Coming together or going it alone: How resource-dependent communities survive in Newfoundland and Labrador

Barbara Moriarty Snowadzky

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Coming together or going it alone: How resource-dependent communities survive in Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstract
Rural communities worldwide struggle to maintain economic viability as their populations shrink from lower birth rates and outmigration. When such locales have been dependent on a declining natural resource base, the challenge to survive is even greater. In 1992 the Canadian government announced a moratorium on cod fishing in the Atlantic Maritime provinces, which resulted in an upheaval of economic, social and cultural ways that were centered on the cod fishery for centuries. This research examined the social, economic and political history of two clusters of communities caught up in the crisis---on coastal Labrador and on the Avalon Peninsula of the island of Newfoundland---and how they managed to adapt.

The focus of this study is on the interrelatedness of two aspects of social capita---the characteristics of local social structures and the civic culture---and how they impact community socioeconomic well-being. Data gathered from participant observation and from over 100 in-depth interviews with leaders of local institutions, fishers and citizens are supplemented with quantitative information from census, community and government records.

The results show that when adjacent communities band together to tackle challenges to community well-being, the likelihood of achieving substantial results with development initiatives is much higher than if individual locales attempt to do so separately. Positive outcomes are more feasible when there is an abundance of local social structures, in particular, small businesses and a financial institution, working collaboratively with development groups. Leaders from diverse backgrounds who promote inclusiveness and grassroots involvement are also key to successful community development efforts. This research documents the adjustments experienced by these communities as the result of the cod collapse and contributes to a better understanding of how rural communities handle significant environmental and economic change.

Keywords
Sociology, General

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COMING TOGETHER OR GOING IT ALONE:
HOW RESOURCE-DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES SURVIVE
IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

BY

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DISSERTATION
Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Sociology
September, 2005
UMI Number: 3183905

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June 10, 2005
Date
DEDICATION

For Rudolph, my role model for lifelong learning.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As a youngster, I developed a thrill for travel and visiting distance places. So it was no wonder that Larry Hamilton caught my attention in his statistics course when he introduced our class to his research interests in the North Atlantic Arc region. A couple of years later my husband and I took a vacation trip to Newfoundland and Labrador and were intrigued with the province and its hospitable citizens. A year later Cliff Brown took me on as his research assistant, and I was again confronted with the province and its intriguing possibilities for research. And so this venture began.

For a study of this magnitude to take place, there had to be much support and collaboration along the way. To start, I extend my appreciation to the Sociology Department faculty who authorized assistanceships to broaden my exposure to the discipline and provide important financial underpinning for my studies. I want to single out my dissertation committee in particular. I owe a special debt to Sally Ward, who helped me sift through the mounds of data I collected and kept me on track with the iterative process of analysis. This study has the imprint of her years of advising and mentoring me during my graduate studies. Larry Hamilton was generous with encouragement and had many useful suggestions for my research, including help in formatting and presenting my quantitative data. Cliff Brown provided the maps for this volume and was always a cheerful source of moral support. Ross Gittell recommended that I design my fieldwork for a more realistic timetable, and Rob Robertson had practical advice for the best way to approach my research.

I am thankful for funding toward my fieldwork that came from the Arctic Social Sciences program of the U.S. National Science Foundation (OPP-9912004), the J. R. Smallwood Foundation for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, and the University of New Hampshire’s Institute for Policy and Social Science Research. I received valuable advice and encouragement from Mil Duncan on how to begin my fieldwork as a stranger in a community and from Lynnette Hentges on grant application procedures.

Along the way my family and friends took an interest in my work and tolerated my unavailability for long stretches of time because of my research obligations. Cousins Carol and Alex Collier opened their home to me endless times for a place to stay closer to campus, listened attentively to my research
discoveries, and introduced me to state-of-the-art computer techniques. Many eagerly followed my research progress, especially Edith Griggs, Linda Lindsey, Susan Lord, David Lynch, Dave and Frances Moriarty, Vincent Snowadzky, and Ida Wilson. Maureen Lynch translated articles related to my study. My colleagues in the Sociology Department were a steadfast cheering section. A heartfelt thanks to one and all.

The welcome I received in the field was beyond all my expectations. Faculty members at Memorial University, especially Larry Felt and Peter Sinclair, were eager to offer their insights about choosing locations for fieldwork. I am particularly grateful to Dick Haedrich, who made me feel a part of his research team during my days in St. John's. Dozens of Newfoundlanders and Labradors helped me along the way to find answers to my numerous questions. I am especially appreciative of those who made data accessible for this study, in particular, Keith MacDonald of ACOA; Doug Franklin of the Heritage Canada Foundation; Neville Johnson of DFO Ottawa; Mike Warren of the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture; Heidi Ryan and Greg Tucker of the Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency; and Bill Bowman and Lillian Simmons of The Compass. Yet in the province those to whom I am most grateful are the residents of the Labrador Straits and the North Shore of Conception Bay, who allowed me such an intimate look into their community life.

But none of this work would have been possible without the unconditional love and support of my husband, Rudolph. Having lived through such dissertation research himself, he dispensed large doses of empathy. He never complained about the household chores that he had to assume or my reluctance to take a break from my writing. He consoled me when I agonized over yet another revision. He injected humor into my world to relieve the stress of a project that seemed at times to have no end. He never lost faith in my capacity to do the work and never stopped reassuring me that I had a story that must be told. It is to him that I am most indebted and to him that I dedicate this work.

I take full responsibility for the reporting of my findings and the conclusions I reached. My fondest hope is that they will be useful to those dedicated to the betterment of their communities.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION........................................................................................................ iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ....................................................................................... v

TABLE OF CONTENTS .......................................................................................... vii

LIST OF TABLES .................................................................................................... x

LIST OF FIGURES .................................................................................................. xi

ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................... xiii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. THE FISHERIES CRISIS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Setting</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Environmental Crisis</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Newfoundland Research</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications of Social Capital</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and Social Capital</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Social and Economic Well-Being</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Change Process</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing the Research Sites</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Model</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Gathering</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of Analysis</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>Indicators of Characteristics of Local Social Structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>Indicators of Civic Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3</td>
<td>Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>Participants By Location and Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>Age and Educational Background of Participants Compared with Cluster Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-1</td>
<td>Historical Sequence of Events in the Labrador Straits Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-2</td>
<td>Population of Communities in the Labrador Straits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>Labrador Straits Regional Profile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-4</td>
<td>Fisheries Employment in Labrador Straits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-1</td>
<td>Demographics of Town Councils -- Labrador Straits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-1</td>
<td>Historical Sequence of Events in the North Shore Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-2</td>
<td>Population of Communities in the North Shore Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-3</td>
<td>Cluster Regional Profile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-4</td>
<td>Fisheries Employment - North Shore of Conception Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-1</td>
<td>Demographics of Town Councils/Local Service District Committees -- North Shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-1</td>
<td>Differences in Selected Local Social Structures by Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-2</td>
<td>Assessment of Clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-3</td>
<td>Fisheries Employment by Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-4</td>
<td>ACOA Funded Community Group Projects 1992-2004 by Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-5</td>
<td>ACOA Funded Business Projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-6</td>
<td>Labrador Straits Development Corporation Board Composition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-1</td>
<td>Northern Cod and Gulf Cod Landings in Newfoundland Waters, 1960-2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>Newfoundland and Labrador with Cluster Research Sites Identified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>Analytical Model with Indicators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-1</td>
<td>Map of the Labrador Straits Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-2</td>
<td>Forteau, Labrador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>L’Anse-au-Loup, Labrador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-4</td>
<td>Capstan Island, Labrador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>Pinware River, Labrador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>Red Bay, Labrador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-1</td>
<td>Middle-Distance Boats Chartered by the Labrador Shrimp Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-1</td>
<td>Map of North Shore of Conception Bay and Surrounding Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-2</td>
<td>View of Broad Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-3</td>
<td>Ochre Pit Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-4</td>
<td>Caplin Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-5</td>
<td>Old Perlican on Trinity Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-6</td>
<td>Fishing Boats in Old Perlican Harbor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>Red Head Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>View of Baccalieu Island from Red Head Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>Bay de Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>Quinlan Brothers Plant and Bay de Verde Harbor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-11</td>
<td>Quin-Sea Fisheries in Old Perlican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-1</td>
<td>Northern Cod and Gulf Cod Landings in Newfoundland Waters, 1960-2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-2</td>
<td>Adjusted Value of Landings by Species in Labrador Straits, 1986-2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-3</td>
<td>Adjusted Value of Landings by Species in North Shore Cluster, 1986-2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-4 Population Trends by Cluster</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-5 Provincial Landings of Northern Cod and Gulf Cod Contrasted with Population</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-6 Aging of Population – Labrador Straits</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-7 Aging of Population – North Shore</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-8 Private Household Incomes – Labrador Straits</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9 Private Household Incomes – North Shore</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 Median Family Income</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-11 Self-Reliance Ratio Showing Percentage of Dependence on Government Transfers</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-1 Revised Theoretical Model</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

COMING TOGETHER OR GOING IT ALONE: HOW RESOURCE-DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES SURVIVE IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

By

Barbara Moriarty Snowadzky

University of New Hampshire, September, 2005

Rural communities worldwide struggle to maintain economic viability as their populations shrink from lower birth rates and out-migration. When such locales have been dependent on a declining natural resource base, the challenge to survive is even greater. In 1992 the Canadian government announced a moratorium on cod fishing in the Atlantic Maritime provinces, which resulted in an upheaval of economic, social and cultural ways that were centered on the cod fishery for centuries. This research examined the social, economic and political history of two clusters of communities caught up in the crisis—on coastal Labrador and on the Avalon Peninsula of the island of Newfoundland—and how they managed to adapt.

The focus of this study is on the inter-relatedness of two aspects of social capital—the characteristics of local social structures and the civic culture—and how they impact community socioeconomic well-being. Data gathered from participant observation and from over 100 in-depth interviews with leaders of local institutions, fishers and citizens are supplemented with quantitative information from census, community and government records.

The results show that when adjacent communities band together to tackle challenges to community well-being, the likelihood of achieving substantial results with development initiatives is much higher than if individual locales attempt to do so separately. Positive outcomes are more feasible when there is an abundance of local social structures, in particular, small businesses and a financial institution, working collaboratively with development groups. Leaders from diverse backgrounds who promote inclusiveness and grassroots involvement are also key to successful community development efforts. This research documents the adjustments experienced by these communities as the result of the cod collapse and

xiv
contributes to a better understanding of how rural communities handle significant environmental and economic change.
CHAPTER I

THE FISHERIES CRISIS

Around the globe in the first decade of the 21st century, the survival of rural communities is more threatened than ever. As birthrates decline, out-migration for educational or employment opportunities is commonplace. The viability of community institutions is threatened, as the remaining populace ages. The standard of living is in jeopardy. In communities with a dependence on natural resources, these conditions are exacerbated.

The Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador has experienced these developments and even more. For centuries, inhabitants of its rural outports—tiny communities scattered along the provincial coastline—had relied on the sea for their livelihoods, in particular on cod, the species that was so plentiful in the surrounding waters of the North Atlantic. But by the mid-1900s, chronic change in the outports had become a way of life. Within sight of shore, factory freezer trawlers from foreign ports scraped the ocean bottom. The abundance of cod once taken for granted was noticeably diminishing. (Figure 1-1 depicts the landings of cod in the province from 1960 onward.) Centuries-old cod harvesting, salting and drying arrangements that involved entire families and extended families underwent change due to technological advancements in the fisheries, altering the social organization of work. Processing plants were needed on shore to prepare the cod for the market. At the same time, the age-old dependence of fisher folk upon the local merchant and the credit system was gradually disintegrating.

In response to pressure from the fishing industry that was clamoring for a way to halt the rapidly declining cod population, the federal government established a 200-mile limit to keep out foreign ships and stave off the impending environmental crisis. Yet Newfoundlanders and Labradorians geared up for more substantial catches, and consequently cod stocks decreased even more swiftly. By the mid-1980s the consequences were clear. There was no longer enough cod for sustainable harvesting. Despite dire

warnings and pleas from fishers, the federal government did not respond until July 1992, when the fisheries minister announced a moratorium on the Northern cod, the provincial staple.

In spite of the governmental efforts to step in with programs to soften the blow to fishers and plant workers, the effects of the cod collapse were devastating for families and communities. Nonetheless, not all industry participants felt the same blow. In the 1970s and ‘80s fisher families with financial means were able to make substantial monetary investments in larger, technologically sophisticated boats in order to switch to catching the more lucrative species of crab and shrimp at great distances from the shore. Meanwhile individual small-boat owners were hard pressed to continue their family tradition of fishing.

For decades, researchers had characterized social arrangements in these remote communities as having strong, supportive social and cultural bonds among the residents, who struggled to survive in harsh geographical settings. As the fisheries crisis unfolded, the egalitarian nature of outport community living was gradually replaced with a stratified one. The once cohesive community fiber had started to disintegrate.

Bureaucratic commissions examined the crisis in depth, and programs sprung up to spur economic recovery. For example, the approach of the province’s Economic Recovery Commission was to divide
Newfoundland and Labrador into 20 regional economic recovery zones, each with a development board and organizational structure that encouraged as much grassroots involvement in economic development as possible. Some communities relied heavily on the government to rescue their local economies. Others benefited from the windfall of diversification into other species. Still others anticipated changes and coped by strategizing and planning for a future without a dependence on the fisheries. Herein is the crux of my study.

This research looks at two clusters of provincial communities that took alternate paths during this period and achieved considerably different results. The purpose of this study is to examine the concept of community social and economic well-being as evident today in these two clusters. These areas were selected because they were located in distinctly different parts of the province and were fisheries-dependent for centuries. In spite of the downturn in the economy over the last 20 years, social and economic indicators of these clusters gave the appearance of more stability and less unemployment, when compared with the province as a whole. The first, known as the Labrador Straits (population estimate 2,000), consists of seven outports scattered along the most southeasterly coast of the Strait of Belle Isle, which separates the Gulf of St. Lawrence from the Labrador Sea (Atlantic Ocean). The second, the North Shore of Conception Bay (population estimate 4,100), is a grouping of 12 outports at the northwest tip of the Avalon Peninsula where Conception Bay meets Trinity Bay. Figure 1-2 shows the location of these clusters in relationship to the province as a whole.

I employ the case study approach to research the social, economic, and political history of the two locales, as well as examine the demographics of the residents, then compare the two clusters. The key lenses which I use to analyze community socio-economic well-being are the characteristics of local social structures and the civic culture. These are aspects of social capital, a concept that has achieved recognition over the last 20 years as a tool for describing actions of individuals and organizations within a social system — generally a neighborhood, village, city, or region. Social capital has been depicted as “the set of resources that inhere in relationships of trust and cooperation between people” (Warren, Thompson and Saegert in Saegert, Thompson and Warren 2001:1). It is what develops when people work constructively
Figure 1-2. Newfoundland and Labrador with Cluster Research Sites Identified.
together for their common well-being. If social capital is plentiful in a locale, it can unleash unusual energy and creativity among the residents. Often such synergy is used to network with individuals and institutions beyond the community to tap into heretofore inaccessible assets, financial or otherwise. This can be crucial at a time when investment resources for worthwhile community projects are scarce. Hence, such interactions can contribute significantly to the survival of a community in times of crisis.

Through a scrutiny of local institutions, one can observe how community social structures and their leaders function and work on common community issues, and whether the overall efforts of leaders and residents materialize into positive outcomes. By examining the inner workings of a community with a focus on civic culture, one can learn how residents interact, and possibly even become empowered to take ownership of their community’s fate. My hypothesis is that the characteristics of a community’s local social structures overlap with its civic culture and that their relationship determines how the community’s socioeconomic well-being will survive catastrophic circumstances, in this instance the cod collapse. By using a blend of qualitative (focused interviews and participant observation) and quantitative (disbursement of agency funds, population and income/self-reliance figures) methods, it is possible to measure the clusters’ respective social and economic well-being a dozen years after the moratoria.

My research findings contribute to the empirical knowledge of Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as the North Atlantic Arc region and could be useful for local residents desiring to take control of their own destiny, for change agents who strive for the betterment of struggling communities, as well as for policy makers considering approaches to community and economic development.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Where are the fishing boats, where are the nets and ropes?
Where are the codfish bound, when they leave the fishing grounds?
Will they return again, making the sadness end,
Bringing back livelihood for those who cry?
Ada Piercey Jenkins (2002)

In the literature review that follows, I cover several areas. First, I describe the setting in Newfoundland and Labrador and, in general, what aspects of the fisheries crisis and of rural, resource-dependent life there have already been researched. Second, I examine the concept of social capital, applications of social capital, and economic development and social capital. I close by looking at community social and economic well-being and the change process.

The Setting

Newfoundland and Labrador joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949 and is its newest province. Although designated separately geographically, the two areas are combined into one province, more frequently alluded to as simply “Newfoundland.” However, since 2001, the official name of the province is Newfoundland and Labrador (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2003). Lying between the 46th and 61st parallels, the province is situated in a region known as the North Atlantic Arc.

Newfoundland itself is an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a 6,000 mile coastline of bays and inlets, dotted with outports. Frequently referred to as “The Rock” because of its rock-like appearance and its geological origins (Williams in Dettmer 2001), the interior of the island boasts the Long Range Mountains, considered to be the northernmost segment of North America’s Appalachian Highlands, stretching from the northeast to the southwest of Newfoundland’s western region (Shankman and James 2002). Labrador, more than two and a half times larger in land area than Newfoundland, is on the east coast of the Canadian mainland, part of the Quebec Labrador peninsula. Both Labrador and Newfoundland are
covered with forests that are neither extensive nor contain much variety of species, mainly coniferous trees that are intermingled with hardwoods (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Forestry 2003).

Even though rich in natural resources such as timber, minerals, hydro-electric power and off-shore oil, the history of Newfoundland and Labrador is most inextricably linked to fish, in particular a member of the groundfish species, the Atlantic Cod, *Gadus morhua*. Desirable feeding grounds for the cod have been the sea life which thrives in the waters of the North Atlantic in areas where cold and warm waters meet, in this case where the icy Labrador Current encounters the warm Gulf Stream. Off the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland are several large elevated regions of the sea floor, or banks, collectively known as the Grand Banks. Here the surroundings teeming with plant life drew cod in such numbers that European explorers and seasoned fishermen who discovered them toward the end of the 15th century were stunned (Kurlansky 1997). The subsequent onslaught of fishing vessels, supplemented by fishing efforts from the growing local population, never stopped until this lucrative resource was all but depleted at the turn of the 21st century.

While the Vikings were the first Europeans to travel to Newfoundland in 1000 A.D. and attempt to inhabit the land, they did not stay long because of the harsh climate and the unfriendly welcome from the native population (McAleese in Dettmer 2001; Millman 1990). Five hundred years passed before Europeans would settle there permanently. In 1583 St. John’s on the far eastern coast of Newfoundland became Britain’s first colony. Soon English and Irish fishers and farmers arrived to settle the city and the surrounding Avalon Peninsula. The majority of the citizenry today is descended from European immigrants (Tourism Newfoundland and Labrador 2000).

As of January 1, 2005, the province’s population was judged to be 516,986 (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2005). Roughly one third of the inhabitants lives in the St. John’s metropolitan area. Approximately 29,000 are residents of Labrador, and the remainder are concentrated either on the Avalon Peninsula where St. John’s is located, in regional centers like Gander, Grand Falls-Windsor, or Corner Brook or in the sparsely populated coastal outports (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2005). The aboriginal people who inhabit the province today are found primarily in Labrador. They are the Innu (formerly known as the Montagnais-Naspaiki Indians) and the Inuit, Neo-Eskimo people who moved to Labrador in about 1400 A.D. after crossing the Canadian Arctic (Kennedy 1995). Five thousand
Labradorians consider themselves Metis or members of the Labrador Metis Nation, people of mixed European and Inuit or Native American Ancestry (Labrador Metis Nation 2003).

**The Environmental Crisis**

The debate still rages as to where the responsibility for the catastrophe of the depletion of cod stocks lies. Scientific evidence points to overfishing, attributed mostly to the increasing amount of technological improvements for deep sea fishing vessels. But the bulk of the data seems to implicate the introduction of the factory freezer trawlers in the mid-1950s. These giant vessels, looking almost like passenger liners on the high seas, hailed from places like England, Germany (both East and West), and the former USSR. They boasted continuous, round-the-clock operations, held back only by the worst of weather, and were capable of staying at sea for months. Workers on deck brought in enormous catches, while those below the deck sorted, cleaned, processed and froze them. Their impact on the cod stocks was so immense that by the mid-1980s these ships became obsolete, primarily because they fished the oceans dry (Warner in Cadow and Corbin 1997; Warner 1983). To put this into perspective, approximately eight million tons of Northern cod (referring to Atlantic cod found in the vicinity of southern Labrador, Newfoundland, and the Grand Banks) was harvested from 1960 to 1975, a span of one to two cod generations, compared to roughly the same volume harvested between 1500 and 1750, over a period of 25 to 30 cod generations (Hutchings and Myers in Arnason and Felt 1995).

In 1973 the ICNAF (International Commission on the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries) set up regulations in an attempt to stem the tide of overfishing. They stipulated a Total Allowable Catch (TAC) quota for fishers that were based on overly optimistic estimates, triggering investments by business and government which anticipated a boom that never materialized (Hutchings and Myers in Arnason and Felt 1995). It may be widely agreed that the international law established in 1977 to designate exclusive harvesting rights within 200 miles of a nation’s coastline, known as the EEZ (Economic Enforcement Zone), was long overdue. However, even this law failed to halt the overharvesting of cod in the region.

But Newfoundland fishers as well as those from faraway ports share the responsibility for the tragedy of the common property of the ocean (Haedrich and Hamilton 2000). When a natural resource has unlimited access and profit is tied to it, even those who are aware of the impending deterioration of the

8
stock tend to harvest it more intensely (Omohundro 1994; McCay and Acheson 1987; Hardin 1968). Other environmental factors such as unfavorable changes in the ocean and climate also played a role in the transformation of the ecosystem which hastened the demise of the cod (Hamilton, Haedrich and Duncan 2003).

As the cod crisis emerged, the federal government initially demonstrated limited engagement in the fisheries, mainly in technology research and development, dispensing capital funds to businesses, erecting infrastructure, and providing a safety net of unemployment benefits (Sinclair 1988). Meanwhile, the cost to Canadian taxpayers mounted. Too often politicians, with power to make the hard choices, selected the best political, albeit short-term, solution instead (Harris 1999). The provincial government was also involved in trying to stave off the looming crisis. As an example, in 1986 a Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment was established, followed by an Economic Recovery Commission in 1989 to explore social and economic alternatives for the province (House 1999). The latter established 20 regions with mechanisms to promote citizen and government involvement in economic development. Initiatives have emerged in such areas as tourism, aquaculture, agriculture, and information technology. Although it is much too soon to tally results, to date they have been mixed (House in Byron 2003).

Nonetheless, the forces leading to the collapse of the fishery in 1992 were inexorable and “resulted in the largest industrial shutdown in Canadian history,” displacing about 40,000 in Atlantic Canada, over fifty percent of whom were Newfoundlanders (Canning and Strong in Ommer 2002:319). This triggered specially tailored government assistance that included retraining, monetary support and retirement options for those affected. But the scars in the outports were deep, and the government fixes, rather than constructive, often served to pit local residents against each other (Palmer in Byron 2003; McCay in Byron 2003).

**Previous Newfoundland Research**

Over the last few decades much has been studied about residents of the rural, resource-dependent Newfoundland outports and their struggle to survive economically. Researchers have earmarked certain Newfoundland communities and regions for in-depth examinations of how residents have dealt with the uncertainties of fisheries employment.
The Great Northern Peninsula has attracted multiple researchers who have investigated the region in
general or specific communities in particular, to learn more about the ability of residents to cope with the vagaries of the fisheries. Sinclair (1985) focused on the Port au Choix area and chronicled the technological changes in the fisheries along with subsequent modifications in the social organization of communities from the mid-1800s until the 1980s, including the rise of a strong fishermen’s union. These changes provoked clashes among locals, in particular, those who invested in larger, more sophisticated vessels for harvesting cod and shrimp, i.e. petty capitalists, and those who remained small boat cod and lobster fishers, or domestic commodity producers. The latter “market(s) goods or services in order to acquire the means of subsistence and to ensure the simple reproduction of the producer’s household enterprise” (p. 19). Sinclair determined there were multiple forces at work, for and against the continuance of domestic commodity production (DCP). He posited that factors such as future state policies as well as exploitation of other provincial natural resources, i.e. oil, will determine its destiny. Looking at the fate of DCP in 1997, Palmer and Sinclair concluded that government policies, especially more advanced training for some fishers while excluding the majority who have eked out a living in the fishery, leaves little room for hope that domestic commodity production will ever return as a way of life in the province.

Felt and Sinclair’s 1995 edited volume touched on topics from life satisfaction to fishery policy, youth unemployment, women’s political activity, and the establishment of a community development corporation. The editors found that most local residents had accustomed themselves to the harsh living conditions by exercising flexibility with a variety of occupational skills; substituting bought goods and services with contributions of labor and bartering; and perpetuating the outport norm of cooperation with one another.

House, White and Ripley (1989) studied in- and out-migration on the Great Northern Peninsula. They learned that residents were adept at maximizing all financial opportunities to maintain a household, from paid employment, though often seasonal or temporary, to utilizing the unemployment insurance system to ensure that as many household members as possible could qualify. Supplementing these earnings with informal help from relatives and friends in areas such as caregiving or home repairs, families were able to achieve a high satisfying lifestyle despite the uncertainties of fisheries employment.
Since the moratoria of the 1990s, some fishers in the region have been able to harvest crustaceans, a resource present in waters adjacent to their communities. As a result, residents involved in this aspect of the fishery have been able to survive economically, although shrimp, crab and lobster harvesting and processing are not as labor intensive as for cod (Hamilton, Haedrich and Duncan 2003; Palmer in Byron 2003). Though not directly related to the fisheries, Omohundro (1994) looked at the impact of the declining forestry and subsistence living in a community on the Great Northern Peninsula. He and colleague Michael Roy (in Byron 2003) analyzed the competing points of view in forestry management in that region, which has assumed a higher priority due to the fisheries closure.

