything from working besides income? that is, what's important to them about it?

b. Financial consequences:

If married, is spouse working? on UIC?

What %decrease in family and personal income as a result of their employment loss?

What expenses: kids in school?

own house?

loans?

utility bills?

other major expenses (medical, etc)?

(Don't need exact amounts--just relation of income to expenses and kinds of expenses)

c. Has this kind of employment loss/ financial situation ever occurred before? (if so, when, description...)

3. Narrative Description:

This is usually the longest part of the interview. People have their own way of telling their story--the interviewer tries to guide this description with questions which "flesh out the detail". The objectives here are to make sure the person includes the information (described as follows) which you need, and to be sure you understand what the person means by what (s)he says. When in doubt, even a little bit, check your understanding.

Suggest that they start at the beginning (at the moment or period of employment loss and what was life like for them just prior) and proceed chronologically (month by month). If they jump around, just help them fill in details of the periods left out in the conversation. At the point where they describe the beginning--the lay-off--ask them if they saw it coming? was

Introductory Information:

- study is being conducted by Marilyn Taylor and Jim Gavin (Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies) Concordia University in Montreal.
- sponsored by Federal Fisheries and Oceans, Economic Policy Research Office.
- the study is a small initial project that may result in more of this kind of work if it proves useful. It will run from June, 1983 to March, 1984.
- The purpose of the study is to develop an indication of the psycho-social consequences of employment loss in outports from fishplant cutbacks and periods of 'shut-down'. The study will be directed to include the experiences and responses of individuals and of the community as a whole. On both levels there is a concern to identify elements of a change process which may be initiated by employment loss, and elements in the experience which constitute helps and hindrances in dealing with it constructively. Ultimately, we hope to refine our understanding of who may be especially at risk in the face of this kind of stress, and in what ways. We expect to have a better understanding of what people have and what they need in order to deal constructively with such events.
- A report will be made to Federal Fisheries of the findings. Additionally, the researchers will make the findings and whatever practical suggestions possible available to the communities and community members who have helped with the study, as well as to the Memorial Extension department with whom they are cooperating.
- The study will consist of interviews with about thirty members of each of two communities in Newfoundland for the 'individual' part of the study. There will also be interviews with community leaders and community members about the communities as a whole. Interviews will be confidential--that is, no one's name will be used in any reports or publications. Only patterns and differences will be discussed, qualitatively. The report will also include numerical data at the community level.
- The communities were chosen in consultation with the Extension staff on the basis of the following criteria:
 - affected by plant reductions or a period of closure due to economic reasons during the past 18 months,
 - likely willing to have such a study conducted,
 - within reasonable geographic distance of one another.Within the regions from which plant employees are drawn, the communities in which the plants in which major reductions occurred were situated, were chosen.

it expected in any way?

As they proceed with the description, at appropriate moments interject questions to help them cover the following areas:

- .Significant events which occurred (plant-related, community-related, and other family events of importance--illnesses of others, marriages, that, is other significant life events as well as happenings directly related to their work, income, or the plant.
- .Their initiatives, responses over time (what were they doing?)
- .Their thoughts at different points in time (what were they thinking about things?)
- .Their feelings (what was happening inside?)
- .Their relationships with others? Who were they spending time with? Who was helping them? How? Who were they helping? Relationships with family members, friends, co-workers, community members, etc. Significant people at this time.
- .Any health problems, initiatives? Diet. Sleep. Illness. Exercise? Minor physical ailments, bothers? Major illnesses? Accidents?

Try to get as much detail on the above dimensions and how they may have changed in any way throughout the period.

Near the end of their description ask them, what things, people helped them cope with the situation? What got them through?

What do they see for the future? What's happening now with them and what's their outlook? Can they see what they can do about it? Who can do something about it? What has to happen, by whom?

How do they feel about being in their community? How is being their important to them if it is? What do they like about their community, where they live? Do they intend to stay? Under what conditions?

Why do they work? What does work mean to them?

Do they consider themselves religious in any way? If so, ask them to try to explain if they can. Did they see these convictions having any effect on their experience of this hardship?

4. Morale Graph

Explain that you'd like to get an indication of the Ups and Downs in their spirits or morale over the period they have been describing. Explain the co-ordinates of the graph--
Diagram the x axis to coincide with the time period described

This could be done before the general question

Explain that the y axis is the level of morale, and the x axis the time dimension.

+10 is the best spirits they can possibly imagine--absolutely everything is going terrifically well and they feel great

0 is neither good nor bad--but neutral.

-10 is the worst they can possibly imagine--don't care if tomorrow comes or not...

Ask them to indicate the levels of their morale--relatively throughout the entire period. Pick a starting point and work backwards and/or forward from it. Relate the levels (turns up and down) in morale to events where possible. YOU may have to do the graph yourself--in any case, make sure the events related to the levels are recorded on the graph.

5. Relationship Chart

Explain the relationship chart, circles and quadrants to the person. Close to the centre means centrally important, the very outside means, In my life but only slightly important. Relative distances from the centre reflects degree of centrality in my life. Ask the person to put a pin for persons or groups of persons which reflects both centrality and type of relationship (that is, work relationships, family & relatives, community members, neighbours and friends, and finally, professional people).

After everyone is placed, ask about the nature of the relationship (see relationship list) and indicate by corresponding numbers, the nature of the relationship on the sheet. Also indicate "husband" "children", etc. on the sheet next to the pins. Cross out any pin holes that do not signify anything. (changes.)

At the end of this project, ask them if there are any relationships indicated that went through any change during the period described. If so, how. Note which relationships changed with an asterisk and how at the side of the sheet.

6. Fill out the biographical data sheet. (three pages)

7. At the end of the interview, ask the person how it has been for them. Were they ever uncomfortable? Would they want you to change anything *about the way you conducted the interview?*

State again that the material will be confidential. Tell them that we might be asking them some questions that were forgotten or added at a later date. Ask them if that would be alright.

8. Ask them to read and sign the consent form. -

STUDY CONSENT FORM

I, _____ agree to participate in a study conducted by Marilyn Taylor and Jim Gavin of Concordia University (sponsored by the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans) on the effects of actual and potential employment loss. I understand that my participation will involve being interviewed at least once and that the interview discussions will be recorded. I have been informed that my identity will be disguised so as to protect my anonymity. Under these conditions I agree that the information that I give may be used in study reports and related publications.

My participation in this study is voluntary and I know that I may withdraw from participation in the interviews at any time.

Participant's signature:

Interviewer's signature:

Date: _____