Research in other parts of the province includes McCay's extensive field work at Fogo Island, focusing on the fisheries cooperative there (McCay in Byron 2003; McCay in Sinclair 1988). Clarke (in Byron 2003) studied the fisheries restructuring with its government licenses and entitlements and their effects on the community at large in Petty Harbour on the Avalon Peninsula. Kennedy (1995) compiled an anthropological history and described the way of life of Labradorian villagers along the seacoast. Through the lens of historical geography, Mannion (1976) described major transitions that residents experienced in the outport of Point Lance on the Avalon Peninsula.

The interdisciplinary Eco-Research Project, initiated in 1994 at Memorial University, used a case study approach to analyze the sustainability of coastal communities on the Bonavista Peninsula and the Isthmus of the Avalon Peninsula. Their efforts resulted in several publications and numerous articles (Ommer 2002; Ommer et al. 1999; Ommer 1998). The study team arrived at the following determinations:

1. There are “too many fishers catching too few fish” (p.342). This problem applies not to inshore fishing alone, but includes the massive catches of high tech vessels harvesting offshore and near shore.

2. Instead of the fishery always being an alternative for employment, it is essential to bolster small business development to diversify the options.

3. Though the business community advocates for a productive fishery which translates into fewer jobs, the researchers urged a more pronounced commitment from the provincial government to finding alternative work possibilities.
4. In spite of the necessity of rural fisheries-dependent communities to be more forward-thinking, efficient and productive (to be addressed with additional education and training), it is important to give appropriate credit to the expertise and experience honed by local residents.

5. Prior to setting policy reflecting the view that Canadian taxpayers should not have to prop up communities that cannot sustain their own way, the researchers urged that aspects such as “time frame, environment, health education and social context” need to be taken into consideration (Ommer 2002:343).

Another inter-disciplinary team of researchers has been involved with a five-year Coasts Under Stress project since 2000, working with communities in remote locations along the West Coast of Newfoundland from St. Anthony to Stephenville, as well as in coastal Labrador from Cartwright south to the Strait of Belle Isle. Its mission is to analyze “the impact of social and environmental restructuring on environmental and human health in Canada” (Coasts Under Stress 2003).

Many other books, articles and chapters in edited volumes provide glimpses into various aspects of life in numerous outports. Neis and Felt (2000) as well as Neis and Kean (in Byron 2003) examined the ways fishers participate (or not) with scientists and those who manage the fisheries. Bruce and Gadsden (1999) surveyed residents on the quality of life (financial, community, health, education, property and services) in five locations, comparing venues of two outports with three small towns. McGrath, Neis and Porter (1995) assembled a collection of writings on women’s experiences and their undertakings toward people-centered development in their communities. Nadel-Klein and Davis (1988) brought together essays that also focus on women and their roles in the fishery. Sinclair’s edited 1988 volume provided a range of articles on fisheries policies and management, even comparing Newfoundland with Iceland and Scotland, to efforts to establish cooperatives in the province. Matthews’ study (1976) of three outports whose residents refused to participate in the government’s resettlement program highlights changes in the structure of Newfoundland community life, along with the values and attitudes of community residents. Skolnik’s 1968 publication analyzed the resettlement policy of Newfoundland from economic and social points of view.

Domestic commodity production, along with helping one’s neighbor in an informal, unpaid manner, has always been a way for Newfoundlanders to make ends meet (Cadigan in Ommer 2002; Palmer and
Sinclair 1997; Felt, Murphy and Sinclair in Felt and Sinclair 1995; Omohundro 1994; House in Sinclair 1988). Construction work on infrastructure as well as gigantic building projects provided employment opportunities for some, frequently coupled with short-term relocation to the worksite in distant parts of the province (McBride, Kealey and Cadigan in Ommer 2002; House in Dettmer 2001; Kennedy 1997; Kennedy 1995; Hamilton and Seyfrit 1994; House 1986; Matthews 1983). Others found work by temporarily migrating to mainland Canada or the US, sometimes for a year or more, or moving away permanently (Ommer 2002; Sinclair in Ommer 2002; Hamilton and Butler 2001; House et al. 1989; Gmelich and Richling 1988). Migration has taken its toll, as Newfoundland population is now down about 50,000 since 1992, when the first cod moratorium was announced (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2003).

If the picture of the Newfoundland economic and social situation that I have painted appears to be bleak, then I trust it is an accurate portrayal. Yet honed over centuries by the harsh living conditions in the province, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians have developed a knack for survival. It is this quality which I hope to uncover in my undertaking. I aim to contribute to the literature by case studies of communities that have not yet been studied in depth. This will add to the research perspectives on the province that have concentrated on the Great Northern Peninsula, Bonavista, Fogo Island, and other localities mentioned above. Only a few works, notably McCay's on Fogo Island, have focused on grassroots efforts and others have made brief mention of such. There is an apparent gap in the literature about exactly how the local populace has been involved in impacting the future of its community, particularly since the cod moratoria have been implemented. By examining the role of local social structures and the civic culture in these locales, I hope to provide glimpses into how these two aspects of social capital influence a community's social and economic prosperity.

**Social Capital**

The concept "social capital" appeared in the literature early in the 20th century, but in the last two decades it has been written about extensively by social and behavioral scientists. Social capital is what develops when people work constructively together for their common well being. In times of need or crisis, they are usually able to achieve more positive results by collectively finding ways to reach out to other

13
communities and institutions. By so doing, they magnify their resources, broaden their possibilities and increase their accomplishments.

Bourdieu was presumably the first sociologist to use the term. He described social capital as "consisting of resources based on connections and group membership" (1987:5). Coleman devoted more time to explicating social capital, defining the term functionally. From his perspective, social capital "is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors — whether persons or corporate actors — within the structure" (1988:S98).

Portes looked at how the term 'social capital' originated and how it was being used in sociology, putting forth a consensus from the literature that "social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (1998:6). Much had been written about the plusses of social capital, claimed Portes, but he proceeded to enumerate four minuses: the potential to exclude some (i.e. minority groups) from accessing its benefits; the possibility of some group members taking a free ride on the backs of others; the implication that by participating in a group one must conform to group norms; and the strength of group cohesion being so powerful that members pressure one another to maintain their common adverse status rather than approve of a member who individually seeks to improve his lot. In conclusion, Portes stated that the processes that make up social capital are not new but researched under different designations. He cautioned the reader to be wary of promoting the concept as a panacea for dominant social ills (1998).

Differentiating social capital from human capital (i.e. an individual's accumulation of education, training and experience), scholars have applied the concept of social capital to a manager's social network within an organization. Granovetter urged that attention be given to what he termed as "embeddedness: the argument that the behavior and institutions to be analyzed are so constrained by ongoing social relations that to construe them as independent is a grievous misunderstanding" (1985:482). Gargiulo and Benassi cautioned about a negative side to social capital, purporting that "too much strength in the ties of a consultation network with a set of cohesive contacts, or a network dominated by a small set of contacts,
constrain the manager’s ability to adapt the composition of his social capital according to the changes in his task environment” (1997:11).

Putting forth a similar assertion, Burt (1997) analyzed the makeup of a manager’s network, building on Granovetter’s contention (1973) about the strength of weak ties in networks. Burt saw the links in a manager’s network duplicating the information flow, when one’s contacts in the network provided the same information and/or third party sources. Yet a network with “structural holes” allowed a manager to build robust interactions with those he or she contacted indirectly (a friend of a friend, so to speak). Such circumstances would promote entrepreneurial behavior and presumably access to liberal information benefits from the network.

It is not possible to investigate the concept of social capital without looking at Putnam’s works. In 1993 Putnam released the results of his 20-year longitudinal study of regional governance and the civic community in Italy, along with his assessment of the key role of social capital in “making democracy work.” In his next publication, he appraised social capital in the US as waning. Putnam attributed this decrease to an erosion of participation in conventional civic organizations, using everything from voter turnout to membership in bowling leagues as indicators (2000, 1995). These publications unleashed a steady stream of commentary from both supporters and critiques of his approach.

Lappé and DuBois (1997) applauded Putnam for putting social capital into the public discourse. They cautioned, however, that “networks of meaningful association can coexist with a generalized sense of powerlessness” (p. 121). The authors contended that building social capital can also be done outside of civic or voluntary organizations by involving citizens in decision making in their current societal roles — at school, work, in religious congregations or as consumers. By starting to develop decision making skills in these arenas, we will be equipping citizens to counteract their exasperation about having no voice in public decisions. With these new skills, individuals will have learned how to influence the public domain as well.

Kenworthy agreed with Putnam’s perspective that cooperative behavior is important for the economy to thrive, but downplayed the significance of social capital and civic participation in that process. Instead Kenworthy placed institutional incentives as the main “economically beneficial forms of cooperation” (1997:645). He surmised that an active citizenry is not required for economic actors to have trust between
them, nor is trust a precondition to “cooperative economic behavior.” Foley and Edwards found fault with Putnam’s version of social capital that supposedly is developed in civic organizations that include the more frivolous like choruses and bowling leagues Putnam makes reference to. Instead, they emphasized the importance of “social-movement organizations, grassroots interest groups, and grassroots political associations (as)... far more likely to generate...activated citizenry” (1996:49).

Etzioni observed that Putnam shied away from using “community,” referring to “social capital” instead. He contended further that Putnam’s idea of “norms of reciprocity” as a component of social capital do not develop from economic action alone, “but to a significant extent, reflect basic moral values” (2001:223). Edwards and Foley (2001) critiqued a tendency of Putnam to use an excessive number of synonyms for the concept of social capital. They also remarked that Putnam overemphasized individual-level factors in comparison with institutional and historical factors and cautioned that all three be taken into account. Wilson (2001) observed Putnam’s study to be a healthy catalyst for examining the state of community, though he was critical of Putnam’s functional rather than substantive definition of social capital.

Probably the most defining work on social capital to date is Lin’s 2001 treatise. He assembled many of the interpretations and strains of the concept to date and shaped them into a model for nearly universal application. Lin began by contending that “actors (whether individual or corporate) are motivated by instrumental or expressive needs to engage other actors in order to access these other actors’ resources for the purpose of gaining better outcomes" (p. xi). His exposition of social capital included emphasis that the idea of capital implies processes as well as outcomes, and whether the venue (or “market”) is a community or in the realm of economics, politics or labor, the process is the same. People interact and network to wind up with more than what they started. Lin professed that the sought-after resources are “embedded in hierarchical and network structures...(with) differential opportunity structures... differentially accessed by individual actors in their web of social relations,” usually among people in similar socio-economic circumstances (2001:40). He discussed why individuals are motivated to act in building social capital, even when sometimes the return does not appear to balance out the effort invested. According to Lin, an
individual’s action is either instrumental (to get resources not possessed by him or her) or expressive (to hold onto resources that he or she already has).

Rather than use the term “social capital,” Bowles and Gintis (2000) settled instead on “community.” They felt it better expressed the “good governance” aspect that highlights the actions of groups rather than the belongings of people. They promoted how communities can sometimes accomplish what governments and markets fail to do “because their members, ... not outsiders, have crucial information about other members’ behaviors, capacities, and needs....” (p.6). Residents can utilize this information to reinforce community norms. However, they cautioned that what communities can accomplish may be threatened when the members are hierarchically divided and economically unequal.

**Applications of Social Capital**

Many studies have been done on social capital in action, such as in poor communities, in community development, and in building democracy. Saegert, Thompson and Warren’s 2001 edited volume on social capital has results of initiatives in poor US communities which offer lots of practical advice for builders of social capital. The editors began by emphasizing that social bonds among community members and within churches and schools have to be supplemented by bridges that connect churches, schools and various local organizations. Such bridges need to tie one poor neighborhood or community to another as well as to more prosperous communities and link up with citizens and municipalities in the region and even nationally (Warren et al. in Saegert et al. 2002).

Duncan’s research of three American communities provided concrete examples of what encouraged the development of social capital and what hindered it (1996, 1999). She drew comparisons between one town that has an active middle class seeking inclusiveness of poor and better-off residents in enhancing the capacity of local institutions and two others where class and racial boundaries are stark and blatantly observed. However, Duncan emphasized that even in cases where social capital existed in a poor community, constructive regional efforts coupled with accountable federal social policy were essential ingredients to move the community forward (Duncan in Saegert et al. 2001).

So then, who actually builds social capital – community residents, community leaders, outside change agents, or a combination of these? The strategic vision report of Ecotrust^ proposed: “No amount of outside
intervention can substitute for the tenacity and commitment of those who live in a place and who have most at stake in its future” (Bryant 1997:184).

Several references in the literature point to women as key to the building process, though their leadership role may not be obvious or even sanctioned (Warren et al. in Saegert et al. 2001). Generally women are more attracted to cooperative business undertakings and make good candidates for social capital builders (Gittell and Thompson in Saegert et al. 2001). This is borne out in a study conducted by Gittell, Ortega-Bustamante and Steffy (2000) of female-led Community Development Corporations (CDCs) which underscored women’s ability to effectively network, expand trust and generate participation within their communities. March and Toqqu reported another example of what women bring to such efforts. They researched the informal relations in developing lands, concentrating on women and the way that they come together to help one another in times of need. The authors urged that the women’s “rotating labor associations” in communities be studied so that programs could replicate their structural and functional arrangements when attempting to advance economic capability in an equitable way (1986:66).

Acheson reported on studies of fishing families that determined “fishermen’s wives are unusually independent, resourceful, and generally well able to cope with operating the household single-handedly” during times of their husbands’ extended absence due to lengthy fishing voyages (1981:298). Such dynamics could position women to take leading roles in promoting social capital processes in the communities I will research. Certainly McGrath, who studied women’s work in Newfoundland, found “women were key players in committees formed, battles with government fought and services obtained” (In McGrath et al. 1995:311). The role of entrepreneurs in communities is also deserving of attention. Bryant (1989) argued that when economic decline sets in, entrepreneurial behavior that emerges which shows initiative and risk taking can be crucial to the future of the locale.

Based on his knowledge of building social capital in urban settings, Briggs (1997) forewarned change agents to be deliberate about identifying significant positive social relationships in a community and work to produce more; to recognize that to develop consistent exchanges among the stakeholders takes time; to be specific about the desired goals for the community; and to seek out creative ways to involve citizens and overcome social divergence. When outsiders or even officials within the community are attempting to
organize residents to get involved, Briggs (1998) advised them to be sensitive to subtleties such as different communication approaches and where the local power lies as they work to involve the stakeholders in decision making. When such subtleties are overlooked, understanding, trust and goodwill are at stake.

Gittell and Vidal described efforts to set up CDCs with broad citizen involvement in three cities where previous community development projects had not been effective. They suggested that the most basic challenge for organizers is “to actively manage a process that shifts meaningful expertise, capacity, and control to groups without being overly directive and influential so as to dampen volunteer engagement” (1998:85). If efforts to build social capital are a top-down process, then creating a community vision, assuring that residents are listened to, and involving residents in decisions that impact them are critical principles to be followed (Potapchuk, Crocker and Schechter 1997).

**Economic Development and Social Capital**

One could argue if the people of Newfoundland are coping with economic recovery or perhaps economic development. Ness explained economic development as “represent(ing) a process of change marked by a single underlying quantitative dimension...development is operationally defined as an increase in human productivity” (1970:ix). But as much as Ness emphasized the importance of the quantitative dimension and decried the ineffectiveness of economic development programs because they are unable to measure accomplishments more precisely, Gittell and Wilder promoted a qualitative approach to measuring success in CDCs. They focused on the access of community residents to:

1. financial resources (grant money, public and private capital and loans); 2. physical resources (housing, recreational facilities); 3. human resources (social services, public safety, job training, work and business skills, educational services); 4. economic opportunities (employment and business ownership); 5. and political power and influence (1999:345).

Newfoundland outports with their remoteness in a severe physical environment, lack of skilled workers, and high taxes make them unattractive for outside capital investment (Kennedy 1997). However, the “small is beautiful” argument of Schumacher (1973) has found its way into discussions of what might work for Newfoundland. Schumacher promoted developing “an intermediate technology...where the enormous cost and complication of production methods for the sake of labour saving and job elimination is avoided and technology is made appropriate for labour-surplus societies” (p. 174). He envisioned jobs
being created in communities where people live, with uncomplicated production methods using local materials to make products for local consumption. Overton (1990) criticized the “small is beautiful” proposition because he saw the provincial government embrace the concept and shirk its duty to furnish employment or compensate the unemployed. The answer for the government was to have small businesses create jobs and pay unemployment insurance as needed.

Shuman (1998) advocated that “a community can best strengthen its economy when it builds on its internal strengths” (p.6). His monograph drew upon lessons learned from the Mondragon Cooperative in Spain which, for example, tied together the creation of businesses with providing training and financing. Shuman’s ten steps toward community self-reliance included instituting a local currency, developing a statement of economic principles and practices (a Community Bill of Rights), and linking up with other communities worldwide that are attempting similar efforts, important for maintaining a global viewpoint.

Tolbert, Lyson and Irwin (1998) have examined the impact of local institutions on a community’s economic well-being, asserting that an abundance of small businesses owned by residents, religious congregations involved in community causes, and family farms foster civic engagement due to the horizontal ties they create. In turn, these local organizations and the heightened civic engagement they promote are linked to a community’s social and economic well-being. A similar concept was introduced by Oldenburg (1989), who researched “third places” or a town’s small retail concerns. In these locales residents came into frequent contact with one another, even in some cases congregate informally, enhancing a community’s horizontal networks.

Marchak analyzed that Newfoundland was trapped in “a staples economy...absolutely dependent on the extraction and export of some raw or semi-processed material” (in House 1986:179). This made it extremely susceptible to resource depletion as well as world market conditions. As House (1986) clarified, fish is considered a weak staple that is not in high or obvious demand, hence it is easy to find substitute products. In addition, fishers are able to exercise minimal control over prices in the world market. Yet an aspect of economic activity not to be ignored is the contribution of the informal economy in a developed market society (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987). Many studies already cited lend credence to the presence of a robust informal economy in Newfoundland outports.
Making the link between social capital and economic outcomes has been the focus of research by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) and Collier (1998) among others. DeFilippis (2001) was particularly critical of Putnam because of the lack of economic capital in Putnam’s social capital model. In addition, DeFilippis took issue with Putnam and those he influenced because their understanding ignores the unlikelihood of the powerful and privileged to share what they have accumulated in social capital with the less fortunate in their community. Yet certainly Duncan’s field work (1999) demonstrated that some community members with power and privilege do reach out to embrace other community members, for the betterment of their community. Lin’s thesis of “we’re all in it together” reinforces this latter perspective (2001).

Woolcock analyzed the role of social capital in relationship to economic development. After examining the analyses of the concept, he proposed that social capital comes in various forms and proportions. Depending on how the various forms are combined and how strong or weak they are, the outcomes will vary. He cautioned that if social capital is to retain its place in the setting of economic development, it had to be instrumental in groups by surmounting “static dilemmas of collective action...(while) resolving dynamic organizational dilemmas” (1998:168). The model he put forth follows:

At the micro level, I will henceforth refer to embeddedness (i.e. intra-community ties) as integration, and autonomy (i.e. extra-community networks) as linkage. Embeddedness (i.e. state-society relations) at the macro level will be referred to as synergy, while autonomy (i.e. institutional coherence, competence and capacity) will be identified as organizational integrity. (Woolcock 1998:168)

According to Woolcock, for bottom-up, positive outcomes in poor communities, both linkages and integration are important, but at the right time, the emphasis must shift from integration (inside) to linkage (outside). It is then possible to go forward economically, if the state’s organizational capacity and its interaction with civil society provide the right combination of supportive conditions. The most crucial issues emanate from the interactions between top-down and bottom-up. Woolcock concluded that the rather than blaming negative outcomes in this realm as “products of culture or discrimination...(one should) regard them as historical and institutional processes in which the mediating variable is the extent to which a mutually beneficial interaction coordinates specific levels, dimensions, and combinations of social relationships” (1998:187).
Some researchers have abstracted various components of social capital and focused on how these elements have made a difference in an applied community setting. Flora et al. (1997) purported that a robust entrepreneurial social infrastructure or ESI would have a beneficial effect on a community's economic development. They surveyed town officials about their communities’ (1) acceptance of legitimacy of alternatives (a climate encouraging healthy disagreement and discussion); (2) ability to muster resources from residents and businesses to benefit everyone; and (3) existing social networks that incorporate horizontal and vertical as well as internal and external ties. They found that communities with a convincing presence of these three qualities were more likely to produce successful collective economic development activity than those communities that did not have them.

What is the solution to the economic impasse the Newfoundland outports face? There are many factors that must come together to turn things around. As aptly stated by Hamilton, Duncan and Flanders: “A community’s prospects for economic development depend on its particular combination of natural resources, human resources, market conditions, and government investment decisions” (1998:31).

**Community Social and Economic Well-Being**

In this study, the term “community” implies a location, geographically confined, in which its residents share common values and goals reinforced by a web of social bonds and commitment to one another. Social and economic well-being in a community can be observed in a myriad of ways. Luther and Wall (1987) began their research in Nebraska, looking for positive examples of rural communities making changes needed for long-term survival. They studied socio-economic factors, such as leadership and approaches for the future, and developed 20 clues for the survival of a rural community, including a participative citizenry, dynamic development efforts, and involved community institutions. Keller (2003) spent two decades studying the birth and development of the planned community of Twin Rivers, New Jersey. She found that among the customary dimensions serving as a basis for community were “a set of values emphasizing “cooperation, mutual responsibility, and sharing, ...(the existence of) shared rituals and celebrations...”, and leaders serving as good examples (p.267). The toughest to accomplish, according to Keller, was shifting from the focus on what would be best for the individual and his/her family to the emphasis on what benefits all of the community.
By surveying rural communities in reference to the presence of economic development activities, Flora (1998) discovered that those with well established Entrepreneurial Social Infrastructure (ESI) (referenced earlier as an aspect of social capital) were more likely to have succeeded in either home-grown development (such as opening a local business) or in recruiting an outside firm to their locale. Another aspect of community well-being is the possession of a relatively stable population. Irwin, Tolbert and Lyson (1999) attributed such demographic consistency to residents' attachment to local social institutions, which reduced the desire to migrate.

**The Change Process**

Among the expliciations of social change, Lippett clearly defined it "as an alteration in the way an individual or group of individuals behave as a result of an alteration in their definition of the situation" (1973:9). The process of change involves an individual or group learning anew as a reaction to recently experienced conditions of particular circumstances that needed attention, which in turn brings about adjustments in social systems and how they are structured and/or function (Zaltman and Duncan 1977).

Coleman (1973) distinguished change theories as being those "that start with changes in the social conditions in which individuals find themselves versus those that start with changes in individuals" (in Zaltman p. 62). Warren (1977) proposed that social change be described as two types: crescive or change happening outside the individual's control and purposive or change we personally try to instigate in the situation in which we find ourselves. He promoted a working principle of change that essentially stated, the smaller the change in the target system and the more moderate the change objective, the more likely that an individual can have an impact on making the change happen. Warren also contended that the more challenging the objective, the less likely one will be able to attain it.

For Rogers, *innovation* is at the core of social change, which he "defined as an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual....*Diffusion* is the process by which innovations spread to members of a social system...a type of communication in which the messages are new" (in Zaltman 1973:76). Kotter examined social action or the effort to respond collectively to lessen or solve a social problem. He saw social action as having five components: cause, change agency, change targets, channels
and a change strategy. The change agency could be a group that is informal (local concerned residents), formal (non-profit agency) or a political entity such as a community.

Planned change will always have unintentional consequences, but if change agents can build into their program mechanisms that acknowledge and develop the strong points of what are already present in informal associations, the chances for program success should improve (March and Toqu 1986). What sources of resistance to change can one expect? Warren listed habit, disruption, vested interests, ideology, psychopathology and rational conviction (one can always put forth believable reasons for supporting or resisting change) as potential factors (1977:50-1). What sets off community disputes or crises and whether or not community members respond was researched by Coleman in 1957. The way residents dealt with conflict provided insights into how well or poorly they worked together to resolve their problems. Sadly, the announcement of the last cod moratorium has provoked resistance in the form of protests and violence carried out by angry fishers and plant workers in Newfoundland (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2003).

There is a broad literature on fishing communities affected by the depletion of the fisheries and subsequent change, both in Newfoundland and around the North Atlantic rim. Hamilton and Butler (2001) looked at Newfoundland social indicators such as population and migration trends, employment, education, crime, and reliance on government support over the last few decades of the 20th century. They determined that some areas of the province were successfully diversifying into ventures like harvesting crustaceans, energy projects, and tourism, but the progress was tentative.

Scholarly examinations of the vast fisheries-dependent North Atlantic from ecological and population viewpoints have highlighted social change in the form of deskilling of the labor force and population decline and/or shifts to urban areas (Hamilton and Duncan 2000; Hamilton and Haedrich 1999; Hamilton et al. 1998). In their case studies of two West Greenland towns transitioning from cod to shrimp in the wake of the depletion of cod resources, Hamilton, Brown and Rasmussen (2003) found that sudden changes in climate can have drastic effects on the fisheries which are almost at their sustainable limit. How residents reacted to such environmental change had much to do with the degrees of social, human, physical and natural capital present in their communities. Another study by Hamilton et al. (2004) depicted the drastic
boom and bust in Iceland's herring fishery brought on by a combination of environmental changes, including depletion of the herring resources. The authors related how efforts toward sustainable development in this former "herring capital" are still underway. The results will depend upon the ability to attract investments and influence government and other institutions, plus what the residents have in skills, education, and social capital.

Davis' qualitative study (1991) of Nova Scotia communities pointed to conflict emerging over management of the fisheries, licenses and government intervention even before the first moratorium. Just as Davis found such policies were stratifying local communities, Colocousis' study (2003) of the Faroese and Icelandic fisheries and their decline over the last two decades noted increased social inequality in these societies fueled by urbanization and growth in the service sector, where a preponderance of women are employed.

Modernization, and to some degree industrialism, gradually arrived in Newfoundland outports after Confederation with Canada. However, as Munch pointed out, the new values of these movements take considerable time to emerge from the expected resistance of a traditional society (in Smith 1977). McGoodwin (1990) reported that fishers worldwide have experienced the types of change in the fisheries that describe the Newfoundland dilemma as well: the modern fishing vessels that mandated longer stays at sea and time away from family and community; the competition and overfishing of the ocean resources; and the complications imposed by governments regulating the fisheries. He contended that because "small-scale fishing is both a business enterprise and a social and cultural enterprise — a way of life...is why small-scale fishers will often continue to work in a fishery even when it no longer provides them any economic return. It is also what makes their management so confounding" (p. 46).

As Felt and Locke affirmed several years after the first moratorium, "reorganization of the fisheries need not mean the demise of rural communities; in fact, failure to change is more likely to undermine community survival" (in Arnason and Felt 1995:231). In Newfoundland outports dependent for centuries upon a fisheries economy, the need for change is now imperative. But Arnason and Felt (1995) emphasized that the response of residents of these communities to the crisis will require a revision of their widespread
cultural orientation toward the sea and its marine assets. With fishing so interwoven with the way of life, change is much more complex.

In the first chapter, I described social capital as what develops when people work constructively together for their common well being. After reviewing the literature on social capital and its applications, I take into account in my research Portes' conviction that social capital in action in community settings is not new, but studied under different nomenclatures. I believe that the characteristics of local social structures and the civic culture are key to understanding the presence of social capital. I looked at the communities in this study with these in mind. In the next chapter I describe the methods that I utilized for this study.


2 Ecotrust, an Oregon-based organization, is committed to community development in rural America while advocating for the environment.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to examine the community social and economic well-being as evident today in two clusters of outports in Newfoundland and Labrador. In this study, the term “community” implies a location, geographically confined, in which its residents share common values and goals reinforced by a web of social bonds and commitment to one another. My research question is whether and how community well-being is affected by both the characteristics of local social structures and civic culture in these clusters of communities that have been profoundly impacted by the fisheries crisis of the North Atlantic region.

I have employed the case study approach to research the social, economic, and political history of these clusters, as well as examine the demographics of the residents, then compare the two groupings. The key lenses that I use to analyze community socio-economic well-being are the characteristics of local social structures and civic culture. These are aspects of social capital, which is what develops when people work constructively together for their common welfare.

My thesis is that communities with a proliferation of local social structures engaged in community affairs and a vibrant civic culture are able to cope with such devastating circumstances and still manage to achieve desirable outcomes. I believe that characteristics of local social structures affect the extent of civic culture and that both will impact socioeconomic performance. Specifically, the objectives of my research are the following:

1. To document the economic, social and political changes that have occurred in the selected fisheries-dependent community clusters before, during, and after the collapse of the cod fishery.
2. To learn how local leaders, fishers, and citizens perceive their communities’ civic culture.
3. To determine the community’s ability to assemble the means (financial or otherwise) for community enhancement projects; and to find out about the existing internal and external linkages the communities possess which facilitate getting things done.

4. To survey the community’s social structures (local businesses, civic groups, religious congregations, government and development organizations) to characterize their role in local civic life.

5. To describe the state of the clusters’ social and economic well-being, based upon economic and social development activity, population demographics, and residents’ income/earnings.

6. To assess these findings and use them to explain how the clusters differ in well-being, based on the characteristics of their local social structures and their civic culture.

The following pages address how the clusters of communities were chosen for this research. In addition, the model for analysis is described, namely the examination of the characteristics of local social structures and civic culture, along with their relationship to community social and economic well-being. The chapter concludes with a description of how the fieldwork was carried out and how the collected data was analyzed.

Choosing the Research Sites

My intention was to find two or three outposts which had experienced more positive outcomes than others in spite of the depressed scenario that existed throughout the province because of the cod collapse. It was also desirable to seek locations that had not been overly researched and were in distinctly different regions. Several professors on my dissertation committee had given me the names of their colleagues who were on the faculty of Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). Therefore, contacts were made ahead of time with a number of these MUN researchers, asking for their suggestions on communities in the province that might fit the identified community profile.

In late August 2003, I flew to St. John’s, Newfoundland, where I met with the MUN researchers to solicit feedback about my research plan and locations to study. With a list of potential field sites, I then traveled to Change Islands to attend a three-day conference entitled “Vulnerability in Coastal Communities: Adaptations to Change and Planning for the Future.” The conference was sponsored by The Ocean Management Research Network (Linking Science and Local Knowledge Node) of Simon Fraser University.
University, Burnaby, British Columbia, in partnership with The Global Environment Change and Human Security Project of Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario.

The 75 attendees at the Change Islands Conference included academics, researchers, national and international experts, federal and provincial policy makers, industry and union representatives, and local community leaders from different parts of the province. I was able to interact with many of the presenters and attendees, discussing my research project and gathering ideas for the “ideal” research sites. My scouting trip originated from there with the intent to visit the communities on my list for consideration: Lewisporte; Triton/Pilley’s Island; L’Anse-au-Loup/West St. Modeste (Labrador); Eastport; Arnold’s Cove; and Old Perlican/Bay de Verde. In these locales I talked with local residents, including retired fishers, elected officials, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, business owners/managers, clergy, counselors, librarians, and even tourists. Local newspapers and national and provincial media broadcasts, including a popular call-in show on provincial radio (VOCM Open Line), provided further insights.

Gradually the list was narrowed down. Towns were eliminated when locals shared information about factors I felt would bias the research, such as, a preponderance of negative attitudes or too much reason for prosperity tied to the presence of a nearby economic boom, such as an oil refinery and offshore oil platform construction that offered locals well-paid jobs to compensate for jobs lost in the fishery. In the Labrador towns of L’Anse au Loup and West St. Modeste, I found unusual energy invested in regional collaboration. This led me to a decision to examine clusters of communities, rather than single communities. I defined a cluster as a group of outports that were linked geographically, economically and socially.

After 3,000 kilometers of travel throughout the province, two community groupings were selected because, in appearance, they reflected more stability and prosperity, and they were located in distinctly different parts of the province. Fisheries-dependent for centuries, they had not been previously researched in depth. In spite of the downturn in the economy over the last 15 years, social and economic indicators of outports in these groups showed lower out-migration and some better-than-average wage earnings, when compared with other parts of the province (Statistics Canada 2003).

The first, known as the Labrador Straits, consisted of seven outports scattered along the 80 kilometer southeastern coast of Labrador by the Strait of Belle Isle, which separates the Gulf of St.
Lawrence from the Labrador Sea (Atlantic Ocean). The estimated population was 1,900, with the changes from 1996 to 2001 in a range of about -9 percent to +3 percent (Statistics Canada 2003). Average annual earnings for all workers in the three largest of these communities ranged from $13,500 to $20,100; fulltime, year round workers earned from $15,000 to $33,000 (Statistics Canada 2003). These outports had a history of building community. In particular this was evident in local institutions such as the cooperatively run Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company which harvested the biggest northern shrimp fishery in the world (150 million pounds annually) and the Eagle River Credit Union, the second largest credit union in the province and the most profitable in Canada. The cluster had strong municipal governments and some impressive economic diversification initiatives. Tourist traffic here had increased dramatically over the last several years, although most was from tour busses which benefited selected businesses. The fisheries were still considered to be the foundation of the economy.

The second cluster of communities selected was on Newfoundland’s Avalon Peninsula, on its northwest finger that is referred to as the Bay de Verde Peninsula. This was a grouping of five outports from Old Perlican to Bay de Verde, along a 35 kilometer stretch of coastline at the northwest tip where Trinity Bay meets Conception Bay. The approximate population in the area was 1,500. According to Statistics Canada (2003), the change in population from 1996 to 2001 ranged from -10.1 percent to -4.4 percent. The average annual earnings for all workers in the larger outports in the group extended from $19,300 to $26,300; for fulltime, year round workers the average was from $29,800 to $49,223.

Arriving in Old Perlican and Bay de Verde, there was an immediate impression of prosperity. Old Perlican, for example, had a newly constructed high school and recently built, expensive homes on large, well landscaped lots. Three, much smaller outports located between the two (Daniel’s Cove, Grates Cove and Red Head Cove) did not appear to be as thriving. The crab and shrimp fisheries here accounted for the affluence. The same family operated non-union fish plants in Old Perlican and Bay de Verde. Locals shared that the fish plant owners would buy up crab licenses from retiring fishers, then hire younger skippers and pay them decent compensation to take over the licenses, but with stipulations attached that sometimes caused resentment among the fishers. The Bank of Nova Scotia left Old Perlican about a year earlier, and there was only an ATM machine in town to replace it. In spite of breathtaking vistas, there was just one location (a four-room inn with a seasonally operated restaurant) to accommodate tourists.
After returning home from this scouting trip, I contacted knowledgeable provincial sources whom I met at the Change Islands Conference to validate my cluster selections. These contacts said that the Old Perlican to Bay de Verde communities were usually linked to outports located along the North Shore of Conception Bay, just south of the peninsula's tip. Much of the workforce at the fish plants in Old Perlican and Bay de Verde lived in these North Shore communities. Subsequently the cluster was broadened to include the North Shore outports as well, making a total population of 4,100 (Statistics Canada 2003). I refer to this cluster as the North Shore of Conception Bay, or the North Shore cluster.

What these two clusters appeared to have in common on the surface actually belied what I believed was taking place in relation to the notion of community and social capital. Building on the impressions from the first visit, there appeared to be more equitable distribution of prosperity and more grassroots building and exercising of social capital in the Labrador Straits than in the North Shore cluster. However, only in-depth fieldwork would allow me to find the answers. Now I will elaborate on the analytical model developed to collect the data.

**Theoretical Model**

For this research I formulated a theoretical framework to guide my data gathering and to allow me to attain some measurement of results that would confirm the level of community social and economic well-being. Figure 3-1 depicts this model and the indicators that guided me. Aspects of the model were predicated upon the work of other researchers interested in community well-being.

The examination of the characteristics of local social structures is based on the approach used by Tolbert et al. (1998) who linked the nature and prevalence of such institutions to an involved citizenry and subsequently to community well-being. When small and medium-size businesses are plentiful, they determined that municipal government is productive, residents are active in churches and civic groups, social and educational services are available, and there is a local financial institution. These translated into a vibrant civic engagement, which the researchers found to be illustrated in high measures of socioeconomic well-being.
Figure 3-1. Analytical Model with Indicators

Fisheries Crisis (context)

Characteristics of Local Social Structures
Local Businesses: Number and Ownership
Labor Unions: Presence and Relations with Management
Churches: Membership, Facilities, Clergy
Schools, Educational & Social Services: Presence and Provisions
Other Non-Profit & Voluntary Associations: Emergency Services and Activities for Citizens of all Ages
Government & Development Organizations: Location, Scope and Continuity of Operations

Community Social & Economic Well-Being
Population
Income/Earnings, Self-Reliance Factor
After the Moratoria:
Development Programs/Initiatives
Economic Diversification
Social Well-Being Achievements

Civic Culture
Citizen Involvement
Collaboration
Civic Leadership
Communications & Opinions

This thinking was in line with the work of Flora et al. (1997) who found in their research of rural communities that those with a flourishing civic culture (which they refer to as entrepreneurial social infrastructure or ESI) have more success with economic development initiatives. Positive results in economic development were indicators of a community’s socioeconomic well-being. To measure ESI, Flora et al. examined how communities tackled issues and settled them together. My argument for this study includes concepts proposed by these researchers among others.

Characteristics of Local Social Structures

The first component of the model was to look into the characteristics of local social structures, in particular, how a community’s institutions orient themselves to local and external affairs, as shown in Table 3-1. First, the types of institutions that existed in each cluster were examined, be they business, financial, labor, development, civic, religious, educational or government. I ascertained the mission or purpose of the organization or enterprise, how long they were in existence, and whether they had local or outside the community ownership or affiliation. Next the contributions of these institutions to the community were
Table 3-1. Indicators of Characteristics of Local Social Structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATOR</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Businesses:</strong>&lt;br Numero and Ownership</td>
<td>Number of local businesses with:&lt;br - 100+ employees (large)&lt;br - 21 to 99 employees (medium)&lt;br - 20 or less employees (small)&lt;br Locally-owned vs. ownership outside cluster&lt;br Publicly vs. co-operatively vs. privately owned&lt;br Presence of financial institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labor Unions:</strong>&lt;br Presence and Relations with Management</td>
<td>Presence of labor unions; workers represented Management/labor relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Churches:</strong>&lt;br Membership, Facilities, Clergy</td>
<td>Location and use of facilities&lt;br Church membership&lt;br Presence of clergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schools, Educational and Social Services:</strong>&lt;br Presence and Provisions</td>
<td>Community-oriented educational system (literacy, adult basic education, library, internet site, college/technical training, public health education).&lt;br Provisions for social services (clinics, hospitals, counseling, home health care, assisted living)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Non-Profit &amp; Voluntary Associations:</strong>&lt;br Emergency Services and Activities for Citizens of all Ages</td>
<td>Presence of emergency services (fire, rescue squad).&lt;br Activities for men and women of all ages, including children, youth, families, seniors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government and Development Organizations:</strong>&lt;br Location, Scope and Continuity of Operations</td>
<td>Federal, provincial and municipal offices&lt;br Presence of law enforcement Development Organizations:&lt;br - Geographical scope of operations&lt;br - Location of office (in relation to cluster)&lt;br - Continuity of operations since establishment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

researched. Through interviews with local leaders, it was possible to identify financial, personnel, technical, or in-kind contributions to community projects. Lastly, the connections that the local structures had both to other community institutions (horizontal) and to institutions outside the community (vertical) were explored.

In addition, I sought information specific to each taxonomic grouping of the local institutions. With businesses it was especially important to learn about their size based on number of employees as well as type of ownership, that is, privately or co-operatively owned or publicly held. Another essential element
was the presence of labor unions and, where applicable, how management/labor relations were characterized. The extent of church membership, the presence of clergy, and the location and use of church facilities provided additional input. Details about the local educational system—not just schools but literacy programs, adult basic education, library services, internet facilities, public health education, and options for post-secondary education and training—were inventoried. Community offerings for social services, such as proximity to clinics, hospitals, counseling, home health care, and assisted living provided valuable data. An inventory of local services for emergencies, as well as options for entertainment and activities for all ages, contributed to a description of what life was like in the communities. The availability of government services from the community to the federal level was probed. Finally, I studied the development organizations, including the extent of their responsibilities and continuity in their operations.

Civic Culture

Civic culture in this study is considered to be a blend of attitudes, behaviors, norms and values that predominate in a community. An effective civic culture embodies the elements of citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership, and communications and opinions (Table 3-2).

The scrutiny of citizen involvement led me to determine whether residents were looking after the welfare of others as opposed to minimizing responsibilities toward neighbors and/or the community. This was further explored by looking for opportunities for residents to have input into town decisions, their involvement in development groups, their support of local schools, and whether volunteering to benefit community needs was prevalent.

In researching collaboration, the horizontal and vertical linkages that allowed citizens to access diverse resources within and outside the community were of prime importance. By talking with local leaders, I learned about their involvement in other organizations and joint projects with various groups internal to the community. This allowed for pinpointing linkages external to the community, such as visits to other localities, sharing of facilities with another locale, joint efforts on lobbying government, training, acquiring technical assistance, or environmental issues. Other vertical connections sought were with a council of government or a regional tourism, marketing or development group. Membership in provincial,
Table 3-2. Indicators of Civic Culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATOR</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Involvement</td>
<td>Taking care of others vs. providing for oneself at the expense of the public good, minimizing obligations toward neighbors and/or community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration (including horizontal and vertical linkages)</td>
<td>Reaching out to other groups/communities and building alliances/partnerships vs. going it alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Horizontal social networks of leaders and/or organizations;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Access to diverse resources/information within and outside the community;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Joint efforts, issues, facilities within cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Regional organization membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Provincial/national/international membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Participation in provincial/national competitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Visits to other communities; hosting invited guests from away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Leadership</td>
<td>• Abundant vs. scarce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Diverse vs. homogeneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Trusted, celebrated, nurturing vs. discredited, overlooked, marginalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Competent, professional, experienced vs. limited in know-how and exposure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encouraging, assertive, insistent vs. reserved, hesitant, uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Participative decision making vs. authoritative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Visionary, creative, successful vs. moderate in scope, unimaginative, lacking accomplishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Entrepreneurial, empowered vs. seeking direction/guarantee, protective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Inclusive, appreciative, promoting common good vs. detached, suspicious, advancing personal agenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications and Opinions</td>
<td>• Formal media options, coverage of local issues/controversies vs. word-of-mouth, rumors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Open, public vs. anonymous, secretive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Consensus, conflict management vs. friction, disunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Instructing, informing vs. vague, dubious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

national or international organizations, as well as participation in provincial and/or national competitions, were additional measures of the vertical networks.

An inventory of the leadership population in the cluster allowed a determination of variation in ages, the presence of younger and/or female leaders with responsibility for important tasks, and whether
relative newcomers were carrying out community activities along with long-term residents. The research looked for evidence of how abundant leaders were; if they were seen as trusted and celebrated; if leaders were nurturing, encouraging, inclusive, appreciative and fostering the common good; if leaders demonstrated competence, professionalism, and experience coupled with determination and assertiveness; whether leaders were entrepreneurial, empowered, visionary, creative and had achieved successes; and whether the leaders approached decision making in a participative fashion.

**Community Social and Economic Well-Being**

My contention is that communities with a proliferation of local social structures active in community affairs and a lively civic culture are able to cope with devastating circumstances such as the fisheries crisis and still manage to achieve desirable outcomes. Community social and economic well-being in this study is the welfare of a locale that demonstrates economic strides, fosters initiatives that enhance social well-being, and is characterized by population stability, income self-sufficiency, and relative equality in income. (See Table 3-3.)

Development programs and initiatives, including the launching of new businesses, that took place after the cod closure to enhance economic and social well-being, were used to appraise the clusters' socio-economic well-being. To measure these efforts, I analyzed the funding of community development and business projects in the clusters from 1992 to 2004 administered by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), the primary federal/provincial agency charged with spearheading the recovery from the fisheries crisis in the Maritime provinces. In addition, industry diversification and the establishment of small businesses, were important components of the study. Examples of citizen initiatives to tackle social issues provided key data for assessing community social well-being.

To show how the clusters took different approaches to dilemmas they faced, I analyzed the way that the local social structures and civic culture worked in tandem. As the study unfolded, they appeared to be mutually reinforcing and inextricably linked. Attributes of local institutions were evident in how the aspects of civic culture manifested themselves. The composition of the civic culture overlapped with the features of the local social structures. The characteristics of the local social structure had an effect upon the social and economic well-being, which in turn had a significance for the local social structures. As civic
Table 3-3. Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATOR</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>• Population changes over census periods from 1945 to 2001 at cluster level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Aging of population – four census periods at cluster level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income/Earnings</td>
<td>Private household income from 1996 to 2001 at cluster level; median family income from 1990 to 2001 at cluster level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Reliance Factor</td>
<td>Self-reliance ratio from 1990 to 2001 at cluster level. Self-reliance ratio is a measure of the cluster’s dependence on government transfers, such as: Canada pension plan, old age security, employment insurance, social assistance, etc. The higher the percentage of income that comes from transfers, the lower the self-reliance ratio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After the Moratoria:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Programs/Initiatives</td>
<td>Federally/provincially funded community development and business projects from 1992 to 2004 (number funded, dollar amounts, matching funds raised)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Diversification</td>
<td>Achievement in diversifying the traditional economic base with cluster-initiated efforts to develop new businesses, sectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Well-Being Ventures</td>
<td>Grassroots efforts to enhance social support and activity; personal interaction, quality of life.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

culture had consequences for social and economic welfare, so did the social and economic welfare impact civic culture. Several case studies were included to shed more light on the relationship between local social structures and the civic culture.

Cluster-level population changes over census periods starting with 1945 were used to gauge outmigration and declining birth rates. Also, private household income, median family income, and the self-reliance ratio were all used to analyze social and economic well-being.

**Data Gathering**

My research plan consisted of fieldwork in the selected clusters to conduct in-depth personal interviews and participant observation, as well as to access local sources of data. For this study secondary sources such as census data and mass media were also used. In addition, techniques for gathering follow-up information via the internet, telephone and fax were very useful.
Fieldwork Arrangements

Even before my first research trip to the province, I had the opportunity to meet with a former professor who had conducted extensive fieldwork in Newfoundland as well as in many other locations. She provided numerous helpful suggestions on how to get started in a community, where to observe community life, and how to explain my research to potential interviewees. The fieldwork occurred in two phases—from mid-November 2003 until the end of January 2004, and for three weeks in October 2004.

For the first trip I drove from my home in Maine to Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia and took the ferry to the island of Newfoundland. Landing in Port aux Basques, I then traveled to the Northern Peninsula and took the ferry across the Strait of Belle Isle to reach the Labrador Straits. It was important to complete my fieldwork there before the end of the year, at which time the ferry stopped operating for the winter. By the middle of December, it was possible to head for the Bay de Verde Peninsula. I spent a week in Carbonear, introducing myself by phone to potential interviewees and securing their agreement for an interview after the first of the year. Three interviews were conducted during this period. The time in Carbonear facilitated getting better acquainted with the cluster surroundings, which made the best use of time when returning a couple of weeks later. The Christmas and New Year’s holidays were spent in St. John’s, where I conducted an additional interview and did library research at Memorial University of Newfoundland. After the first of the year, fieldwork resumed on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. By the time I returned home, I had covered over 5,000 miles (8,300 kilometers).

After immersing myself in the collected data and analysis, I recognized that there was less information about the local social structures and civic culture in the North Shore cluster. This required a second trip to St. John’s and the North Shore cluster to interview people missed on the earlier visit as well as to gather additional information from library, media and other sources. Transportation for this trip consisted of air travel to St. John’s and the use of a rental car.

Although I spent the majority of my field research traveling alone, my husband was able to accompany me for a portion of the time. He traveled with me to the Labrador Straits, but for medical reasons, he had to return home after only one week. He later joined me for the holidays in St. John’s and stayed with me for the balance of that research trip. As a mature woman from the States, I was often greeted by people with incredulity that I would choose to do research in their communities, in particular
during the winter season. It was comfortable for me to let them know that my husband had accompanied me, and with that release of personal information, they seemed to become more at ease. It also turned out that the winter season was the ideal time to talk with people in the clusters, as the harvesting season was over and the fish plants were closed. Had I arrived much earlier, the time would not have been as fruitful.

My lodging in the Labrador Straits was at a local bed and breakfast, where there were telephone and kitchen privileges. My hostess was generous in dispensing traditional Labradorian hospitality and proved to be an invaluable resource for tips on getting around the area. For the prolonged stay in the North Shore cluster, rented accommodations consisted of a self-contained cottage in Blackhead, about half way between the tip of the Bay de Verde Peninsula and Carbonear. On my final research trip to the North Shore cluster, I utilized the Bay de Verde “second” home of an educator at the University of New Hampshire as my base. My stays in Carbonear and St. John’s were at motels. Staying within the clusters permitted gathering of data through participant observation.

Participant Observation

During my fieldwork I was a participant-as-observer. I took advantage of as many opportunities as I could to observe everyday life in the cluster. These included buying groceries or gas; eating in local establishments; doing business at the credit union; attending a variety of church services; making inquiries at municipal offices; doctor visits at the local clinics; and stops at the community internet sites, often in libraries, to check my email. Such local gathering places are venues for residents to interact by chance as they are going about their daily business, as described in Oldenburg’s research (1989). While in the province, I read the local papers and notices posted in prominent public places, as well as listened to local and provincial radio programs. These helped me keep up with current topics which assisted me in building rapport with strangers. Aside from the formal interviews I conducted, I talked with just about everybody I came into contact with to informally assess what was happening. Such participant observation permitted me to experience the selected communities in ways that provided insights into the social organization of the area.

In both clusters my research trips coincided with the annual general meeting (AGM) of their respective zonal boards, and I was able to attend each. Also at each event, I was introduced to the attendees as a researcher from the University of New Hampshire, doing fieldwork in the area. Because these AGMs
were well attended by cluster leaders, the introductions were an excellent, serendipitous way to legitimize my work. In the Labrador Straits I went to a public meeting called by the Chamber of Commerce to discuss an urgent transportation issue. The meeting had already begun when I entered the room, but everyone there saw me coming in. Because I was unknown to them, I wanted to dispel any concerns they might have had about my presence. As the meeting concluded, then, I stood up, introduced myself, and explained the purpose of my visit to the area. This seemed to be a good icebreaker, because as my schedule unfolded, I often heard from people I met to interview that they had seen me at one of these public meetings. In the North Shore cluster at the end of my second visit there, I was present at the 10th anniversary dinner of the region's Board of Trade. There I saw many individuals whom I had met and/or interviewed during the course of my stay. By interacting with locals at such events, I learned even more about their perspectives and attitudes (Kurz 1983).

At the end of each day in the field, I wrote up a summary of the day's events, experiences and impressions. Sometimes I was able to capture a few notes in between official appointments. These field notes provided me with additional data for my analysis. But the most involved aspect of my data gathering was the interview process.

**Personal Interviews**

Focused interviews with community leaders, development staff, fishers and businesspersons were used to collect detailed data about conditions surrounding the cod moratoria and subsequent community reactions. On my scouting trip to the clusters, I acquired local phone books and purchased local newspapers. In some instances websites existed for local organizations. All these tools were helpful in setting up a matrix for each cluster of potential contacts for personal interviews. Contacts during my scouting trip informed me about key local figures, as did networking sources from the Change Islands Conference. Using a snowball sample approach, with interviewees suggesting others, combined with all of the above sources, resulted in lengthy lists of possible subjects. My intent was to interview from 30 to 40 in each cluster. In the end these numbers were exceeded, as shown in Table 3-4. Twelve percent of those interviewed resided outside the boundaries of the cluster, for example, government and development staffers based in Carbonear, former cluster residents who provided historical perspectives, and experts in pertinent topics who were located in St. John’s.
Table 3-4. Participants by Location and Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contingent</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labrador Straits Residents</td>
<td>56% (24)</td>
<td>44% (20)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Shore Residents</td>
<td>67% (32)</td>
<td>33% (16)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External to Clusters</td>
<td>54% (7)</td>
<td>46% (6)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>60% (63)</td>
<td>40% (42)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures in parentheses represent actual numbers interviewed.

My approach was to telephone potential subjects and introduce myself as a graduate student from Maine, working on my university degree. I explained that the study consisted of interviews conducted in different parts of the province. The focus of the research was community change brought on by the moratorium and how people have responded to it. I sought permission to talk with them in detail, because their community seemed to be adapting to changes connected with the moratorium—what was happening there could be useful to other communities. Interviews were arranged to last about an hour at their convenience and at a location they suggested. Two people in the Labrador Straits declined to be interviewed. No one in the North Shore cluster refused outright, but several who were aware of my intentions did not return my subsequent phone calls to set a specific appointment.

The interviews took place mostly in individuals' offices or homes. A few were at a community center. Every interviewee was given an informed consent letter, explaining the research and requiring signed consent prior to proceeding. (Appendix A contains the informed consent letter.) This document, along with the interview guides, received the approval of the university’s Institutional Review Board before the fieldwork began. (See Appendix B for IRB Approval.) Interviews on average lasted one hour and a half, with the shortest being about 45 minutes and the longest about two and a half hours. If permission was granted, the in-person interviews were tape-recorded. Six in-depth interviews were conducted by telephone because an in-person meeting was not feasible. For each interview I took notes to record responses and to back up the interview tapes. A focused interview format was used, which allowed subjects to have considerable leeway in responding to my questions. An interview guide was fashioned to use with community leaders, businesspersons, and development staffers, then modified for interviews with fishers. (See Appendix C for samples of these interview guides.)
Two interview subjects were able to provide significant historical data about local institutions. Because the data would have more credibility if attributed to them directly, I sought and obtained their permission in writing to quote them. Table 3-5 provides additional background about the interviewees and compares cluster participants demographically to the clusters as a whole. This comparison underscores

**Table 3-5. Age and Educational Background of Participants Compared with Cluster Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groupings</th>
<th>25 to 39 years</th>
<th>40 to 59 years</th>
<th>60 years &amp; over</th>
<th>Less than H.S. Grad</th>
<th>High School Grad or Equivalency</th>
<th>Some post-high school</th>
<th>University Degree(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labrador Straits</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab Straits Cluster</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Shore</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Shore Cluster</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External to Cluster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For cluster population comparison, level of education shown is for population 20 and older. Data Source: Newfoundland and Labrador Community Accounts (2005).

that many of the interviewees who tended to fill leadership or entrepreneurship roles were in the 40 to 59 year old bracket as well as more educated than cluster population at large. Diversity of leadership will be discussed in subsequent chapters. However, this table also demonstrates that one fourth of the Labrador Straits interviewees had less than a high school diploma and still held important posts in their communities.

Almost invariably, interviewees were very willing to answer my questions. I strove to maintain a cordial, professional relationship, attempting a balance between myself and the person being interviewed, and cautious about not over-identifying with the subject (Weiss 1995). Typically upon completing the interview, interviewees offered to be available by phone for any further questions. While still in the area and even after returning home, I took advantage of this offer as needed and made many follow-up calls. Some had provided their email addresses, which was another convenient means of communication. In this respect, I have never really exited from the field, as I still feel comfortable reconnecting informants who could provide me with missing data.
Secondary Sources

To augment data gathered from interviews, secondary sources which included census data supplied by Statistics Canada and the Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency were utilized. In addition, details about the funding of various development and small business initiatives in the cluster were made available by Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). Mass media sources, both current and past, were also accessed. For up-to-date news, I regularly checked the websites of the CBC St. John’s (Canadian Broadcasting Company) and VOCM, a provincial radio station with province-wide news. For the Labrador Straits, I was able to subscribe to an electronic version of the local newspaper, the Northern Pen. An electronic subscription to the Compass, the newspaper covering the Bay de Verde Peninsula, was not available. However, the staff of the Compass provided me access to all their past issues. The Centre for Newfoundland Studies on the Memorial University of Newfoundland campus was another excellent source of printed resources.

Method of Analysis

Based on the method preferred by Miles and Huberman (1994), I began my fieldwork with particular ways to group or code the data to be obtained. These groupings or coding categories came from the conceptual framework already devised, as well as from my research questions. Typical coding categories were the various local social structures (churches, schools, specific development groups, major employers) and aspects of the civic culture (citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership and communications). In the field it was evident that not all of the indicators were suited to my study. For example, I originally sought to measure social well-being as an outcome by using a negative indicator, the prevalence of social dissonance. Responses to interview questions about substance abuse and the use of lawsuits to settle disputes offered little data to include. Also the records available from law enforcement offices were not conclusive, and there were as many variations to the entries as there were recorders of entries. As a result, I dropped this indicator from my analysis.

Extensive time was spent in preparation for the writing of my analysis. Written notes from the interviews were augmented with what was transcribed from the interview tapes. The interview notes, as well as my field notes, were then coded and typed up according to coding classification. Initially N-Vivo, a software designed for qualitative analysis, was a helpful tool. However, in the long run I found it to be
cumbersome and eventually reverted to using my typed sheets of coded categories of quotations and observations. All individual entries on these sheets were cross-referenced to the interviews and field notes, in case it was necessary to verify or expand upon them.

The grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967) was beneficial to make sense of collected data that appeared to be incomplete. When confronted with an emerging classification, more specific questions helped to obtain clarification (Glaser 1978). This technique was particularly useful when I was accumulating data about development initiatives (successful or failed) either before or after the moratorium. Such verbal accountings of these initiatives could support my overall findings. In the same way quotations from interviews along with personal observations underscored my conclusions (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996).

The accumulated findings also helped to firm up my analytical model. As an example, I was able to articulate more specifically what was meant by “collaboration.” The data was mined for examples of collaboration or the absence thereof, allowing for putting “flesh on the bones” of the model. While writing the analysis, the iterative process used made me think at times that I had taken one step ahead and two steps behind. But in the long run, it gave more stable footing for the theoretical model and helped in articulating my conclusions. The narrative draft was usually descriptive at first, but as it was rewritten, it was possible to draw out and explicate the relationships I was seeking, based on the analytical model.

**Limitations**

Since this was administered as a cross-sectional study, the results permitted a “snapshot” of what residents perceived and what was observed during the period of my fieldwork. Conducting the interviews more than a decade after the moratoria had its drawbacks. Subjects were relied upon to have an accurate recollection of local institutions and aspects of the civic culture prior to, during and in the aftermath of the cod collapse. In general, I looked for a repetition of the same or similar experiences before including them as evidence in my study. Further, as many secondary sources as possible were sought to corroborate such recollections. These observations about local social structures and the civic culture were made over a one year span (from November 2003 through October 2004), but they reflected long-standing traits that often originated prior to the moratorium.
By using a snowball sample, it is not clear how this nonrandom sampling procedure impacts the interpretation of the study's results. Because I made a second trip to the North Shore cluster, the sample size there increased, a strategy that could be seen as biasing the research. However, the reason for the second trip was to ascertain that the cluster would get fair coverage. My preliminary data analysis had turned up far less manifestations of the aspects of civic culture there, and it was essential to be sure if it was indeed an accurate depiction of the situation.

The participant observation process provides rich opportunities for learning more about the research sites and the local population. However, it is restrictive in that it is impossible to catch everything that might be valuable to the study. For example, my field work was done during the months that fish harvesting for the most part was not taking place, so I was unable to see firsthand the activities within these communities that were the backbone of their economy. The interview process, though a gold mine for data gathering, has its limits, too. No doubt I carried my own biases with me to the fieldwork sites, such as my age and my previous experience as a tourist in other parts of the province. I worked hard to establish rapport. Yet when an interview topic at times leaned toward controversy, the subject may have hesitated to respond fully. In such instances, I was careful not to probe too deeply so as to create a threatening or intimidating atmosphere.

Using a triangulated research methodology, my study blended qualitative and quantitative data from several sources in anticipation of achieving an accurate comparison of the two clusters. My intention was to grasp the characteristics of the local social structures and the civic culture in each cluster. The study was searching for any obvious relationships between the two as well as differences between the experiences of the populace in the Labrador Straits versus those of the residents in the North Shore cluster. Finally, I hoped to assess the socioeconomic well-being in each cluster a dozen years after the moratorium.

With the research methodology explained, now it is appropriate to look in depth at the various settings. I begin with the description of the Labrador Straits cluster and an analysis of its local social structures.
CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE LABRADOR STRAITS AND ITS LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Not that long ago, anyone crossing the Strait of Belle Isle for the first time was initiated 'into the north' by a visit from 'Neptune,' the Roman 'God of the Sea.' About midstream in the straits, Neptune came up over the side from the depths of the ocean.... In some cases, all of the women who were making their first trip to Labrador were anointed with seal oil. It was also the custom to shave off the moustaches of any gentlemen who were newcomers (Whalen 1990:140).

To put the civic life of the Labrador Straits in perspective, it is important to have an overview of its geographical surroundings, its residents (including a demographic profile), and their communities. This chapter begins with such description, as well as how local municipalities are organized, the cluster’s place in the scheme of provincial and federal governments, and the peculiarities of the local fishery. Next I examine the characteristics of the local social structures that exist there: the local firms; the labor unions; churches; schools, educational and social services; other voluntary associations; governmental and development organizations. My study of the local social structures is a reflection of my field work from November 2003 through October 2004, taking current structures into consideration. However, in this chapter I discuss in more detail structures which came into being before the first cod moratorium of 1992, which provide a preview of how the civic culture of the Labrador Straits was taking shape years before the moratorium. Civic culture and how it relates to the local social structures is analyzed in Chapter V. This exploration of local social structures develops my argument that community socio-economic well-being is heavily dependent upon the type, number, and characteristics of organizations in the community and how these local social structures foster the community’s civic culture.
The Setting

The ferry ride on the *Apollo* from the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland across the Labrador Straits lasts about 90 minutes. Getting to the Labrador Straits takes some planning. Although the ferry runs regularly from May to September, its schedule is greatly reduced when the tourist season ends and the weather in the Strait of Belle Isle that separates Labrador on the mainland from the island of Newfoundland becomes more unpredictable. By early January, when holiday travels are over, the ferry shuts down entirely because of ice and reopens with the spring thaw. Ferry service connecting the Straits with the island of Newfoundland began in 1967.

For the most part, you can’t get to the Labrador Straits without traveling at least a portion of your trip by water. Unless, of course, you are flying into the region’s airport in Blanc Sablon, Quebec. Otherwise there are no roads connecting the region to the rest of the mainland, that is, continental Canada, without a significant portion of the trip by boat and mainly gravel roads. (See Figure 4-1 for map of Labrador Straits.)

The *Apollo* actually docks in Blanc Sablon, Quebec’s easternmost town, a community with heavy economic dependence upon the neighboring communities of Labrador. Many of the larger boats owned by Labradorian fishers are dry docked here for the winter. The town has a full-fledged hospital. Also, Quebeckers are employed in various Labradorian enterprises.

Once on land, the drive to the provincial border with Labrador is just a few kilometers to the northeast. An 80 kilometer highway that was paved in the early 1980s links the seven communities located along the Labrador Straits coast. These communities were first connected by a dirt road in the late 1950s. Prior to that, residents had to travel by footpath, boat, or in the winter by dogsled, from one community to another. A coastal boat service stopping along the coast every three weeks started up in 1962. Nowadays in good weather the drive from L’Anse-au-Clair to Red Bay takes about 90 minutes. Along the way, two major rivers empty into the ocean and provide excellent bases for sport fishing and hunting lodges. The views between towns vary, but there is a striking absence of habitation. Terrain of rolling hills with treeless barrens is interspersed with small ponds, boasting little vegetation other than tuckamore. In between these stretches are villages nestled in coves or bays with most dwellings visible on either side of
Figure 4-1. Map of the Labrador Straits Cluster
the highway. Generally, the communities are no more than 15 minutes apart by car. There are steeply graded climbs and descents with striking views of the water to the east, as well as vistas of wide open spaces to the west, bounded in the distance by hills. It is in these hills where the locals travel to cut tuckamore and scrub for domestic heating purposes, and even to harvest their own Christmas trees from public land.

Just east of the provincial border with Quebec is the first of the towns in the cluster, L’Anse-au-Clair, which is nestled along the highway, hugging a small bay. Signs direct travelers to the Visitor Centre for the area, located on the main road in a renovated church building. The next community is that of Forteau (which also formally includes the settlement of English Point just to the northeast). Forteau is considered to be the administrative center of the region (see Figure 4-2). It is home to a detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) that services the Labrador Straits and the Trans-Labrador Highway to the north, halfway to Mary’s Harbour (84 kilometers north of Red Bay). Also in Forteau are a school serving three towns, the region’s health clinic (Grenfell Regional Health), a seniors’ complex, and offices for the federal and provincial development groups active in the Straits. The tiny settlement of L’Anse-Amour, nowadays considered part of Forteau, is about a kilometer off the main highway between Forteau and L’Anse-au-Loup and is home to several regional tourist attractions. The Point Amour lighthouse is the tallest in Maritime Canada, and nearby, archeologists have located North America’s oldest burial mound dating back 7,500 years (Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism 2004).

The communities themselves are laid out with homes along the highway, leading down to the sea where sufficient land exists. Even though the settlements appear to be similar to other North American towns, they were late to benefit from such conveniences as electrical service, installed here in 1973. Driving through, the visitor senses an air of prosperity, as well-built, modern homes are visible as far as the eye can see. As one longtime resident explained, “Over the years some of the natives have worked on construction projects in Sept-Îles, Quebec, or in Goose Bay where they saw more modern housing and brought these ideas home. After 20 to 25 years, folks tend to tear down their homes and build anew.” Most inhabitants construct their homes themselves, often with assistance from their neighbors. Because residents are reluctant to accumulate debt, much based on their experience with the vagaries of the fisheries over the years, they tend to borrow money for construction materials rather than for a mortgage. This
Figure 4-2. Forteau, Labrador.

Figure 4-3. L’Anse-au-Loup, Labrador.
allows them to keep expenses manageable, repay the loan much quicker, and still attain a comfortable
standard of living, as confirmed by Wickham, Fuchs and Miller-Pitt (1989) in their research in the cluster.
There are many small businesses in these communities, including in the town of L’Anse-au-Loup (Figure
4-3). There one finds the headquarters and a plant of the Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company,
along with the offices of the Eagle River Credit Union. These two businesses together with three major
snowmobile dealers, the fuel storage site for the region, and the hydro power plant make the case for
L’Anse-au-Loup as the business and financial hub of the Straits. In addition, the local offices of the
Member of Parliament for Labrador, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), and the
provincial Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture (DF&A) are here.

Just north of L’Anse-au-Loup, about one third of the way “down the coast,” is a butte known
locally as “The Battery,” with a reputation for hazardous winter driving for those on land and a treacherous
coastline for fishers to navigate. Jutting out into the sea, it serves as a prime example of this harsh and
formidable landscape. Crossing over the Battery, one can see a sizeable marine center at the shoreline
below that serves the cluster. Just beyond is the community of Capstan Island (Figure 4-4). The Labrador

Figure 4-4. Capstan Island, Labrador (foreground) with The Battery in the distance.
Straits Greenhouse has been in operation there for over a quarter of a century. West St. Modeste is a short
distance further north. Another small town, it is home to a school serving three communities, a Youth
Centre, and a Family Resource Centre, as well as a half dozen of small businesses. Next in line is the town
of Pinware, the location of a provincial park on the shores of the Pinware River, serviced by a couple of gas
bars² and convenience stores.

The northernmost stretch of the highway between Pinware and Red Bay is about a 25 minute
drive, winding through territory with dramatic views of the Pinware River (Figure 4-5). All the while the
highway hugs the sides of the rock cuts carved out for it.² The river spills out into a number of ponds, and
here the traveler encounters a host of recreational cabins, mostly used by locals as bases for activities such
as mid-winter trout fishing or summer berry picking. The highway then traverses an expanse that looks like a
moonscape with crater-like depressions and large boulders.

At the end of this stretch is the town of Red Bay, built around a scenic sheltered harbour with
islands in the bay (Figure 4-6). A National Historic Site operated by Parks Canada, Red Bay was the
location of the Basque whaling stations of the mid-to late 1500s and achieved the distinction of the largest
whaling centre in the world in their heyday. Although codfish in the waters off Labrador were clearly the
first attraction of European fishers of this era, whale hunting with its lucrative by-product of oil, developed
quickly into a very important commercial enterprise at Red Bay (Red Bay National Historic Site of Canada
website). Red Bay has its own school, and its small businesses are geared to support the local residents as
well as tourists visiting the Parks Canada site here.

From Red Bay the Trans-Labrador Highway covers 323 kilometers north to Cartwright.
Construction is underway on the next stretch of this highway, connecting Cartwright to Happy Valley-
Goose Bay. The project is expected to last until 2010 and will provide jobs for Labradorians even from the
Straits area (O’Brien 2004).

The geographical setting of the region makes it more isolated than most rural communities in the
province. This is particularly so in winter.³ The citizenry are used to stockpiling supplies for this time of
year. A local entrepreneur operates a daily air shuttle service with his small plane, carrying freight and, if
space permits, passengers from St. Barbe on the Great Northern Peninsula to an airstrip at L’Anse-Amour.
Figure 4-5. Pinware River, Labrador.

Figure 4-6. Red Bay, Labrador.
Prices in the local grocery stores have been known to increase significantly, if the items are transported during this time of year. Otherwise, cluster dwellers find much of what they are looking for in local shops. The Sears counter at the supermarket in L’Anse-au-Loup receives and distributes catalog orders to supplement what is not found locally. Shopping malls with department stores are a ferry ride and four hours’ drive away in Corner Brook on the island of Newfoundland. In the fall, trips to Corner Brook for several days of Christmas shopping are commonplace. The region boasts access to cable television, satellite and internet connections to the outside world, which provide some entertainment options.

Community activities such as a cluster festival, fair or fundraising event provide amusement. The two cluster “drop-in” centers furnish options for youth. But most relaxation opportunities must be created. Summer and winter, the locals participate in various outdoor activities, and only the prevalence of black flies puts a damper on recreation during warmer months. School sports teams foster community rivalry. Entertainment such as theatre, movies, and concerts are rare alternatives here.

In late spring and early summer, the Labrador Sea is host to magnificent Arctic icebergs. These giants make their way through the Strait of Belle Isle to more southerly waters, where they eventually melt and disappear from view. Also through the summer months over 20 species of whales, dolphins and porpoises frolic here. The Labrador coast benefits from these natural events, which add to its appeal as an off-the-beaten-path tourist destination.

The body of water in the Strait of Belle Isle that flows between coastal Labrador and northern Newfoundland is about 18 kilometers wide at its narrowest point (Labrador Coastal Drive 2004). When the weather is clear, it is possible to see the coastline of Newfoundland’s Great Northern Peninsula on the horizon. Cluster residents explain that the Straits are frequented by ocean-going vessels to and from Europe that utilize the St. Lawrence Seaway. This route makes it a shorter journey by two to three days, as opposed to traveling along the east and south coasts of Newfoundland. In 1975 a project was launched to establish a fixed link tunnel to transmit hydro power from Labrador’s Lower Churchill Falls to the Straits (Point Amour) and onto the island of Newfoundland (Poole 1991). Although the undertaking was abandoned, in 2005 the Progressive Conservative provincial government fulfilled a campaign promise to conduct another study to assess the technical feasibility of such an undertaking, as well as its cost and
potential economic advantages (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2005; CBC April 27, 2004).

Even though the study is finished, there are no plans to revive this concept.

**The Settlers and Their Settlements**

In this section I explore how the settlements in the cluster originated, including an examination of events that took place before the 1992 moratorium. Table 4-1 provides a summary of historical occurrences here. The first Europeans known to have been attracted here were seasonal residents. The Basques established their whaling stations in the northernmost Straits community of Red Bay in the 1500s. Several communities along the Straits have names of French origin, attributed to the French fishery which prospered in this area in the 1700s. But the French did not settle here permanently. Some seal fishermen who worked for a Quebec establishment did decide to stay year round when their employer went out of business because of a downturn in the seal fishery in approximately 1820. The balance of these initial permanent residents was roughly 80 percent British from England, Ireland and Scotland, as well as from

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**Table 4-1. Historical Sequence of Events in Labrador Straits**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898-1941</td>
<td>Red Bay Co-operative Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1963</td>
<td>West St. Modeste Co-operative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Dennison Cottage Nursing Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Grenfell Nursing Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Confederation with Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early 1950s</td>
<td>Lapsing of the floate fishery (fishers from Newfoundland coming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to Labrador to harvest cod during the summer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-66</td>
<td>Construction of gravel road linking Straits’ communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Opening of Mountain Feild Academy (high school) in Forteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Ferry service initiated across the Strait of Belle Isle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Electricity installed in the Straits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Southern Labrador Women’s Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Southern Labrador Development Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Canada introduces 200-mile limit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Founding of Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labrador Straits Regional Greenhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1970s</td>
<td>Paved highway connecting Straits’ communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Opening of Labrador Straits Health Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Establishment of Eagle River Credit Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Forteau Lions Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labrador Straits Regional Recreation Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s Auxiliary of Grenfell Regional Health Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Participation in Heritage Regions Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opening of Labrador Straits Telecentre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Northern Cod Moratorium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Gulf Cod Moratorium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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the Jersey and Guernsey Islands, with the remaining 20 percent being Newfoundlanders (Labrador Coastal Drive 2004; Whalen 1990).

It was the cod fishery that had attracted British fish traders to the Labrador Straits on a seasonal basis. These merchants brought with them men who worked on shore in support of the merchants’ activities. Some of these shore-based crews remained in Labrador during the winter, trapping furs, fishing salmon, and catching seals. Farming, as well as building and repairing of facilities and equipment, kept them busy year-round. In the 1830s clusters of these “wintermen” gradually became independent of the English fishing merchants and turned their skills and know-how into their own entrepreneurial ventures (Whalen 1990). By the mid-1800s Newfoundland fishers and their families (with roots in England and Ireland) began to settle here from the Trinity and Conception Bay areas of the island of Newfoundland because of their acquaintance with the plentiful Labrador fishing grounds (Thornton in Mannion 1977). In the latter half of the 1800s, the proportion of new residents had shifted to 80 percent Newfoundlanders and 20 percent British (Whalen 1990).

The co-operative movement in the province had its beginnings in the Labrador Straits. It was an outgrowth of the desperate way of life that late 19th century fishers and their families were experiencing, much of which was due to their economic dependence on the merchant in their community. The merchants operating in outports generally held the fishers in bondage through the credit or “truck” system. In the spring fishers would borrow on credit the goods they needed to prepare for the upcoming fishery, along with food staples required for their families (Rompkey 2003). This dependency of fishers on the merchants was not unlike the dependency of coal miners on coal bosses in Appalachia (Duncan 1999). During the summer entire families would be involved in the salting and drying of the catches (Palmer and Sinclair 1997). The product was then turned over to the local merchant who sold the fish on the market in St. John’s. Gradually fishers reduced their debts, and with a good season’s harvest, they could settle their accounts and perhaps even buy essentials to last them until the fishing season reopened the following year. However, in lean years, fishers incurred more debt and by so doing, extended the cycle of dependency (Rompkey 2003).

In the early 1890s an English medical missionary, Wilfred Grenfell, arrived in Labrador to minister to the fishers and their families. He was shocked by their poverty and living conditions, which he
felt were aggravated by the credit system. During a subsequent trip to England, he learned about a system of co-operative management that had achieved success with weavers in Rochdale, England, who took control of the buying and selling of their own products in a democratic fashion. In 1895 Dr. Grenfell approached a leading resident of Red Bay, explained the way that a co-operative could work there, and proposed that he seek out local fishers to start such an operation with a minimal investment. However, the fishers reacted with concern that the local merchant might be threatened by such a endeavor. At this point, Grenfell intervened and secured the support of the Red Bay merchant, Josiah Penney of Carbonear, who had also been troubled by living conditions in the community but was baffled by how to improve the situation (Gibbons 1998). Upon Grenfell’s return to Red Bay the following year,

...the fishermen were ready to begin a co-operative. The fishing was better that year, and the security that came from the salvaged cargo of a nearby shipwreck gave them the extra confidence to take a chance on Grenfell’s scheme. Seventeen families had each saved five dollars to invest in what became known as the “Copper Store.” The $85 was supplemented by a loan from Grenfell himself to enable them to pay for their first cargo of goods from St. John’s (Gibbons 1998:3).

The Red Bay Co-operative Society brought stability and relative prosperity to Red Bay for well over 40 years. However, in the wake of the depression of the 1930s, times were bad, and most members sold their shares in the co-op to its original storekeeper, who then started his own business, Red Bay Stores, in 1941 (Gibbons 1998). A second co-op opened in the Straits in West St. Modeste in 1903 under Grenfell’s aegis (Our Labrador website). Yet after 60 years of operation, it shut down and left its members with losses that in some cases amounted to an entire summer’s income (Wickham et al. 1989).

The co-op in Red Bay was transformed into a successful local business that lasted until the 1990s, but the West St. Modeste venture was not so prosperous. The co-operative movement left the citizenry with some apprehension that would linger, even though it had introduced them to a way of taking charge of their own destiny by self-management of what they reaped from the fishery. The experience brought them a relatively more secure existence than what they had endured previously. All the while they acquired skills in running a business and perhaps unknowingly built some confidence that they could do better than leave their fate to the local merchant.

The Red Bay Cooperative Society and the co-op in West St. Modeste served as springboards for further development of new businesses and positioned the locals for even larger collaborative undertakings
years later. In fact in 1980, when Memorial University’s Labrador Institute of Northern Studies undertook a socio-economic study of the Labrador Coast for Petro Canada, the conclusion was that cooperation here was strong and that there was “a degree of entrepreneurialism in the Straits not witnessed elsewhere on the Labrador coast (such as) local ownership of a fish plant, organized exploitation of bakeapples, the ownership and use of an 85 ft. fishing vessel, and numerous commercial enterprises” (Williamson 1980:29).

The cluster consists of seven communities, six of which were incorporated towns. Table 4-2 provides an overview of population by community from 1986 to 2001. The six municipalities range in population from 140 to 645, and all have been incorporated for over 25 years. Population for the total cluster area is just under 2,000 (Statistics Canada 2001). A very small percentage of the provincial population (.0039) resides in the Labrador Straits. Table 4-3 compares the cluster with the province. In the period from 1996 to 2001, the out-migration figure of the Labrador Straits is even lower than that of the province — a 3 percent population drop versus 7 percent province-wide. Population trends will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 when the impact of the cod closure is considered. The breakdown between portion of males and females is very similar in the cluster and the province. The Labrador Straits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Division 10A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notreau</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Anse-au-Clair</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Anse-au-Loup</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinware</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Bay</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West St. Modeste</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td>2,177</td>
<td>2,062</td>
<td>1,996</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador Straits Regional Profile</th>
<th>Labrador Straits</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population 2001 Census</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>512,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline since 1996</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Female</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Male</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20 years of age</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years or older</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (20 years &amp; older, without high school diploma)</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (aged 25 to 54 with bachelor’s degree or higher)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 Division 10A is a census designation for unorganized settlements. In this cluster, the division consists primarily of Capstan Island. Longtime residents estimate its population to be about 55.
has a higher percentage of residents who are not high school graduates. It lags behind the province in the proportion of residents who completed college degrees.

In reviewing the age of the population, the cluster has a slightly higher portion of residents under 20 years old. However, the cluster is exactly the same percentage as the province in the 65 years or older category. Changes in population will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter 8 in the context of the moratoria effects.

The Fishery

For centuries the Labrador fishery was prosperous. Cod were plentiful, and the Labrador fishing stations attracted those from the Great Northern Peninsula and other parts of Newfoundland for the fish harvest. It was during these times that the people of the Straits earned a reputation for their hospitality. Such generosity was recounted by a resident who remembered from her youth:

I would give up my room and sleep on the floor near my grandmother’s bed to free up my bed for a fisher from the Island. Any family that could opened their homes to those who had been away from home for an extended period, offering them a chance for a bath, a good night’s sleep in a real bed, and a home cooked meal.

For most Labradorians, however, it was a struggle making ends meet. Among residents I interviewed were those who recalled that prosperity was confined to the merchants who extracted wealth from fish harvesting from the settlers, while keeping them in a relationship of dependency. In the 1970s the family-intensive process of salt fishing and dependency upon merchants was replaced with fish plants which paid fishers weekly for their catches rather than settling up in the fall of the year. In addition, many women found their first jobs outside the home there. By 1980 there were seven licensed fish processing plants in the Straits (Smallwood and Pitt 1993b). As the decade wore on, some reduced or ceased operations all together because of difficulty obtaining fish for processing.

Here as well as all over Maritime Canada the cod stocks were gradually being depleted (Martin 1992). The most obvious culprits were the foreign trawlers which frequented the Labrador Straits and fished without restrictions in the 1960s and 1970s. Years later local residents recollected the Straits at night being “lit up like a city” during those times. Said one retired fisher, “Fishermen knew maybe 10 years (before the moratorium) that the cod fishery was going, all over Newfoundland. It used to take 30
nets to catch 300 to 400 pounds of cod. But when we finished (just before the moratorium)..., we needed five times the number of nets to catch the same amount of fish."

As cod stocks declined in the 1980s, inshore fishers attempted to sound the alarm that practices needed to be changed quickly in order for the cod stock to survive. As related by another fisher, "We started to see the first decline in 1984.... The catches were dropping off about 50 percent a year. We used to tell DFO (Department of Fisheries and Oceans) we were having a problem.... When they finally closed (the fishery), it was too late." Another retired Labrador Straits fisher recalled his efforts to be involved in the Newfoundland Inshore Fisheries Association (NIFA), established in August 1986 to lobby for the appropriate management of inshore fisheries (MUN Extension Services 1987; Moores 1986). But the momentum from NIFA was not great enough to result in timely and necessary restrictions.

On July 2, 1992, DFO announced the closure of the Northern cod fishery (Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization or NAFO areas 2J and 3KL) which affected a portion of Labrador as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle (Industry Canada website). Appendix D provides a map of NAFO management zones. Inshore fishers in the Labrador Straits had depended upon these grounds for most of their catches. Because they still had access to the northern Gulf of St. Lawrence cod (NAFO area 4R), they had some breathing space to adjust to reduced catches. However, as Gulf cod stocks continued to dwindle, DFO declared a moratorium for this fishery in 1994. By 1997 DFO claimed that the stock was rebounding sufficiently enough in 4R to reopen these areas to limited harvesting for commercial purposes. Total allowable catches were reevaluated yearly, and finally in early 2003, these cod fisheries were shut down all together (DFO 2004). In May 2004 the DFO announced a limited fishery for the Gulf cod (DFO 2004). Nowadays spring brings an anxiety with it, as fishers are poised to hear the federal government’s decision on the fishery for the upcoming season.

The changes in the cluster’s fishery since the moratorium were evident in reviewing the employment statistics for the industry. (See Table 4-4 for details from the last two census periods.) The rise in the number of fishers and fish plant workers from 1995 to 2000 can be attributed to the reopening of the Gulf cod fishery to limited commercial harvesting as well as to diversification into other fisheries. However, these figures have since diminished, as during my field work, local leaders knowledgeable about developments in the fishery put the number of fishers in the cluster at less than 100.
Table 4-4. Fisheries Employment in Labrador Straits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Employed in Fisheries in 1995</th>
<th>Employed in Fisheries in 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishers</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Processing Workers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2004

Once the harvesting of cod was no longer an option or only permitted on a very limited scale, diversification into other species was prevalent. This confirmed what Hamilton and Butler (2001) found as a common adaptation in regions of the province hard hit by the moratoria. The Labrador Straits fishery was predominantly an inshore fishery with boats of under 35 feet in length. Harvesting usually commenced the last week of June and lasted about 14 weeks, depending upon the availability of product. In 2004 it was a 15-week season. Fishers typically harvested the licenses for a number of species in sequence. Dictated by water temperature, wind and weather, the capelin were the first to arrive, followed by cod, then herring, mackerel, and finally Atlantic crab, known also as toad crab. A career fisher described the routine: “The inshore fishers work with daylight, starting out about 4 AM at the beginning of the season and winding up the day around 10:30 PM. As the season slides by, the days get shorter, and by September, start time is 7 AM. Every day you can, you go out, weather permitting, until you catch your quota.” Individual quotas and total allowable catches (TAC) of the various species were set by DFO, which also controlled the start and finish of harvesting for each species.

Of the species harvested here, cod was still the mainstay at the time of my fieldwork. Between 70 to 90 percent of this cod was brought into the wharf at the southernmost port in the cluster, L’Anse-au-Clair, because of its proximity to the cod fishing grounds. Other species were landed at ports in Forteau and L’Anse-au-Loup, as well as L’Anse-au-Clair. At the dock the only buyers were from the Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company, who weighed in and iced the catch for transport to the fish plant in L’Anse-au-Loup.

It is against this backdrop that I will look at the local social structures in the Labrador Straits.

Local Social Structures in the Cluster

Up to this point I have examined the cluster from the origin of its settlements to their appearances today, including a snapshot of the cluster’s demographics. I also looked at the key position of the fishery in the cluster. This section focuses on the local institutions, their roles and attributes.

61
The argument underlying this study is that the local social structures and the civic culture of a community (or cluster of communities) are intrinsically related, and these in turn affect the community's social and economic well-being. Tolbert et al. (1998) researched local social structures in over 3,000 U.S. counties and found that communities with a relatively greater number of local social structures have a populace that is civically engaged, and the communities are more likely to register higher on measures of socio-economic well-being. They argue that small business firms “through their owners are embedded in the local community, ... less likely to pull out of the local community during economic downturns, and more likely to provide support, membership and direction for local institutions” (1998:405). The researchers see this kind of local capitalism evidenced by strong local government, educational and social services geared to a wide spectrum of community needs, active churches, and a presence of financial institutions under local control (Tolbert et al. 1998). Gittell and Thompson determined that community economic development can be effectively nurtured “through holistic approach that draws on the social capital assets of communities, such as churches, labor unions...” and other voluntary groups, or as emphasized in this study, the local social structures (in Saegert et al. 2001:122). Hence it is important to examine these institutions.

In this section I will enumerate the local social structures of the Labrador Straits cluster and their attributes: the local firms; labor unions; churches; schools, educational and social services; other non-profit and voluntary associations; government; and development organizations. My intention in this chapter is to describe and emphasize those that came into being prior to the cod moratoria. However, I compiled this inventory during the course of my field work in the province in 2003 and 2004. Therefore, it reflects what existed 12 years after the cod closure. Appendix E provides an accounting of the local social structures in this cluster by community.

Local Firms

In examining local firms, the following characteristics will reveal details about the nature of their business:

- their size based on approximate number of employees: 20 or less (small); 21 to 99 (medium); and 100 or more (large);
- locally-owned versus ownership outside the cluster;
- publicly versus co-operatively versus privately owned.
The Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce brochure promoted the cluster as “A good place to do business since 1515,” a reference to the whaling enterprises that emerged in Red Bay at that time. I found that the presence of a variety of businesses in these communities gave credence to the diversification of the economy that existed here. About 95 firms were operating, and according to a local development officer, “practically no business failures. There are no outstanding loans; businesses want to pay them off. We have an enterprising business attitude here.”

Over 90 enterprises were small businesses. Also considered under this category were incorporated fishing crews. There were three medium-sized firms operating in the cluster with employees of 20 or more, all of which were set up prior to the moratorium. A Forteau business with 35 full-time employees, increasing to about 45 during the tourist season, had several entities: a restaurant, motel, lounge, bakery, the production of preserves, and retail grocery stores in Forteau and Red Bay. The second medium-sized firm was a hotel in L’Anse-au-Clair, which also experienced a peak employment of approximately 45 in summer. With 54 rooms, a full-service restaurant and lounge, and meeting facilities, the hotel was host to the many tour busses which traveled the Straits during tourist season. The marine service center in L’Anse au Diable, a cove situated between L’Anse-au-Loup and Capstan Island, employed up to 25 in season.

Although categorized as a small business with 17 employees here, the Eagle River Credit Union deserves mention for the impact that it had on the area. It also was the sole financial institution in the cluster and was locally owned and operated, a vital component of a healthy local capitalism (Tolbert et al. 1998; Flora et al. 1997). Further, the existence of a social network like a credit union that permits the local generation of capital benefits individual and group gains and resources (Gittell and Thompson in Saegert et al. 2001). In turn this collective control has a positive effect on a community’s social and economic well-being (DeFilippis 2001). In early January 1984, the Bank of Montreal announced that it would be closing its branch in L’Anse-au-Loup. Five months later after considerable effort from local leaders, residents, the LSC, the Southern Labrador Development Association, the small business community, and the town of L’Anse-au-Loup, the Eagle River Credit Union opened for business. More about this collaborative effort is discussed in the next chapter as an example of the relationship between the cluster’s local social structures and its civic culture.
Only a handful of the cluster businesses were not locally owned. A furniture store was a franchise operation. A variety store, an automobile dealership and a funeral home were branches of provincial corporations. The auto dealership was in the process of locating here before the moratorium was declared. As part of its recent business base expansion thrust, the town of L’Anse-au-Loup negotiated with the funeral home to locate in that community (Town of L’Anse-au-Loup 2003a).

Because of the geographic isolation of these communities, its many small businesses allowed the cluster residents to have easier access to necessary goods and services in their own backyard. This made the region almost self-contained, along the line of Schumacher’s (1973) “small is beautiful” model. As one community leader related, “Almost all of the money earned in the area is spent here.” The small businesses in the Labrador Straits provided jobs for cluster residents, and most were open year-round. Their existence increased the tax base for their communities, not just with business revenues, but with the earnings of those who made their living in them.

These realities support the argument of Tolbert et al. (1998)—that businesses of small and medium size in a locality are more likely to be “linked together in some fashion to form adaptive systems that continually reinforce and support local socio-economic climates geared toward long-term vitality and enhanced welfare” (p. 404). The same researchers also examined how local enterprises form horizontal links among residents, which weave a web of a community’s social structure. In this cluster, the numerous retail establishments provided a venue for interaction of the locals, which reinforced horizontal attachments among residents. During my field work I observed residents from different communities meeting others in these establishments by coincidence. This resulted in informal socializing as they did their shopping or banking. This phenomenon was highlighted by the 1989 research of Oldenburg on the function of such local establishments, referred to as “third places.”

The major employer in the Labrador Straits was the Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company Limited, known locally as the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC). It was founded in 1978 and was the mainstay of the cluster’s employment ever since. The LSC headquarters and its largest processing plant were located in L’Anse-au-Loup. Originally begun as a co-operative for local fishers of the southern Labrador coast (from L’Anse-au-Clair north to Cartwright), it evolved into a profit-making business with the stipulation that all profits would accrue and be used for providing jobs and maintaining the company’s
infrastructure. LSC diversified with several processing plants north of the Labrador Straits, geared to different species. It also was involved in joint ventures along the Labrador coast with a large provincial processor, the Barry Group.

In the next chapter on civic culture, I elaborate on the unique role that the LSC assumed as the dominant employer in the cluster, demonstrating civic responsibility along with running a viable business. Although rare in the province for its co-operative structure, the LSC was not the first such enterprise here. It was the establishment of the Red Bay Co-operative Society which introduced this type of business operation to the area. The co-operatively owned LSC and the Eagle River Credit Union were examples of “community governance” which, Bowles and Gintis (2000) assert, has the potential for a positive effect on a community’s social and economic well-being.

Labor Unions

The percentage of Newfoundland and Labrador workers who belong to a union ranks as the highest in the nation (Rennie, Botting and Inglis 1998). There were a number of labor unions with representation in institutions in the cluster. Because the unions were embedded in these institutions, I did not tally them separately on Appendix E (Local Social Structures in the Labrador Straits). By far the largest membership belonged to the province-wide Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAWU) which was established in the early 1970s. All commercial fishers in the province were FFAWU members, so those in the Labrador Straits were no exception. According to the latest census, there were 170 who identified themselves as fishers in the year 2000 (Community Accounts 2004). In spite of being troubled by the decreasing stocks and government regulations for the fishery, a minimal amount of tension existed between fish harvesters and the owners of the LSC fish plant because they were the plant owners. This is a marked contrast to the way that the Newfoundland fishery is often characterized.

Employees in the LSC plant were also members of the FFAWU. The census figures for the year 2000 stated there were 120 fish processing workers in the cluster (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2004). Initially, when the LSC set up operations in the L’Anse-au-Loup facility in 1981, the workers were not unionized. But because the business was owned by union members, it was natural that management wanted the plant workers to join the union as well. According to someone involved with the organizing drive at the time, “The workers were afraid of the union. They felt they were already being
treated fairly by management. (Those of us who wanted the union) had to do a lot of talking and
persuading." In the first election, workers declined union membership, but a year or so later, they voted the
union in. A long-term employee described tension between management and the union as practically non-
existent, flaring up only "when work is scarce and those with seniority want hours, as do the less senior
workers."

Outside of the fishery, many provincial and federal employees in the cluster were union members.
The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Newfoundland and Labrador Association of
Public and Private Employees (NAPE) represented support service workers in hospitals, clinics, nursing
homes, schools, government offices, and provincial highway services. All teachers belonged to the
Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association. Federal employees at the Parks Canada/Red Bay
National Historic Site were members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada. Workers at Newfoundland
& Labrador Hydro and Aliant (the provincial telecommunications company) were unionized, too. Even
though the number of represented employees in the cluster who belonged to these unions was not high,
when the unions call a strike, the reverberations were province-wide. For example in 2004, Aliant workers
were on the picket lines for almost four months, and a CUPE/NAPE strike in the Spring lasted for 27 days.
Such strikes put a damper on provincial tourism revenues, as many affected workers trimmed their vacation
plans because of their loss of income (CBC November 4, 2004).

Churches

An in-depth look at the social structures in the community offers a means of examining where
residents invest their energies. Tolbert et al. (1998) profess that involvement in voluntary associations,
including churches, is an indicator of how engaged citizens are in their localities. The more robust the
involvement, a vital aspect of civic culture in this study, the more likely this will be reflected in the
community's socio-economic well-being. Irwin et al. (1999) found that when there is a higher proportion
of the local populace involved with active religious congregations, out-migration rates tend to be lower,
another measure of socio-economic well-being. In this section I will focus on the religious congregations
that exist in the Labrador Straits.
Pinware was the site of a Roman Catholic chapel erected early in the 19th century, but it was not until the 1950s before Catholic clergy took up residence in West St. Modeste. A Church of England (Anglican) congregation sprung up in Forteau in the mid-1800s, and a church and school were built in L’Anse-au-Loup by 1921 (Smallwood and Pitt 1993b). The United Church congregation was founded in Forteau and Red Bay in 1878 (Flynn October 27, 2003). Last to arrive were the evangelical congregations of the Plymouth Brethren (Gospel Hall) in 1957 and subsequently the Living Waters Pentecostal Church.

According to Statistics Canada, over 95% of the cluster’s citizens associated themselves with a Christian religion. The presence of at least one church in every community, as well as church attendance figures reinforced these affiliations. I conducted an informal survey of local clergy and congregation leaders to learn about local residents attending church services. The Anglican community had four churches which make up the Anglican “parish” of about 220 families. There were Anglicans in Red Bay, but they had no church edifice there. However, they were considered part of the Anglican clergywoman’s charge, so she conducted a service there in the United Church building once a month. The two United Church congregations had roughly 60 families each who were considered active church members. The single Roman Catholic parish had about 350 members. The Gospel Hall in the three towns had approximately 250 in fellowship all together. The Pentecostal Church had 20 members (a signed membership with voting rights) and more than 40 others, known as adherents, who attended services.

In sum, there were more or less 660 individuals active in the Roman Catholic, Gospel Hall and Pentecostal churches, along with 340 families in the Anglican and United congregations. No specific definition of families was used for this poll, but respondents defined family as meaning a contributor from a one-person household to families with children. My rough calculation had church activity to be well over 50% of the population. All existing church buildings were in use and in good repair.

At this writing, resident clergy are serving the Anglican, Roman Catholic, United and Pentecostal congregations. Rather than led by an ordained clergy, the Gospel Hall fellowship was guided by several families. There was considerable involvement of citizens in church activities in the cluster, as well as collaboration between and among congregations. I elaborate on these aspects in the next chapter when I analyze civic culture in the Labrador Straits.
Schools, Educational Offerings and Social Services

When a community provides services that meet educational and medical needs along with programs and facilities for elderly and youth, residents perceive a presence of social well-being there (Morton 2003). As Tolbert et al. (1998) assert, the existence of local social structures that address the comprehensive educational and social service needs of a community and furnish healthy living options for residents of all ages are linked with local capitalism (businesses of small and medium size) and generally result in an enhanced social and economic welfare.

In the Labrador Straits, as in the rest of the province, schools were under the auspices of religious congregations until provincial legislation in the late 1990s formally disbanded such affiliations. Elementary schools in L’Anse-au-Clair and L’Anse-au-Loup were initially under the Anglican Church. A Methodist school operated in Red Bay. The West St. Modeste school had a Roman Catholic affiliation. Still there was no area high school until the mid-1960s. Families who wanted more than an elementary level education for their offspring had to send them as boarders to schools on the Great Northern Peninsula or to more distant places. The first high school in the Straits was the Mountain Field Academy in Forteau, which opened in 1964. It was the result of an alliance between the Anglican and United Church congregations, with local residents donating labor or funds to augment provincial monies for the project. The founding of the school offered a glimpse at how another local structure was established. The citizen participation and collaboration that made the Mountain Field Academy a reality provided insight into the civic culture in the Straits, which I focus on in the next chapter. (The Mountain Field initiative is described in more detail in Appendix F.)

Declining school enrollments are occurring throughout the province, and the Labrador Straits was no exception. In 1999 St. Andrew’s Elementary School in L’Anse-au-Clair which served 30 students was closed in spite of parents’ protests, and students were transferred to Mountain Feild Academy in Forteau (Northern Pen October 12, 1999). In 2001 St. Paul’s Elementary in L’Anse-au-Loup was earmarked for replacement because of its deteriorating condition, however, the province’s commitment to proceed was set aside for budgetary reasons when a new administration took office (Northern Pen December 24, 2001, April 5, 2004).
Educational programs geared to adults, such as adult basic education (high school equivalency) were found in the cluster. There was an office of the College of the North Atlantic, the community college affiliated with the Memorial University of Newfoundland. Although no courses were offered on a continuing basis, there were periodic needs assessments and training for the region. An active literacy program, Partners in Learning, was here. Additional educational components considered part of the local social structural base included:

- Leadership training sessions offered by development staffers.
- Centre for Distance Learning and Innovation in Forteau and Red Bay, with coursework for high school students as well as adults who wanted to keep professional certifications updated.
- The six local Community Access Program (CAP) sites, which made the internet accessible to citizens without computers at home or work.
- A regional library in L’Anse-au-Loup.
- Public health and mental health nurses from the local Health Centre, conducting education programs in the schools and other community settings.

Social service associations in the Straits met the needs of seniors and the seriously ill through various means. Seniors seeking independent living without the responsibility of managing a household rented self-contained apartments at the Labrador South Seniors’ Complex in Forteau. The Labrador South Health Centre, a component of the Grenfell Regional Health Services, opened an acute care unit in 1982, and in the last ten years expanded its capacity from 7 to 15 residents. In 1984 the Centre acknowledged there was neither the space nor the staff to care for all cluster citizens who could use help with medical conditions or daily living activities. Subsequently the Labrador South Home Care (LSHC) was set up. Another objective of this new organization was to offer work to residents who lacked opportunities to qualify for unemployment benefits. Home health aides were trained in first aid, CPR and the like. Depending upon needs in the community, the organization employed between 16 to 22 workers year round.

Other organizations served infants, children, youth and families. The Labrador Straits Social Education Committee formed after the moratorium generated many initiatives for residents, from mental health counseling to the Family Resource Centres to the Community Youth Network programs for those 12 to 19. These ventures were the result of civic leadership, volunteer efforts, and collaboration within the
cluster and will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter on development endeavors after the moratorium.

**Other Voluntary Organizations**

The voluntary sector in the province is made up of about 4,000 community-based organizations. This sector includes non-profit institutions. Some are registered as charities (24%), more than half (59%) have less than 10 paid employees, and 29% are staffed entirely by volunteers (enVision 2004). Some voluntary associations were active in the Straits for many years.

Local groups offered activities for all ages, and many of them encompassed the entire cluster. Recreational options include groups active in cross country skiing, snowmobiling, hockey, the theatre, and church-sponsored bingo and card games. Four communities had Dart Committees. There were constructive diversions for youth at the two drop-in centers in the Straits. They could also take part in Junior Achievement, Scouts, Girl Guides, or Junior Canadian Rangers. In the summer of 2004 there was even a one-week environmental day camp for 7 to 12 year olds sponsored by the Quebec Labrador Foundation (*Northern Pen* July 19, 2004). Churches had men’s, women’s and youth groups, choir and band, along with boards of management, vestries and parish councils.

There were numerous opportunities for civic involvement here. The six town councils, which originated in the 1970s, were good illustrations. Five of the towns had Volunteer Fire Brigades that responded to emergencies. Each of the four schools in the cluster had a school council with community representatives. There were two Lions Clubs, five Women’s Institute groups, six Fishermen’s Committees and three Harbour Authority Committees, Steering Committees for both the Regional Library and the CAP Internet Sites, plus three local CAP Committees. The Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary, the Canadian Rangers, and the Canadian Association for Community Living⁴ were represented here. There were regional committees for anti-violence, crime prevention, waste disposal, and transportation. The cluster’s development groups, considered non-profit or voluntary but discussed in more detail with government organizations in this chapter, had volunteer boards and committees. Ad hoc groups were formed to organize special events like the Winter Games, Craft and Agriculture Fair, and the Partridgeberry Festival. In addition there were volunteer boards of the various non-profit or cooperatively-run businesses: Eagle River Credit Union; Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company; Grenfell Regional/Labrador Straits
Health Centre; and Labrador South Home Care, Inc. Some of these groups will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter as examples of citizen involvement and collaboration, aspects of the area’s civic culture.

Government

Attitudes toward government vary, depending upon whether one references the federal, provincial or local institutions. In the cluster, municipal government was well established. The provincial riding\(^5\) for the House of Assembly in St. John’s included communities from L’Anse-au-Clair to Cartwright. On the federal level, there was one Member of the House of Commons for all of Labrador. Even though Labrador was annexed to Newfoundland in 1763, Labradorians did not get the right to vote until 1946. Two years later over 75 percent of Labradorians voted for confederation with Canada. In 1987 Labrador became its own federal electoral district.

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had issues with the federal government over how the fisheries were managed (or mismanaged). The federal government found opportunities to recount to Maritime Canadians how many millions of dollars in aid was channeled to those impacted by the fisheries collapse. However, the provincial citizenry were quick to point to other federal government actions that have put great sums into the coffers in Quebec or Ottawa at the perceived expense of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, such as the Churchill Falls hydro development and off-shore oil (Baker 2004; Meek 2003, Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place In Canada 2003).

Those issues aside, Labradorians were upset about ways in which they feel Newfoundlanders had capitalized on Labradorian resources, such as the fishery, iron ore, and forestry. Every so often the movement for Labrador to separate from Newfoundland gained ground. These sentiments were most recently fueled by actions taken by the Progressive Conservative government (elected in October 2003) that related to provincial ferry transportation issues with a potentially negative impact on the coastal Labrador economy.

A multitude of government departments and agencies were located within the cluster itself, including offices of federal and provincial representatives providing administrative, economic development and income support services. Six of the cluster’s seven communities were incorporated municipalities, each with administrative staff. Such a presence of local government allowed citizens a vehicle for ownership of common problems and the chance to resolve them, a facet of community governance that
bodes well for socioeconomic welfare (Bowles and Gintes 2000). There was an RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) detachment in Forteau that covered from the Labrador Straits north to halfway to Mary’s Harbour.

The largest social structure of this sector was the Labrador Straits Health Centre with its 40 employees furnishing medical, dental, and long term care services to the local populace. The first nursing station established by Dr. Wilfred Grenfell, the Dennison Cottage became the first permanent health care facility here in 1907. Its benefactor was an American, abandoned by his ship many years earlier but rescued and cared for by the Labradorians. He donated $1,000 to Grenfell to help build the facility as a token of gratitude for the hospitality he received so generously from the locals (Labrador Straits Museum 2004; Poole 1991). In 1946 the facility was replaced by the Grenfell Nursing Station (Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador website). The existing health center opened in 1982, subsequently expanding to its present day level of services.

Development Organizations

Economic development in the region had its formal beginning with the Southern Labrador Development Association (SLDA), which originated as a grassroots effort in 1974 as part of the government funded rural development associations (RDAs) that sprung up in the 1960s and 1970s. Since the provincial Regional Economic Development Boards (also known as zonal boards) were introduced in the mid-1990s, these RDAs no longer receive government monies. Out of 59 original RDAs, 45 were still active (Northern Pen June 7, 2004a). The SLDA survived by using innovative means to secure its financial support. The organization owned the E. M. Taylor Resource Centre in Forteau where most of the community development offices were situated, therefore, it received rent from its tenants as well as an allocation from the local zonal board. According to its project manager, the SLDA’s “mandate is to seek money for projects and proposals and create work for Labrador Straits’ residents. Once a project is up and running and viable to operate, it will be turned over to an individual or to the private sector to run.” As the upcoming discussion of civic culture in the cluster will demonstrate, the SLDA utilized partnerships to foster collaboration in the region.

An early SLDA success story was its establishment of the Labrador Straits Greenhouse in 1978 to augment a gardening project in the Straits. Two women from Capstan Island applied and got the jobs, and
SLDA requested a grant to erect the structure in their community. Twenty-five years later, it was still a self-sustaining business run by the original entrepreneurs. The greenhouse became a hubbub of activity in the latter part of June when the sale of mostly vegetable plants took off. It supplied not just the Straits communities, but welcomed customers from Quebec’s North Shore and communities connected by the new Trans-Labrador Highway. The operators also took orders and delivered plants to Flower’s Cove on the Great Northern Peninsula. As a local social structure, it formed ties to communities well beyond the cluster, enriching the collaborative aspect of the Straits civic culture.

In 1985 another development agency came into being, the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation (LSHDC). Known as the organization behind the tourism industry, in 1990 it was selected by the Heritage Canada Foundation to participate in its Heritage Regions Program. In the next chapter on civic culture, I elaborate on how this opportunity became a launching pad not only for additional tourism ventures but for other significant cluster initiatives and alliances within and beyond the Straits. In partnership with the SLDA, the LSHDC was instrumental in the establishment of the Southern Labrador Telecentre in 1991. One of six telecentres being set up in rural Newfoundland and Labrador, it was funded by the federal and provincial governments under its Enterprise Network project. The Telecentre was last significant social structure to come into being in the cluster before the 1992 moratorium. Its role in fostering the area’s socio-economic well-being is addressed in Chapter VIII.

Other local development groups included the Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce and the Labrador Straits Development Corporation, both of which were founded after the moratorium. All development groups in the Straits were set up to serve the cluster exclusively, largely due to the location and geographic isolation of the communities here. Two of these organizations—the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation and the successor to the Telecentre, SmartLabrador, actually expanded their scope of responsibilities beyond the Straits by collaborating within the region. From the time all of these development groups were first formed until the present, there was been no interruption in their operations.

In this chapter I have described the setting of the Labrador Straits cluster and provided a glimpse of its communities and residents. I also discussed how local municipalities are organized, the cluster’s
place in the scheme of provincial and federal governments, and the characteristics of the local fishery. Because my field work took place in 2003 and 2004, my enumeration of the local social structures reflects the current scene and includes business firms; labor unions; churches; schools, educational offerings and social services; other voluntary associations; and lastly governmental and development organizations. However, in this chapter I have highlighted what institutions were already in place when the first cod moratorium was announced, as listed in Table 4-5. One large, cooperatively run enterprise (Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company), three locally-owned, medium-sized businesses, and numerous local small businesses, including a credit union founded locally, were solidly in place prior to the moratorium announcement. Several key voluntary associations were already active here and contributing to the area. Also two development agencies (Southern Labrador Development Association and the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation) and a development initiative, the Southern Labrador Telecentre, had registered some successes and were positioned for more activity. These important local social structures were firmly in place prior to the summer of 1992 and had built up a history of civic involvement, collaboration, and civic leadership at the time of the Northern cod fishery closure.

What I have learned is that the Labrador Straits has a total of 252 local social structures for a population of about 2,000. I link this to the argument of Tolbert et al. (1998) that a multitude of local social structures in a community bodes well for greater civic engagement. There is a strong presence of small businesses, a sprinkling of medium firms, and one enterprise with about 150 employees, the largest in the cluster. This dominant employer and the financial institution here are cooperatively owned, having positive implications for community direction (Bowles and Gintes 2000). The availability of a local financial institution is also important for community involvement and mobilization of resources (DeFilippis 2001; Gittell and Thompson in Saegert et al. 2001; Tolbert et al. 1998; Flora et al. 1997). A total of 10 religious congregations are found in the cluster, with high church membership, a potential indicator of civic engagement (Irwin et al. 1999; Tolbert et al. 1998). The cluster’s voluntary associations number over 100, offering a multitude of opportunities for citizens to volunteer their time and talents. All essential government groups are here, along with development organizations that serve the cluster and in some cases even beyond. Six out of seven communities are organized municipalities, and as such are natural mechanisms for civic involvement (Bowles and Gintes 2000). Given these findings, my model and the
literature would predict a civic culture with high civic involvement, a great degree of collaboration, strong civic leadership, and diversity of communications and opinions.

In the next chapter I explain what I have learned about the cluster’s civic culture, especially the ways and the quality of civic culture that flow from its characteristics. Furthermore, I focus on the linkages between its civic culture and its local social structures to set the stage for the subsequent chapter. There I examine how local social structures and civic culture relate to the social and economic well-being of the Labrador Straits, in particular after the cod moratoria.

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1 Pumps.

2 In spite of the existence of the paved highway, there are still times when Mother Nature dumps sufficient snow for gale-force winds to completely plug up the rock cuts blasted out for highway construction. The provincial Department of Transportation and Works has its hands full keeping the road open during the winter, dealing with drifts of several meters in height that accumulate during a snowstorm. This is especially prevalent along the road from Pinware to Red Bay. As civil engineers laid out the road bed for the extension of the highway north from Red Bay to Cartwright, local residents pleaded with them to plot the course of the road five to six miles inland through the valleys. The locals’ experience with Labrador winters and the predictability of the inaccessibility of a highway especially in the vicinity of rock cuts has proved correct. It has been such an expensive and challenging task to keep this road open during the winter that the provincial government announced that to combat major budget deficits, it would withdraw winter maintenance services on the road from Red Bay to Lodge Bay, 83 kilometers to the north. Over the next six to seven years as the Trans-Labrador Highway is completed, the government has committed to studying a number of ways to resolve to the problem (Northern Pen October 12, 2004; MacDonald April 5, 2004).

3 Per local residents, should it be necessary to fly to St. John’s, a return ticket (round trip ticket) can cost as much as $600, and such a trip to Labrador City, as much as $1,600.

4 A Canadian organization working for the welfare of those with intellectual disabilities living in communities as opposed to institutions (Canadian Association for Community Living 2004).

5 District.
CHAPTER V

CIVIC CULTURE IN THE LABRADOR STRAITS

In the previous chapter I described the makeup of the Labrador Straits cluster from the standpoint of its location, communities, peoples, government, and the status of its fishery. I also detailed its local social structures: the local businesses; labor unions; churches; schools, educational and social services; other voluntary associations; and government and development organizations. Further, I presented developments in the region, including establishments of some key local social structures in a timetable of events covering up to the 1992 cod moratorium. In this chapter I examine the cluster’s civic culture, which I define as a blend of attitudes, behaviors, beliefs and norms in a community that manifests itself in the following ways:

- *citizen involvement*: how residents participate in community life;
- *collaboration*: how the residents come together for the common good as shown in the interaction between organizations within and outside the community;
- *civic leadership*: who the leaders are, their leadership styles and how the leaders are perceived by the residents;
- *communications and opinions*: sources and reliability of public information; handling of diverse viewpoints.

I elaborate on these characteristics and give instances of how they are evident (or not) in the Labrador Straits cluster, using some case studies to demonstrate. These examples allow an assessment of the state of the interrelationship between the cluster’s local social structures and its civic culture.

The research of Tolbert et al. (1998) into the prevalence of local social structures pointed to the existence of a civically engaged citizenry when small and medium-size businesses are abundant, local government is effective, residents are participating in churches and civic groups, social and educational services are in place, and there is a local financial institution. Further, when such communities have a healthy civic engagement, the researchers found it is reflected in elevated measurements of social and economic well-being.

This thinking is in line with the work of Flora et al. (1997) who studied rural communities and determined that those with a thriving civic culture (which they refer to as entrepreneurial social
infrastructure or ESI) have more success with the implementation of economic development initiatives. Such positive outcomes in economic development are reflected in dimensions of a community’s socioeconomic well-being. To measure ESI, Flora et al. examined assumptions, standards, and manifestations of how communities face issues and resolve them together.

My argument for this research borrows from the concepts put forth by these researchers among others. I point out in this chapter how the local social structures are related to the community’s civic culture, that is, how characteristics of the local social structures model the attributes of the community’s civic culture. The characteristics of the local social structures actually define the civic culture, and one overlaps the other. In the Labrador Straits aspects of local social structures even prior to the moratoria include:

- the cooperatively-run dominant employer (the Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company), three intermediate-sized businesses, a community credit union, and numerous small businesses, over 95 percent locally owned;

- an actively engaged labor union for fish harvesters and fish plant workers;

- local churches with involved congregations;

- schools, educational and social services providing the area with a variety of important services;

- presence of key voluntary associations, hard at work to improve social well-being in the communities;

- two enterprising development agencies and a development initiative focused on economic well-being in the cluster.

In this chapter I examine how the civic involvement, collaboration, and civic leadership of these local social structures relate to the cluster’s civic culture. The civic culture then is the process by which communities fashion and influence their social and economic well-being. I offer my descriptions of the different components of civic culture as I conceptualize it, along with some local examples of how the components are evident. After having articulated the components along with illustrations, I then offer a few case studies of local social structures which appear to exemplify the cluster’s civic culture. In the end I determine where the cluster lies on a continuum between a civic culture that is rich and developed versus one that is deficient and more focused on meeting the needs of individuals, with less attention to obligations toward the community.
It is my belief that a community’s local social structures and how they interact with its civic culture define how the community’s social and economic well-being will weather calamitous outside events. In this study, the cod moratoria provide the external stimulus for testing this relationship. In short, a cluster’s capacity to survive the moratoria depends upon the nature of its local social structures and its civic culture’s capacity to collaborate in overcoming such a force.

**Citizen Involvement**

When citizens and local enterprises step forward to donate their time, talents and resources to help with community projects, such a community is more likely to be able to pull together resources needed for collective action when the need arises (Flora et al. 1997). Hence, the first indicator to guide me in this description of civic culture is citizen involvement. I view this as whether residents in the cluster participate in helping or taking care of others compared with the stance of just providing for themselves at the expense of the public good, perhaps even apathetic to obligations toward their neighbors and/or their community. I should preface this by stating that the culture in outports in the entire province has historically been one of helping neighbors (and even strangers) without hesitation. The Labrador Straits populace seemed to reinforce this norm.

On a wintry December morning I spoke with lifelong residents of one of the smallest cluster communities. Said one, about the neighborly acts that were the norm there:

> It’s an everyday occurrence to reach out to others. Someone’s blowing the snow for someone else this morning, guaranteed. In this community we know everyone, and we’re all one big family. If you need help, or people sees you putting shingles on the roof of the house, pretty soon there’ll be three or four others helping out. If someone got a moose and another person hasn’t had any for awhile, they share. We grow cabbage in our garden and give much of it away.

Even though there were many examples of individuals helping one another, the local social structures here were paramount in providing the connection between the people and their voluntary contributions. The churches in the Labrador Straits offered numerous examples of citizen participation. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many of the cluster’s congregations had groups for women, men, and youth, as well as those involved in activities such as choir or organizing a Christmas concert. There were also members overseeing bingo, card games and potluck suppers, “not just in their own church but participating in other churches’ activities as well,” said a local pastor. As an example, a youth group

78
sponsored a car wash event to raise money for its members to attend an upcoming Christian youth
cference in Corner Brook (Northern Pen October 20, 2003a). In another case, a churchwomen’s group
catered lunches to tour groups in the summer and conducted a Harvest Festival in the fall for fundraising
for church operating expenses.

According to one resident who lived here a short time, “A lot of community events are centered
around the church. Old people will give their last can of Carnation for some fundraising. They’re very
generous.” When tragedy struck, the churches responded without hesitation to the needs of the affected
residents. During my field work, an elderly couple’s uninsured home burned to the ground. Immediately
there was an outpouring of financial contributions from friends and neighbors, underpinned by generous
donations from several cluster congregations.

Local schools provided numerous volunteer opportunities for the community. Each had a School
Council formed with elected teacher and parent representatives, council-appointed community leaders, the
school principal, and in the high schools, at least one elected student representative. The purpose of the
council was fourfold: to stand for the school’s educational interests; to make suggestions about teaching
and learning quality; to promote community and parental involvement; and to offer counsel on matters
concerning the school and the community (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Education 2004).
There were also chances to support fundraisers for school causes, like students selling cold plates or bags of
vegetables to obtain funds for graduation. One cluster school benefited from an annual supper and auction
that raised over $5,000 in the past year. According to a local educator, “parents are very much involved.
There is tremendous parental support in this community. The dropout rate is practically nil. The norm is to
go to school and graduate.” Whether parents or students organized the event, the communities of the
Labrador Straits appeared poised to support it.

Volunteer activities went beyond the local social structures of churches and schools in the cluster.
Municipalities occasionally hosted a “Come Home Year” celebration.1 L’Anse-au-Loup’s first “Come
Home Year” event was organized by a committee of 22 residents, working together for almost a year. The
committee’s efforts were augmented by many others as the events unfolded (Flynn August 25, 2003). “We
wanted a community bonfire, set up in two areas,” explained one resident. “Even fishers got involved.
They took their tools, and it was done in no time.” The town estimated that the event netted $500,000 in economic impact along with other intangible consequences (Town of L’Anse-au-Loup 2003b).

Local entrepreneurs and business people from small to large enterprises were a major source of volunteers for civic groups, from town councils to development group boards and committees to recreational associations. As Tolbert et al. (1998) point out, these local capitalists have a vested interest in the community’s well-being, so they tend to look for ways to associate and collaborate with local residents. The invested talents and energies of these individuals are the lifeblood of voluntary organizations. Fishers were another sector of “local entrepreneurs,” as masters of their own incorporated fishing enterprises. This segment of the population staffed six Fishermen’s Committees in the cluster, representing all community fishers and bringing forward their ideas and concerns to the Labrador Straits’ Fishermen’s Committee. In turn, the latter became the official body for dealing with the towns, the union, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), or cluster development groups. Such committees dealt with fishery facilities like net holding sheds, boat building sheds, or community stages. Three towns had a Harbour Authority group, also staffed by volunteer fishers, who kept tabs on the infrastructure connected with the harbour, wharves and basins and how fishery or recreational needs were met. When improvements were in order, they prepared proposals and petitioned DFO for funds for upgrading.

Staffers from development and government organizations were also role models for volunteering. They were represented on groups and committees dealing with local festivals, recreation, cross country skiing, home health care, and youth, to mention a few.2 According to a local development officer, the cluster had 128 voluntary organizations. During my field work I was able to account for at least 114 of these. To demonstrate the citizen involvement in the cluster, I will describe the activities of two local social structures which depend on voluntary participation of the area’s citizens. The establishment of these two organizations predated the cod moratorium, and currently they are still very enthusiastic contributors to civic involvement.

Forteau Lions Club

The Forteau Lions Club was founded 20 years ago to serve the cluster communities. The 20 members (and their spouses and significant others) were most acclaimed by the locals for their conducting of the annual Bakeapple Festival in early August at the Labrador Straits Arena in L’Anse-au-Loup.3
Acknowledged as the longest continuously running folk festival in Atlantic Canada (2004 was its 25th year), the four-day event included a Saturday night dance, traditional square dancing and folk music, and features local delicacies such as caribou burgers and bakeapple desserts. In 2003 the festival attracted 1,300 attendees and brought in more than $6,000, which the Lions Club donated to a variety of community causes, such as, residents' medical travel costs, students needing tuition help, and sports teams' expenses. Weekly TV bingo has also been a Lions' fundraiser.

Another popular event the Lions sponsored was an annual Christmas dinner. In 2003 they sent out busses to pick up senior citizens in the cluster, served 110 turkey dinners, and provided a visit from Santa and musical entertainment. In addition they delivered 60 more dinners to shut-ins and those in long-term care. According to a long-time member, “Some of these folks only get to see one another at this annual event, since they don’t get around much like they used to. It gives you warm fuzzies.”

Grenfell Regional Health Services Women’s Auxiliary

The operations of the Labrador South Health Centre, part of the Grenfell Regional Health Services, were supplemented by 50 volunteers who ran its Liaison Committee and the Women’s Auxiliary, as well as teens who spent time visiting with the seniors in the long-term care facility (MacDonald and Osberg 2004).

The Women’s Auxiliary got started in 1985. According to one of the founders, “With government cutbacks, the clinic lacked so many items. We felt we should help ourselves... it was time for us to get involved.” An ideal example of civic involvement was one of their earliest fundraisers in 1987. This was the year that the Canadian government issued one dollar coins, nicknamed “loonies” in reference to the image of the country’s national bird, the loon, on its back. The health center lacked a portable defibrillator, so Auxiliary members knocked on every door in the Labrador Straits, asking for a contribution of one loonie. Some residents gave a little more, and the total collected was $1,500. In addition to their fundraising and purchasing of essential medical equipment, the Auxiliary conducted a weekly hymn sing with seniors in the chronic care facility and decorated the center for every holiday. As a result of their efforts, “simple treatments can be had here now,” said the long-time Auxiliary volunteer. “Patients no longer have to go to St. Anthony for them.”
There were many more examples of cluster organizations, i.e. local social structures, that are run purely by volunteers investing their time and talents to benefit their communities and the area population. Toward the end of this chapter, I will detail three local social structures which foster civic involvement and by so doing enrich the civic culture of the Labrador Straits.

**Collaboration**

In this study, I include collaboration as a characteristic of a rich civic culture. When collaboration is strong in a community, residents are reaching out to other groups and/or communities and where possible, building alliances and partnerships. Where citizens have multiple opportunities to interact with one another over time, within various local social structures, trust is built among the participants and mutual cooperation follows (Flora et al. 1997; Putnam 1993). These horizontal social networks allow communities and groups to access diverse resources, which often traverse cluster boundaries and connect with communities and groups outside the area, forming vertical networks as well. The presence of networks that are divergent and flexible permits a broader scope of community that enhances community identity by linking with nearby regions and makes a combined effectiveness more likely (Flora et al. 1997, Granovetter 1973). Residents come together to tackle issues that matter to all, mount collective efforts, and jointly use community facilities. It is not uncommon for community leaders to hold membership and even leadership roles in regional, provincial, national and even international organizations. Furthermore, a community with a well developed civic culture participates in provincial and national competitions. It also looks for chances to visit communities outside the area as well as to play host to invited guests from away.

In the Labrador Straits, I learned that collaboration between and among local social structures was almost universal. Many communities and/or groups there were linking up with others and forming alliances. Two local social structures, the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC) and the Eagle River Credit Union (ERCU) were exemplary in collaboration. When both organizations were instituted, their charters stipulated that they would not only serve the entire Labrador Straits, but also coastline Labrador as far north as Cartwright. In effect, they set up horizontal and vertical networks at their founding. The start-ups of these two organizations and their on-going collaborative efforts are detailed in the case studies at the end of this chapter.
The development groups here also depended on collaboration. These groups utilized a unique teamwork approach. The staff from the Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development; Human Resources and Skills Development Canada; Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce; Labrador Straits Development Corporation; SmartLabrador; and the Southern Labrador Development Association referred to themselves as the Labrador Straits Resource Team and were all housed in offices in the E. M. Taylor Resource Centre in Forteau. I learned that in the cluster, the structure was informally referred to as “The Building,” to some degree because of all that transpired there. No doubt enabled by the fact that they all had offices in the same place, the Resource Team met regularly to update one another on current projects and, as needed, to brainstorm solutions for the unexpected challenges that came along. Such interaction within this contingent of local leaders reinforced the relationships that existed among the local social structures and allowed one to readily tap into networks outside the cluster as well. The results of this collaboration attracted provincial attention. As one member of the Resource Team recalled, “A Minister of Rural Development asked me once at a meeting in Gander, ‘What are you fellows doing right that most of us can’t seem to get done?’ Our close networking I think is the answer. We beg to differ on some issues, but at the end of the day, if it makes sense for the region, it’s usually the way we do it.”

The churches provided examples of this area’s collaborative aspect of civic culture. Although the citizenry may have been divided along denominational lines in the past, these barriers gradually decreased. In Red Bay the Anglican congregation utilized the United Church building for services. Typically, funerals were well attended by cluster residents, regardless of religious affiliation. The modestly-sized Catholic church in West St. Modeste even piped the funeral proceedings into its church hall for the overflow crowd. Within the last ten years, one local pastor formed a ministerial association of all clergy in the cluster, which subsequently initiated ecumenical services (Northern Pen September 7, 2004). There was only one church in Capstan Island, an Anglican Church, with an Anglican Church Women’s Group attached to it. Yet one local explained, “Even though we are of different denominations, we all work together on (the Anglican) church projects.” As a civic leader remarked about the area, “Where else can you find Orangemen and the Knights of Columbus cooperating?”6 Collaboration among religious denominations even extended to other voluntary organizations. In her research in the Labrador Straits in the late 1970s, Christiansen-Ruffman found “In one community, the women’s church group...was also the community’s agricultural committee
and its Women’s Institute” (in McGrath et al. 1995:252). When the group did fundraising, the proceeds were split between the church and the Women’s Institute. This case of overlapping memberships was an element of collaboration that Putnam found to be so important in his Italian study of civic traditions (1993).

Involvement in church events had not only strengthened horizontal cluster bonds but provided opportunities for linkages outside the area, too. For example, the Gospel Hall held annual weekend Bible Conferences since its establishment in the Labrador Straits, attracting church people from other parts of Canada, the States and as far away as Chile. Also, the president of one town’s church women’s group was president of the comparable Labrador-wide organization and fulfilled volunteer duties in the provincial-wide organization.

The four cluster schools also promoted the collaboration of the schools with the citizens in the cluster. Schools reached out to residents by hosting events such as Parents’ Day and Grandparents’ Day. In addition, they were the springboards for community involvement for their students. For example, for 26 years the students and teachers at St. Paul’s Elementary in L’Anse-au-Loup staged a Clean-a-thon in their town to pick up trash on roadsides and in ditches (Northern Pen July 26, 2004).

Collaboration inside and outside of the cluster brought about recognition for work well done and more external contacts for access to new resources and information. Students at cluster schools frequently competed in provincial and national competitions and often were acknowledged for their entries. A recent example was that of two students from St. Paul’s Elementary School who crafted an award winning exhibit for the regional heritage fair on the Island7 and were invited to take their project to the National Heritage Fair in Montreal (MacDonald May 31, 2004). A student from Forteau’s Mountain Feild Academy submitted the winning poster for her grade level in a provincial Family Literacy Day contest (Northern Pen May 3, 2004). In yet another case, a team of Mountain Feild Academy youngsters qualified to appear on a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) student quiz program and traveled to Toronto for the television taping (Flynn October 6, 2003a). But competitions were not the only vehicle that expose young people to other parts of the province or country. Twelfth graders from Basque Memorial in Red Bay took a trip to St. John’s to look into educational options after graduation (Basque Memorial School 2004). Grade 12 students from Mountain Feild participated in a one-week exchange program to Ontario, a venture that was complete when they hosted two dozen Ontario students for a week in the Labrador Straits the following
month (Northern Pen April 5, 2004). These instances demonstrated that students (and their teachers) looked beyond their own communities. Young people became acquainted with others in various regions of the province and country, and in the process, focused attention on the Labrador Straits.

Collaboration was a matter of course with civic organizations. The Forteau Lions’ Club popular Bakeapple Festival did not happen without Lions’ Club members seeking financial support from corporations. For the 25th annual festival, three prominent cluster businesses along with one provincial and one national corporation were corporate sponsors. The membership of the Women’s Auxiliary of the Grenfell Regional Health Services consisted of 24 women from the three southern-most communities in the cluster. Yet when there was a need to sell tickets for a raffle, “people in each further-up community help us out,” explained a member.

Building linkages within and outside of the cluster was not confined to the local social structures just discussed. Other cluster institutions, municipalities, and leaders also obtained provincial and national awards for their accomplishments. A cluster resident who headed up the Labrador District of the Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary (CCGA) was one of several provincial volunteers who received the CCGA’s medal of Administrative Excellence for his volunteer achievements in the Canadian Search and Rescue Program (Northern Pen November 24, 2003). This cluster leader was an illustration of the establishment of vertical network ties, because the Labrador district included not just cluster residents but Labradoreans from northern and southeast Labrador. In addition he was a first vice president in the provincial Coast Guard Auxiliary. With involvements in such regional and provincial activities came contacts external to the cluster, which could result in access to information and resources for the cluster not otherwise attainable.

The following describes local social structures that began well before the moratorium and continue to illustrate collaboration in the cluster.

Women’s Institute

A conspicuous example of collaborative effort within and outside the cluster was the Southern Labrador Women’s Institute, which was active in the Labrador Straits for over 30 years. In 1973 in the aftermath of the provincial government’s Royal Commission of Inquiry on Labrador’s social and economic circumstances, women in the cluster organized a local group to address the need for social change. I found six active chapters in Labrador Straits communities, plus a district group with the legacy of being the first
regional association in the cluster (Christiansen-Ruffman in McGrath et al. 1995). Its members occasionally traveled to attend Women’s Institute conferences in other parts of the province and were affiliated with the national organization and the international Associated Country Women of the World. These relationships with other Women’s Institute affiliates served to establish ties outside the cluster that reinforced the collaborative aspect of the cluster’s civic culture. The Labrador Straits Museum, built in 1978 to chronicle the way of life in the Straits over a 150 year period, was founded and administered by the Southern Labrador Women’s Institute (Labrador Straits Museum 2004).

The organization, in conjunction with the local literacy group, Partners in Learning, tutored older women who lacked reading skills. Another initiative was fundraising to enable the members to carry out such projects as a Christmas Parade, candy and gift packages for children at the community center, fruit baskets delivered to seniors, and caroling. Other causes the women were involved with included visits to hospital and chronic care patients, supplying food at time of a funeral for the affected family, and making donations to families in need.

Regional Recreation Commission

Another noteworthy example of collaboration showing joint efforts of communities addressing common issues and providing means to accomplish these was in the realm of regional recreation. One of the first visible structures for recreation in the Straits was initiated in 1976, when the Quebec-Labrador Foundation donated a swimming pool to the town of L’Anse-au-Loup. The following year the town council raised local funds to complement government monies in order to finance the enclosure of the pool, then proceeded to hire high school youth for the summer to help with the construction (L’Anse-au-Loup Come Home Year 2003). The pool is still a popular recreation site, located next to the Seniors’ Centre in the town.

The Labrador Straits Arena in L’Anse-au-Loup was the location of many sporting activities. Besides being the home of the Bakeapple Festival, it hosted events under the aegis of the volunteer Labrador Straits Regional Recreation Board. Each cluster community had its own recreation committee that provided a representative to the regional board. Regional recreation had its beginnings here in 1984 with efforts to organize various recreational opportunities like hockey (National Hockey League Players’ Association 2003). By 1988 the Board was recognized by the Newfoundland and Labrador
Parks/Recreation Association with its annual Cy Hoskins Memorial Award of Merit for its “significant contribution to the growth and development of ... recreation and leisure services” (Newfoundland and Labrador Parks/Recreation Association 1988).

The present arena was built in 1996, but the facility was upgraded regularly since then with the help of various grants, making it a structure now worth over $2 million. A few years ago, however, one of these projects cost more than expected, and the arena was $50,000 in the red. The member of the L’Anse-au-Loup town council took over the project and made it financially solvent. He sought donations from businesses and secured a loan from the Eagle River Credit Union with the town of L’Anse-au-Loup as co-signer, an indisputable case of local social structures working together. Now the arena has a balanced budget and houses additional activities, such as “Come Home Year” celebrations, concerts, fundraisers, trade shows, and a Craft and Agricultural Fair.

**Civic Leadership**

A vital component of a community’s civic culture is its civic leadership. Flora et al. (1997) contend that civic leadership needs to exhibit inclusiveness, with residents from diverse backgrounds respected for their inputs and given the chance to assume leadership roles. Such diversity tends to surface multiple points of view which enhance decision making. For a civic culture to be rich and developed, I contend that leadership in the community must exhibit important characteristics. To begin, there needs to be an abundance of leaders, not just a handful of the same individuals to continuously be called upon to fill leadership slots in the community’s institutions. Further, the cadre of leaders should exhibit diversity as opposed to having the majority of the same sex, age group, and occupation or profession. For leaders to succeed, they should be trusted, nurtured, and celebrated rather than discredited, overlooked, and marginalized. In addition to demonstrating competence, professionalism and experience in leading, leaders ought to act with assertiveness and determination. Such behavior inspires confidence in the populace, especially if the leader makes a point of offering appropriate encouragement to community members. Leaders limited in know-how or exposure to what is happening beyond the community, or those who are reserved, hesitant and uncertain in going about their leadership responsibilities are not likely to be able to build residents’ self-assurance. The community development literature that relates experiences in revitalizing communities, as referenced in Chapter 2, often attributes successes to using a decision making
approach involving citizens as opposed to imposing decisions in an authoritative manner. Hence, leaders with a participative style have an edge in this regard. Leaders with a vision, who demonstrate creativity, and can point to some success, are more likely to enhance a civic culture than those who are moderate in their scope and lack imagination or a track record of getting things done. For communities to demonstrate an advanced civic culture, leaders should be entrepreneurial in their thinking and empowered to move forward, in contrast with those who are protective, seek direction and/or guidance. Last but not least, civic leadership needs to reach out to all in the community, promoting inclusiveness and the common good along with showing appreciation for all. Leaders who are detached from the community, suspicious, or perceived to be advancing their own personal agenda detract from a strong civic culture.

The reciprocity that existed between the local social structures in the Labrador Straits and its civic culture was probably the most evident in its civic leadership. The experiences that individuals gained in leading the various cluster institutions groomed them for civic leadership, which in turn they applied to other organizations. Recognition granted to local social structures and civic leaders from the provincial Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development was testimony to the leadership that flourished in the Labrador Straits:

- **Excellence in Partnership**
  - Eagle River Credit Union – 2002
  - Labrador Straits Development Corporation – 2003

- **Individual Achievement Award**
  - Executive Director of SmartLabrador – 2003

- **Excellence in Youth Leadership**
  - Local Entrepreneur/Civic Leader – 2004

- **Excellence in Fostering Entrepreneurship**
  - Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Co. – 2004

The Eagle River Credit Union was also recognized nationally for its community economic development accomplishments.

The demographics of the six town councils in the cluster gave a glimpse of the diversity of its leadership (Table 5-1). At the time of my fieldwork there were 38 serving on councils, with four vacancies left by resignations or relocations. Women held one third of the council seats. The town mayors were chosen from among council members, and two of the cluster’s mayors were women. About one fifth of all council members were under age 40.
Table 5-1. Demographics of Town Councils – Labrador Straits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Under 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forteau</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Anse-au-Clair</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Anse-au-Loup</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Bay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West St. Modeste</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Town Offices (November 2004)

One might conclude that the shortage of leaders under age 40 points to a potential weakness of leadership succession in the cluster. Yet because of the numerous volunteer boards and committees here that gave citizens a chance to assume leadership roles, the gap was not so dramatic. Additional younger leaders were in the pipeline, being groomed for more civic responsibility. In a more obvious way, organizations like the Women’s Institute provided momentum for developing new leaders in the cluster. The Women’s Institute encouraged those as young as 19 or 20 years old to join their ranks. At regular meetings in their communities the members gave support and encouragement to one another, aiming to build confidence through participation in a group setting.

A prime example of more youthful leaders being positioned to follow the more seasoned ones was a 24-year-old local entrepreneur who operated his firm from his home, developing and furnishing websites and desktop designs. For his business creativity he received the North Atlantic Innovation Award presented by Futures in Newfoundland and Labrador’s Youth (FINALY). A fieldworker for SmartLabrador, he was also heavily committed to local voluntary organizations. He served on the board of the Eagle River Credit Union and the Labrador Straits Development Corporation and was a member of the Labrador Straits CAP (Community Access Program) Committee and the Red Bay Heritage Group. He chaired the Red Bay CAP Committee as well as the Labrador Coastal Drive Web Committee (MacDonald April 26, 2004). His latest recognition was the provincial Department of
Innovation, Trade and Rural Development Award for Excellence in Youth Leadership (Northern Pen November 15, 2004).

A highly touted civic leader in the cluster was the mayor of Forteau, who owned one of the largest businesses serving the hospitality industry. He worked steadily for years to promote the Labrador Straits as a tourist destination and in 1990 was instrumental in securing the Heritage Canada Foundation to lend their expertise to the establishment of the Straits as a heritage region. I will be examining this highly participative process at the end of this chapter in order to demonstrate the various aspects of the cluster’s civic culture.

In the Labrador Straits area this leader’s voluntary service included serving as chairperson of the Labrador Straits Development Corporation, of the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation, and of the Labrador South Home Care Inc. In the region he was chair of the Coastal Labrador Marketing Group and Labrador Community Development Corporation. In the province he chaired the Cruise Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, was a board member of Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador, and served on the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Marketing Council. As one who believed in sharing responsibilities with volunteers, this leader’s approach was characterized by finding the volunteer “experts” to do the tasks, facilitating what they want to do, and rewarding them well for their efforts.

Because of his work in economic development in the Straits, this mayor of Forteau was chosen in the late 1980s to travel to Scandinavia as a member of a provincial steering committee to learn from that region’s success in developing information technology. He eagerly promoted such a project for the Straits, and his encouragement led to the successful establishment of a Telecentre in Forteau (Downer in Fuchs). As we will learn in Chapter 8, the Telecentre was the forerunner of the cluster’s Labrador IT Initiative project, a dramatic case of development that blossomed here after the moratoria.

Although I have profiled two cluster leaders, there were many others I became acquainted with during the course of my field work. I was often struck by their visionary agenda. Here are a few examples to demonstrate their forward thinking:

90
• A mayor’s outlook for the community included “...the launching of a subdivision of 10 new housing lots and a heritage project involving the rebuilding of fishing cabins on small islands in the bay.”

• Another civic leader was working to find a way to restore an historic fish buying station. He also wanted to save the bakeapple bogs. This would mean setting up boundaries to keep out four-wheelers in order to protect what he believed were the community’s best grounds for picking berries.

• The supervisor of an agriculture project yearned for “good home-grown vegetables. I know when you change people’s diets, you change everything....If I can grown cabbage and onions, on a small scale, we may be able do to some canning. Every household in the province has a can of cabbage pickles....”

• An avid leader in regional recreation described the type of recreation facility he would like to see: “A game of curling, bowling, a fitness room....We’ve got to have facilities to keep young people busy.”

• A development officer recognized what information technology can do for rural communities: “(A program comparable to SmartLabrador) belongs in every part of the province. We’re trying to get the attention of the new (provincial) administration.”

The development organizations in the cluster were another venue for leadership development. Because the activities in these development groups were often linked to time-dependent funding, i.e. one, two or three year projects, they undermined job security of the development officers to some extent. Yet this was turned into a positive for fostering horizontal connections. For example, one officer’s job had funds guaranteed for one year, which required that individual to devote at least 50 percent of her time to fundraising for the next year’s appropriation. When the year was up, she took a development position in another organization which had a three-year funding cycle.

But these individuals learned to use such circumstances as professional development opportunities. An officer who honed skills in tourism moved on to another venue, - information technology. Another officer held positions in five different government organizations in the Straits over the last two decades, accumulating a unique blend of skills to tackle whatever challenges would be around the corner. There were several of these seasoned Resource Team members who acted as mentors, often behind the scenes, not just to those on their team but to community volunteers in leadership roles as well as to entrepreneurs.

Although formal education credentials may or may not have been a part of the officers’ or volunteers’ backgrounds, they took advantage of numerous training courses. As Gittell and Thompson attest, a key contributor to successful community development is having community leaders (staff and
volunteers) who possess skills in management and planning (in Saegert et al. 2001). My personal observation from meetings I attended during my field work was that the development officials and volunteers in leadership slots actually applied the skills they learned in seminars to their everyday dealings. Consequently, I observed that they exuded an air of polished professionalism. Their collaboration, mentoring, job rotation, and training opportunities appeared to contribute to a strong climate of human resource development which cultivated the civic leadership here.

Wickham et al. (1989) traced the formation of civic leadership in the Labrador Straits to a cadre of residents who took part in local and government endeavors promoting regional development. These efforts included the establishment of a regional development association, the work of the Company of Young Canadians in the late 1960s, and the Community Employment Strategy program set up there in the mid-1970s. The Extension Service of Memorial University also had a presence in the area. Fishers were assuming responsibilities in their new union, set up in the early 1970s. All of these instances afforded residents with the chance to acquire and hone skills in organization and leadership.

In turn civic leadership was not reluctant to be in the driver's seat, as demonstrated in the cases of the Labrador Shrimp Company, the Eagle River Credit Union, and the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation. I discuss the interplay of citizen involvement, civic leadership, and collaboration in my examination of these examples of local social structures at the end of this chapter.

**Communications and Opinions**

The final aspect of civic culture in my model for this research is to consider a community's communications and opinions. In a rich and developed civic culture, problems are viewed as opportunities, and residents feel comfortable to express varying opinions as a means to reach possible solutions to matters of community concern (Flora et al. 1997). There are formal media outlets to obtain information, including coverage of local issues and controversies. News about community affairs is conspicuous and public, and there is a commitment from the civic leadership to instruct and inform the citizenry. A healthy civic culture would thrive on reaching consensus among residents and be adept at conflict management. Citizen participation in elections would be high. In contrast a civic
culture that is deficient would have limited media options, in particular for coverage of local topics and disputes. Instead residents would rely mainly on word-of-mouth and rumors, fostering anonymity and secrecy. Information from official sources would be vague and dubious. The community climate would be characterized by friction and disunity. In this section I will explore informal and formal communications in the Straits and attempt to delineate their relationship to other characteristics of civic culture and to the local social structures.

It is inevitable in small rural communities that oral communications would be vital in transmitting news. From those I interviewed during my field work, I was told that the majority of news travels by word-of-mouth, greatly aided by the telephone. Also it was the norm to drop in unannounced at one another’s homes. “The door opens and two or three friends come in,” said one resident. “Maybe you just got out of the tub, or you’re in a fuss with your husband. They don’t call ahead.” Another aspect to such a rapid spread of news was how this affects everyday conversations. “Because we’re a small community, everyone knows each other’s business,” described another resident. “If you insult one family member, you insult a fourth of the community, so you’ve got to be somewhat cautious about that.”

Although many interviewees concurred that residents felt free to share their opinion, there were different perspectives about how open residents were. “If you speak your mind, you could offend others, so the freedom to speak my mind is not there,” admitted one. Another found those without formal education were more reluctant. “When together as a group, they talk among themselves, but at the town council, they find a spokesperson,” she said. Yet another related, “Some feel hesitant to express their opinion; they’re not confident, or they are afraid they’re not speaking the right language.”

Oral communication could be problematic, yet to achieve a balance and expose all sides of an issue, more formal media outlets need to play an important role. The weekly Northern Pen served as a print media outlet for the cluster. Launched in 1980 in St. Anthony at the tip of the Northern Peninsula, the newspaper occasionally utilized a free-lance photographer to cover a Straits news event. During the last decade, when bigger news was developing, the Northern Pen sent a reporter to cover the story. In 2001, as the Trans-Labrador Highway accessed more remote communities along the Labrador Coast, the publication assigned a full-time staff person to cover the area. Subscriptions and
copies in circulation in the Straits, as well as a handful of electronic subscriptions to the paper, numbered about 540. The publication reinforced local ties by consistently publishing cluster news, including dissenting viewpoints, and acted as a vehicle of recognition for community and individual accomplishments. It also carried stories about regional and provincial topics of interest, exposing locals to news outside their area and allowing subscribers from neighboring regions (the Northern Peninsula and the Labrador Coast) to become acquainted with cluster events.

Other ways to get local news were limited. There was a television channel which broadcast local weather forecasts and advertising. For those with computers and internet connections at home, there was access to the Labrador News Network, SmartLabrador’s initiative for the region which transmitted news pertinent to Labrador. In the works was the Southern Labrador Development Association’s attempt to launch a radio station for the Straits, but with no results reported to date.

During my fieldwork I was able to personally observe a public meeting organized by the Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce that offered a glimpse into this milieu. On a November evening 36 citizens gathered at a cluster town hall to discuss the provincial government’s deliberation to alter the terminal port for Labrador’s marine transportation service. Prior to 2003, Lewisporte on the island of Newfoundland was the departure point for the ferry to Cartwright and on to Goose Bay or Labrador’s north coast. Once the section of the Trans-Labrador Highway from Red Bay to Cartwright was completed, the ferry’s home port transitioned to Cartwright. Reversing this decision contained negative implications for Labrador businesses from the Straits to Cartwright, businesses which had been launched or expanded to accommodate the new route. The proposed change in course was a highly charged political issue (Petrie November 17, 2003).

The discussion was extremely lively about how to mount community pressure on the provincial government to preserve the newly instituted Cartwright transportation terminal. There was an airing of opposing points of view throughout, as well as expressions of concern about what was influencing the decision. Then the civic leader conducting the meeting pushed decisively to reach consensus on strategy. Those present agreed upon a number of steps from the local to the regional to the provincial level and accomplished the following:
• identification of volunteers to call the provincial radio talk program, Openline, to express local concerns about the matter;
• recruitment of picketers to participate in the protest on the ferry dock in Cartwright over the next several days;
• donations for transportation costs for picketers to drive to Cartwright;
• contributions of refreshments for picketers, i.e. beverages, snacks, soups, chili;
• commitment to seek support from Newfoundland communities that also benefit from the transporting of goods through coastal Labrador;
• agreement to exert as much pressure on the government currently, but then in the spring, mount whatever campaign might be necessary to block such a reversal of position.¹⁴

As in any setting, not all groups are able to manage conflict. A resident described one local voluntary association that was "embroiled in controversy." Yet from my interviews with locals and participant observation, I found such public dissension within or between organizations to be the exception to the rule here.

In addition to the above illustrations, I found other, more specific instances for examining all of the characteristics of the cluster's civic culture and how the civic culture related to the local social structures and impacted the area's welfare. Again, these were all examples of local social structures which were set up before the moratorium and are still functioning today. What follows then are the accounts of the Labrador Shrimp Company, the Eagle River Credit Union, and the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation.

**Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company, Limited**

The word "union" in the name of the Labrador Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company (LFUSC) originated from the active participation of the province's Food, Fish and Allied Workers Union (FFAWU) in the company's inception in 1978. There was intense involvement of the FFAWU's founder, Richard Cashin, with the then federal minister of Fisheries and Oceans, Romeo LeBlanc, in the launching of the organization.

In 1978 when Canada established its 200 mile limit, signifying that fishery resources within 200 miles from shore would be under the country's dominion, it generated significant optimism among the populace. Yet there was concern, particularly from the union, about the development of these resources
and to whom they would belong (LFUSC 1996). Fishery Products Limited of St. Anthony on the Great Northern Peninsula had been conducting research into shrimp stocks off Labrador, and as a consequence of this research, the federal government decided to issue 11 shrimp licenses to the Maritime provinces. Five of these were set aside for Newfoundland and Labrador. Since Fishery Products had taken the initiative to investigate shrimp stocks, they were awarded two of the licenses. The remaining three were to be allocated to individuals.

At this point, Cashin approached LeBlanc to consider awarding the three offshore licenses to "community-based organizations on the coast of Labrador" (Cashin 2003). One license would go to the Labrador Inuit Association on the northern Inuit coast. The other two would be awarded to fishers from the Labrador coast (the Labrador Straits and the southeast coast from Cartwright to Mary’s Harbour) on the condition that the fishers would form a cooperative. LeBlanc, like Cashin, believed that the fishers ought to have their own say in such a venture.

The next step was to secure the involvement of the fishers. So Cashin, along with his colleague from the union, Max Short, who was well known to the Labrador fishers, set up a meeting in L’Anse-au-Loup in November 1978. In the presence of about 150 fishers, Cashin proposed that they could hold the licenses collectively and establish a cooperative to combine the license from the southeast coast with the one earmarked for the Labrador Straits. Initially the reaction from a prosperous Straits fisher was that the licenses should be awarded to individuals. This motion was countered by a respected leader among the fishers who supported the approach of Cashin and Short. "Then there was dead silence (in the room). It was the weight of it, what we were suggesting to them...it was beyond...nobody thought of this," said Cashin (2003).

Thereafter the fishers unanimously endorsed the proposal and set up a committee to start things in motion. Short went on to Cartwright to meet with southeast coast fishers about the proposition and secured their agreement. Cashin obtained the commitment from LeBlanc for the shrimp licenses. Initially the venture was known as the Labrador Fishermen’s Union Producers Cooperative. But just as McCay (2003b) reported difficulties encountered by the Fogo Island Cooperative in part due to the control exercised by the provincial government, the new cooperative in the Straits also experienced the government restraints. They sought a way to maintain local autonomy. Subsequently, the co-op evolved into a liability company run on
a cooperative basis (LFUSC 1996). Its shareholders (all full-time fishers and full-time residents of Labrador) mandated that there would be no dividends. Rather, there would be “one share per fish harvester and all profits to be kept within the company to create and develop sustainable employment for coastal Labrador” (LFUSC n.d.).

Cashin’s initiative to request the licenses and his determination to see the enterprise work were complimented by LeBlanc’s willingness to have community-based organizations share in the wealth of the shrimp fishery. The FFAWU continued to be involved after the licenses were granted. Cashin negotiated some of the early royalty arrangements with the foreign vessel owners who caught the shrimp for the company. In addition, he advocated with LeBlanc for several years to obtain exemptions for the LFUSC from the federal government’s ruling that the vessels harvesting these licenses had to be Canadianized.16 Also, the LSC office in St. John’s was adjacent to the union offices, and the FFAWU accountant helped LFUSC with their negotiations with their foreign partners. Further, in the early years of the LFUSC, Father Desmond McGrath, the union’s education officer, served as an advisor to the LFUSC board (Cashin 2003).17 Gradually the fishers of the Labrador Straits were empowered to take full charge of their affairs at the LFUSC.

Known locally as the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC), the firm initially partnered with vessels operated from the Faroe Islands, Denmark or Norway to harvest shrimp in exchange for royalties. For the first year the profits were one million dollars (Cashin 2003). There were no on-shore facilities until the early 1980s when an opportunity presented itself. The locally-owned Northern Fisheries plant in L’Anse-au-Loup filed for bankruptcy, and the LSC Board decided to take it over, paying off the accumulated debts dollar for dollar. “We wanted to start out right and build up trust with people in the community,” related one former Board member. In the process of taking over Northern Fisheries, the Board hired two of the plant’s top managers who are still with them today.

Boasting the largest northern shrimp fishery in the world, the company chartered two middle-distance boats to harvest product about 100 miles west of Nuuk, Greenland, in the Davis Strait (NAFO Management Zone OB), approximately 1,000 miles from home (Figure 5-1). LSC also partnered with two off-shore factory shrimp trawlers operated by a Nova Scotia firm. This provided employment for about 100 coastal Labradorians off-shore. The LSC headquarters were located in L’Anse-au-Loup, along with a
plant that employed close to 150 and processed products such as capelin, herring, mackerel, scallops, turbot and whelk. As an example of the LSC’s connections outside of the cluster, three more LSC plants were located further north along the Labrador coast in the towns of Mary’s Harbour, Pinsent’s Arm, and Cartwright; a fourth plant in Charlottetown was a joint venture. The combined employment of these four operations approximated 400. Although most LSC workers from the Labrador Straits were employed at the L’Anse-au-Loup location, a small number commuted on a weekly basis to plants further north during the processing season.

Time after time during the course of this field work, natives hailed the LSC for being the leading influence on the Straits’ economy. According to a local fishery expert, “The Labrador Shrimp Company is proactive in accessing off-shore quotas, importing fish from other areas, and subsidizing their usual business with other activities.” This major business player in the cluster diversified, modernized and conducted research on various stocks. As an example of their innovativeness, the Labrador Shrimp
Company (LSC) in conjunction with the provincial Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture conducted a survey about toad crab, a small variety of the crab species. This effort resulted in the LSC’s petitioning the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans to change the name of the toad crab to Atlantic crab to enhance its image and market position.

The LSC was known in the cluster for paying good wages. Its plant workers were members of the province’s Food, Fish and Allied Workers Union (FFAWU). Working in the LSC fish plant typically involved employment from the first week in May until October, depending upon the availability of product to process. The work week generally consisted of eight-hour shifts, Monday through Friday, with Saturdays scheduled as required. Workers alternated every week between a day shift and a 6 PM to 2 AM night shift. Sundays were reserved for changes in setting up the production line, and production work was only scheduled if there was an unusual need. As an LSC manager explained, “The majority of our employees go to church regularly, so we try to accommodate them by avoiding Sunday work.”

LSC employees had an unusual sensitivity to the business needs, even volunteering temporary wage concessions to help the company through a difficult period. Supportive social ties in the workplace were strong. For example, in the L’Anse-au-Loup plant, if an employee would have to go to St. Anthony or St. John’s for hospitalization, each employee, including managers, donated one hour’s earnings to help defray the non-medical expenses of their ill colleague.

One local resident described LSC as, “provid(ing) a framework for the local economy, not just the ground fishery, but the shrimp fishery as well. They brought in some prosperity, and it was a spiraling effect.” As to the cooperative nature of the business, those who were part of LSC’s inception and have seen it grow, commented:

“We had lots of people telling us, it couldn’t be done; that got our backs up a little bit.”

“It’s unbelievable what you can do when you stick together.”

“Someone had a vision…. (The folks at) LSC have worked very hard. It’s in good hands and has brought major benefits here.”

In addition to providing fish processing jobs, the LSC gave local fishers a plant to supply with their harvests, where they obtained a fair price for their product. As described by an LSC manager, “The company services about 900 fishers from Labrador and Newfoundland. We buy and market their raw
material for them (and) provide loans.” In 1981, the LSC began with sales of $2 to 3 million annually, and in 2003 sales reached $30 million. When the shrimp sales were added in, the total sales were at least double. LSC sold its products globally, in Japan, Taiwan, Europe and the United States, and has been referred to as “probably Labrador’s greatest success story” (Rompkey 2003:159).

The Labrador Shrimp Company took pride in being a good corporate citizen. Plaques mounted in the lobby of the LSC headquarters commended the company for its contributions to a myriad of community causes. It was a major sponsor for the cluster’s annual Bakeapple Festival and a strong supporter of the local schools. As an example of their financial giving, the LSC established two annual $2,500 scholarships for coastal Labrador students entering Memorial University of Newfoundland. These scholarships originated in 1998 in memory of six LSC employees, crew members on a shrimp trawler, who died in a plane crash off Greenland on September 11, 1990 (Memorial University 1998).

As to horizontal connections within the cluster, members of LSC management took on leadership roles in community volunteer groups, such as the Regional Recreation Board, town councils, and the Women’s Institute. The company had a permanent seat on the Labrador Straits Development Corporation Board and collaborated regularly with local development groups, including the Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce. The LSC’s general manager served on the board of the Grenfell Foundation which supported the facilities of the Grenfell Regional Health Services located along the Labrador Coast and on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland.

During my field work I attended a public meeting called by the Chamber of Commerce to discuss issues surrounding the Marine Transportation Service from Cartwright to Goose Bay. A top official from the LSC was present, contributed to the discussion, offered to pay for transportation costs of those who would be traveling to Cartwright to demonstrate in favor of preserving the Labrador-based ferry route, and even committed to drive folks there personally the following day to support the cluster’s interests. LSC’s most well-known contribution to the region was its role in the establishment of the Eagle River Credit Union detailed below.

When the company was formed, its charter contained its commitment to provide sustainability for fishers in the Labrador Straits and along the southeastern coast of Labrador. This determination for external collaboration set the tone for collaboration in the cluster that has been its hallmark to the present.
Although it had a fish plant and its headquarters in L’Anse-au-Loup, the LSC’s four other fish plants further down the Labrador Coast provided employment and places for Labrador and Newfoundland fishers to sell their catches. This earned the LSC the designation of Excellence in Fostering Entrepreneurship, recently awarded by the provincial Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development (Northern Pen November 15, 2004.)

Together with shrimp license holders from Nunavut, Numavik, and the rest of Labrador, the LSC formed the Northern Shrimp Fishing Coalition for lobbying the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans about issues important to their business (Nunavut Wildlife Management Board 1998). The LSC’s president attended most fisheries meetings in the province, while the assistant general manager was a member of the Fisheries Resource Conservation Council (FRCC), an organization with members from the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and Nunavut who represent the scientific and academic communities and the fishing industry. The FRCC was set up in 1993 to counsel the DFO minister about catch and conservation guidelines as they relate to the Atlantic groundfish fisheries (O’Brien 2004). Additionally, the LSC belonged to the Fisheries Council of Canada, a non-profit, private sector trade association geared to preserving sustainable fishery resources while promoting the economic viability of its members (Fisheries Council of Canada 2004).

The modus operandi of the LSC, clearly the dominant local social structure here, served to energize the cluster’s civic culture. As a mirror to the Labrador Straits’ track record of civic involvement, the LSC was a participative organization. Fishers owned shares and took turns attending the biennial LSC convention. Delegates from each LSC community at a ratio of one to ten were present at the event, selected by their own Fisher’s Committee and armed with their community’s priorities. These delegates elected the eight-member LSC board of directors from their assembly. In turn the board picked the president, appointed the general manager, and made business decisions. There were supportive social ties in the workplace as evidenced by the monetary contributions employees made to help colleagues with unforeseen expenses. Managers volunteered to serve on community boards, committees, and councils.

The founding of the LSC occurred when the fishers’ link to their FFAWU materialized into an unusual initiative by Cashin, who succeeded in getting federal government support for issuing shrimp licenses to the fishers. This first step along with the partnership of fishers from the Straits and the southeast
coast of Labrador in setting up the LSC exemplified the collaboration at the company’s roots. Its horizontal and vertical networks were evident in its support for various community causes; its strong ties with the southeast Labrador coast communities where additional plants were located; and its joint venture with a business partner outside the cluster. Members of management participated in provincial and national organizations. Further, company principals were founders of the Northern Shrimp Fishing Coalition which united northern shrimp harvesters and championed their concerns with the federal government. Their collaborative efforts in establishing the Eagle River Credit Union will be detailed below.

As already indicated, LSC management served on voluntary committees and boards within and outside the cluster. Also, the business could be counted upon to contribute to local causes, providing a model for civic leadership. The organization was trusted and celebrated throughout the cluster and beyond. Because it was a privately held company, its business records were not an open book. Yet in examining the media communications about the LSC, I found that the general manager was frequently quoted in local and provincial newspapers on matters that affect the fishery in general and LSC in particular, making the company’s viewpoint well known to the public. In addition, opinions were voiced at periodic meetings of the LSC board of directors. According to one long-term board member, “There is lots of times that we snarl about things like any other organizations, but at the end of the day, we always comes to agreement” (LFUSC 1996).

How is it that this bold venture was able to take root and flourish? According to those who took part in the endeavor at the time, “The rest of the province was doing fairly well” in the cod fishery, but “...we were running into big problems (here). Richard Cashin could see the hardship.” The sentiment among fishers was that, prior to setting up the LSC, “companies would come over from Newfoundland to each community and cart away the salt cod. We always got the raw end of the stick. We had enough with outsiders... We were finally doing something for ourselves.”

The formation of the local social structure, the Labrador Shrimp Company, was undertaken by trusted outsiders—the FFAWU, led by its president, Richard Cashin. The advocacy and engagement of Cashin and union officials at the outset gradually transitioned into their mentoring LSC board members and processing plant management as the budding company became more firmly established. Even at this
writing the LSC ties to the union's headquarters are very strong. The FFAWU considers the creation and subsequent success of the LSC as one of its outstanding contributions to the provincial fishing industry.

On the local level, what really happened was the combining of one local social structure into a second one—the fishers' local was to be embedded in the new organization. A few years later when the LSC took over the processing plant in L'Anse-au-Loup and the plant workers eventually joined the union, this marriage between the LSC and the union was complete. And most significantly, as the LSC matured, it became the embodiment of the cluster's civic culture through its civic involvement, collaboration, leadership and communications. It assumed the role of steward of the Labrador coast. When it purchased the local fish plant in L'Anse-au-Loup that had gone out of business and paid off its debts dollar for dollar, the LSC was actually reinforcing its commitment to sustainable employment for all coastal residents. The small businesses that depended upon the income from the floundering fish plant did not have to deal with unpaid debts. The LSC's actions assured the loyalty of the small business community. When local leaders proposed the formation of a credit union, the LSC said they would support the venture but it must include residents along the coast from L'Anse-au-Clair to Cartwright, reiterating its stewardship beyond the cluster. The following account of the start-up of the Eagle River Credit Union demonstrates the LSC's involvement in the initiative.

**Eagle River Credit Union**

In early January 1984, the Bank of Montreal, which had begun operations in the Straits in 1978, announced that it would be closing its sub-branch in L'Anse-au-Loup at the end of that month. Immediately local leaders and citizens banded together as a Labrador Straits steering committee and attempted to have the decision reversed. When they were unsuccessful, they approached the Bank of Nova Scotia to take over the office, but their efforts were to no avail. Then the choice became one of acquiescing to a mail-in banking service offered by the Bank of Montreal in Deer Lake, 300 kilometers away, or setting up a credit union. They chose the latter. As one local leader who witnessed these times recounted, the citizenry "are not an 'oh, well, poor us' type. They may say that initially, but it doesn't last long. They are quick off the mark to take things into their own hands."

Coincidentally, at the same time, the Labrador Shrimp Company was exploring the establishment of a credit union of its own. The LSC sought a "closed bond" organization for those with direct ties to the
LSC, but was encountering legal obstacles to this concept. The cluster’s steering committee realized that for any new credit union to be successful, it would be essential to have all residents support it. The two groups met and reached a compromise to establish an “open bond” credit union that would permit all citizens the opportunity to join, from the Labrador Straits as far north as Cartwright, where the LSC was also operating (Wickham et al. 1989).

At this point various local social structures came forward to support this venture. The LSC made an initial deposit of $100,000 along with a $13,000 grant toward staff salaries in the first year, plus a $7,000 contribution for staff travel expenses from the Straits north to Cartwright. The town provided rent-free space for a year. The Bank of Montreal offered to sell the new credit union $30,000 worth of furniture and equipment from the office it was closing at a reduced price of $5,000. The Southern Labrador Development Association proposed to loan the credit union the $5,000 to make the purchase possible. The general public was invited to a meeting to choose an interim board of directors from among community leaders. And in June 1984, the Eagle River Credit Union (ERCU) was born (Eagle River Credit Union 2003; Wickham et al. 1989).

When the Bank of Montreal closed up shop, it took with it the resources needed to supply traditional banking services, such as a line of credit and the ability to clear checks. To fill this gap, the ERCU approached the caisse populaire in nearby Blanc Sablon, just across the provincial border in Quebec. The ERCU was successful in negotiating an arrangement with the caisse populaire which permitted it to offer complete banking services to its members, and in the process it established a valuable vertical link outside the cluster. Another boost to the fledgling operation was the retention of the Bank of Montreal’s management team (Wickham et al. 1989). The branch manager in L’Anse-au-Loup, a native of the Straits, declined to be transferred to another branch. Instead he agreed to head up the new credit union. Shortly after opening, another former bank staff member was hired.

Membership in the ERCU grew with successful marketing of its services and emphasis on customer service. Local businesses opened accounts, and along with the LSC’s initial significant investment, these actions helped to allay the concerns of Straits’ residents about the viability of the new enterprise. Further, LSC managers became the ERCU’s staunch supporters by regularly endorsing the services that the credit union had to offer and urging all LSC employees to open accounts there (Wickham
et al. 1989). In the 20-year existence of the credit union, it offered financial services to the community, providing loans to its members for home construction and renovation, vehicles, small businesses, and even a loan program geared to fishers.23

Today the ERCU is a full-service financial institution with $35 million in assets, four branch offices outside the Labrador Straits (two to the north in coastal Labrador and two on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland), and recognition from multiple sources. In 2001 the Credit Union Central of Newfoundland and Labrador acclaimed it as the Credit Union of the Year, acknowledging its growth rate, meeting regulatory requirements, and loan rates services (The Atlantic Co-operator 2004). In 2002 the provincial Department of Industry, Trade and Rural Development presented ERCU with a Community Economic Development Award for Excellence in Partnerships (Eagle River Credit Union 2003). In May 2003 the Credit Union Central of Canada presented ERCU with their award for Community Economic Development (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2003).

ERCU management encouraged its staff to contribute time and resources to local causes, reinforcing the importance of the relationship between the credit union and local voluntary organizations. Setting the example was its general manager, who was involved in a variety of local volunteer activities in addition to serving on the provincial board of Junior Achievement and as corporate secretary of the Credit Union Central of Newfoundland and Labrador. She was recently named to the board of the Grenfell Foundation (Northern Pen May 25, 2004).

Other voluntary efforts included the ERCU teaming up with the Aliant Pioneers (volunteers from the local telephone company), to donate a personalized book to each child in kindergarten and grade one in local schools. The book promotes "a positive self-image, good health habits, good friendships and good manners in young children" (ERCU website). Credit union staff served in various voluntary capacities with local organizations. Staff fundraisers became a tradition in the organization, resulting in donations such as a defibrillator and a cancer hood to the local health center, as well as contributions to the Janeway Children’s Hospital in St. John’s. The work of the ERCU was guided by its volunteer board of directors. In 2001 its acting president received the Credit Union Member of the Year award from the Credit Union Central of Newfoundland and Labrador (The Atlantic Co-Operator 2004).
As the citizenry touts the Labrador Shrimp Company as being responsible for prosperity in the cluster, the Eagle River Credit Union is referenced with almost the same frequency and can easily be classified as the second most vital local social structure. Its organizational make-up is very intertwined with the aspects of a rich civic culture, so much so that it is hard to separate them. There was intense *citizen involvement* in founding the ERCU. It was a democratically run institution with its members and voluntary board of directors involved in business decisions. Staff members donated their time to numerous local causes. The ERCU became a model of *collaboration* from the start, benefiting from alliances with other local social structures: the financial infusion from the LSC; the donations of office space from the municipality; a loan from the development organization to purchase the furniture and equipment from the outgoing Bank of Montreal at a greatly discounted price, and local enterprises quick to open accounts. The arrangement with the *caisse populaire* outside of the cluster and later the establishment of branches in southeastern Labrador and on the Great Northern Peninsula built sturdy networks outside the Straits. The provincial and national recognition the ERCU received also enhanced its external ties.

As a member-owned organization to which the majority of the cluster citizenry belongs, the ERCU *communicates* regularly with its constituency. Members elected a board of directors from among interested citizens and leaders from other social structures whose *opinions* were sought in running credit union operations. Their annual general meeting (AGM) was an opportunity for a social get together while dealing with credit union business matters. On average, attendance at the AGM is over 200 (Eagle River Credit Union 2003).

What the residents of the Straits did in 1984 to establish the ERCU seemed to signify the coming of age of the area’s *civic leadership*. Contrary to previous significant undertakings like the Red Bay Cooperative Society, the Mountain Field Academy, and the Labrador Shrimp Company, this time there were no outsiders to come in and resolve the situation for them. The cluster’s leaders took the reins into their own hands, set out a strategy, sought to involve as many local social structures and citizens as possible, and worked hard to accomplish it. The ERCU filled an important need to provide residents with access to financial services. As a result of the engagement and collaboration of institutions and citizens, the ERCU evolved into a viable local social structure. It set itself on a course to contribute its locally-managed
financial resources to the cause of community development, giving back to the community what the
community had contributed to get it started.

It is often said that one success follows another. This axiom could be applied to the next
collective undertaking in the cluster, the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation.

**Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation**

In 1979 Red Bay had its birth as a tourist destination with the significant archaeological discovery
of evidence of a Basque whaling settlement of the 1500s (Robbins 1997). Fueled by national and
international recognition and publicity, the number of tourists traveling through the Labrador Straits to
reach Red Bay grew by leaps and bounds: from seven visitors in the first year to over 10,000 in 2003
(Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2004). This translated into an important influx of spending
by tourists which in turn benefited an assortment of local enterprises, fostering economic well-being.

The hospitality industry actually started in the cluster in 1967, when the ferry began operations in
the Strait of Belle Isle, and young women arrived from the island of Newfoundland to teach. They lacked
accommodations and soon found a place to room and board at the home of a local resident. This resident
subsequently applied for a license to turn her house into a tourist home in order to accommodate people
coming over on the ferry. In the early 1970s the venture grew into an eight-room hotel, which in the
ensuing years expanded into the largest hotel in the cluster. In 1975 another resident began to take in
guests who had come to the Straits to work on the fixed link tunnel project. Around this time an
entrepreneur opened a restaurant and eventually added overnight facilities. Years later yet another saw the
need for a restaurant and accommodations in her community when she found herself frequently preparing
meals for truck drivers traveling through, making shipments to the region.

The Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation (LSHDC) was the organization behind
the hospitality and tourism industry. Interested citizens established the LSHDC in 1985 to respond to a
heightened awareness of historical resources in the region (Our Labrador 2004). Organized to benefit the
Straits area, the group at the outset determined that tourism here would be designed not to entertain but
rather to explore Labrador’s history, tradition, culture and natural environment (Robbins 1997). As
expressed by a resident years later, “Thanks to the foresight of some folks some 20 to 25 years ago, they’ve
kept the rugged beauty of the coast.”

107
In 1988 the LSHDC was incorporated with representatives from various social structures coming together: one from each community, the Southern Labrador Development Association, the Southern Labrador Women’s Institute, and other Straits organizations holding equal shares (Brown and LeBlanc 1992). In the course of their work, the group heard about the Heritage Canada Foundation’s Heritage Regions Program (HRP), designed to assist rural areas affected by outmigration and depressed economic conditions. The LSHDC entered the competition, and in 1990 the Labrador Straits was chosen to be one of eight projects nationally (Heritage Canada Foundation 2004).

The object of the HRP was to renew an area by revitalizing a blend of ecological, economic, cultural and social aspects of the community which all contribute to its heritage. The HRP approach was guided by these convictions:

- grassroots involvement, with locals defining the vision they had for their future and committing money and time to accomplish their goals;
- hiring of a professional to manage the undertaking;
- focusing on entrepreneurship, in this case the development of tourism;
- developing local leaders who would initially be aided by outside experts;
- fostering networking with competent practitioners and organizations beyond their area to shorten the learning curve;
- allowing for gradual change that would be well thought out and affordable;
- stressing a integrated approach that would evolve over time (LeBlanc 1991).

In rapid succession the LSHDC raised $30,000 in funds locally and secured grants of $300,000 from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and $270,000 from the Comprehensive Labrador Agreement, an arrangement of provincial and federal cost-sharing (LeBlanc 1991). A three-year contract was signed between the LSHDC and HRP. In February 1991, an executive director came on board.

Having worked at Red Bay on the archeological dig for 12 seasons, the incumbent knew the region and the people, no doubt a great advantage in preparing for the arrival less than two weeks later of a Resource Team from Heritage Canada. The Resource Team led citizens through a strategic analysis of the Straits’ strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Meetings were held in each community, and in sum
over 200 locals participated. The meetings generated considerable enthusiasm from the participants and resulted in a prioritized list of recommendations to pursue (Brown and LeBlanc 1992; LeBlanc 1991).

The most pressing action item to come out of the discussions was to find a site for a visitor welcoming center. A local couple, who were prominent businesspersons and community leaders, offered to donate an historic church building no longer in use. Plans were immediately put in place to raise funds for its restoration (Robbins 1991). Subsequent steps were to identify places of architectural and natural significance; to involve the Red Bay National Historic Site management committee; and to solicit restoration funds for the Point Amour Lighthouse.

Next came the mapping of hiking trails and look-outs (Brown and Mountain 1991). “We decided that gravel paths needed no boards, nails or maintenance every few years, so our infrastructure turned out to be inexpensive,” explained a cluster leader. “The trails and walkways were built for visitors, but local people have used them everyday. After all, the layouts of the trails were their ideas to begin with.” In June 1991 the project was officially launched at a Kick-Off event with approximately 950 attendees or 38% of the cluster’s population at the time (Robbins 1991). Heritage Canada characterized the Kick-Off Event as “by far the most successful” of like events for other Heritage Region Projects (Robbins 1991:7). Further, they described the LSHDC’s achievements in the first 10 months of the agreement as “impressive” (Brown and Mountain 1991:3).

The Straits’ HRP moved quickly to partner with local social structures within and outside of the cluster, such as the Southern Labrador Development Association, Destination Labrador, the Viking Trail Tourism Association (from the Great Northern Peninsula), the Museums Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Quebec-Labrador Foundation, the latter providing a student intern for two months to assist with the hiking trail project (Robbins 1991). In March 1992 the LSHDC teamed with the Battle Harbour Historic Trust. They were successful in getting a Heritage Canada Resource Team to initiate a community process in Mary’s Harbour, Lodge Bay and St. Lewis for the development of the Battle Harbour site (Brown and LeBlanc 1991). Some of the cluster citizens involved with the initiative traveled to other Heritage Regions in Canada, returning with insights that would enhance their work back home (Robbins 1991). A Basque country exchange program was set up (MacDonald August 16, 2004; Our Labrador 2004). The establishment of a Labrador Straits tourism database was yet another collaborative
endeavor that grew out of the HRP in collaboration with ACOA, the Enterprise Network Southern Labrador, and the SLDA (Tourism Database Management Committee 1992).

In line with the HRP aim to promote entrepreneurialism, from January to December of 1991, 60 new business proposals were formulated, plus a dozen more for business expansion/improvement (Brown and Mountain 1991). The project also organized collections of photos and maps to document the Straits’ history (Our Labrador 2004).

Since the onset of the HRP, other attractions for tourists have emerged, such as the L’Anse-Amour Burial Mound National Historic Site (oldest known burial site in North America). Lodges for hunting and sports fishing as well as the local Basque Whalers Snowmobile Club have teamed with the LSHDC to promote recreational tourism. More heritage initiatives currently in the works, like the Jersey Rooms in L’Anse-au-Clair and the Labrador Straits Natural Heritage Centre and Rare Plant Project, are collaborative projects with the Labrador Straits Development Corporation and will be discussed in Chapter 8 as examples of what has transpired since the cod moratoria. In 2002 the organization received funding to pursue the Labrador Coastal Drive project, a coordinated tourism approach to combine the marketing of the Labrador Straits with its neighbor to the north, the Battle Harbour Historic Trust. By consolidating efforts with other tourism organizations within and outside of the cluster (Parks Canada, Destination Labrador, Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador, the provincial Department of Tourism, and SmartLabrador), the LSHDC anticipated increased tourism in the region. With the Labrador Shrimp Company and the Eagle River Credit Union setting the example for strong regional ties, the LSHDC hoped to see their latest venture become a boost to tourism in the area (ACOA 2002).

The accomplishments of the LSHDC from its inception in the mid-1980s through the HRP agreement to the present provided clear examples of the cluster’s civic culture and its strong ties to numerous local social structures. The group began as a handful of volunteers with a vision for the tourism industry. Civic involvement crescendoed with the advent of the HRP because of the project’s pledge to grassroots participation. In order to build a commitment to the budding industry, leaders sought input from the residents, and ad-hoc committees took shape as the project’s needs unfolded. The donation of the early 20th century church building by civic leaders/local businesspersons was a visible contribution to the effort.
With the HRP, collaboration became the LSHDC’s *modus operandi*. First they instituted partnerships with local social structures within the cluster, such as the municipalities, businesses, schools, voluntary and development organizations. They later expanded to alliances with the Battle Harbour Historic Trust as well as with other Labrador, provincial, and national organizations. The concept of “partnership” would emerge to be an essential ingredient in future cluster development initiatives.

The tools from Heritage Canada served to develop the cluster’s *civic leadership*. Local leaders enhanced the skills they already amassed from previous years of civic involvement. Strategic planning techniques were honed. The HRP Resource Team from Heritage Canada served as mentors for local leaders, the latter adopting the “Resource Team” model for their own use in facing development challenges in the cluster.

*Communications and opinions* were enhanced with the Kick-Off event and a periodic newsletter published to keep residents up-to-date on the HRP. Citizens had the opportunity to take part in meetings in each community to put forth their ideas and set priorities for HRP initiatives.

The HRP served to channel the citizenry and its leadership onto a steady course of expanding community horizons. As recalled by a participant in the project at the time, “This process built a quiet confidence in what the people could do. Nothing would be too huge or catastrophic to deal with if we just went about it in the right way.” Unknowingly, the residents of the Labrador Straits positioned themselves to confront a tidal wave of change about to hit their shores, - the cod moratorium.

In this chapter I have explored the civic culture of this cluster, examining the culture’s various aspects of citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership, and communications and opinions. I have provided descriptions of these characteristics and given examples of how they are manifested in the area. Further, I have shown how closely the civic culture here is related to the local social structures in the Straits. The civic culture truly puts into action the characteristics of its local social structures. Finally, I have provided three case studies on cluster undertakings – the Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company, the Eagle River Credit Union, and the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation – that exhibit my articulated indicators of civic culture and demonstrate the relationships between the civic culture and the local structures. These case studies highlight initiatives that were undertaken before the cod
moratoria, hence indicative of the long-standing relationship between the cluster’s local social structures and the civic culture.

Using this framework in my research, I found a rich and developed civic culture heavily intertwined with and reinforced by the area’s local social structures. In the following two chapters, I turn to the North Shore of Conception Bay cluster to analyze their local social structures and their civic culture. Once these are examined, in Chapter VIII I probe how the two clusters reacted to the cod moratorium. There I assess the social and economic well-being twelve years after the moratorium was announced.

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1 “Come Home Year” celebrations are popular summer events in provincial communities. Those who migrated from their hometown are invited back, and the locals plan multiple activities for entertainment to suit all ages.

2 Not all of the volunteer work is tied to a particular group or organization. Canada’s National Children’s Memorial Day, designated as the second Sunday of December, has its roots in the voluntary work of two Straits residents. A local couple, whose daughter was lost in a tragic snowmobile accident, strove to establish such a day when “families come together to remember, to grieve and to celebrate the lives of (deceased) children and to help one another” (Compassionate Friends 2003). After the girl’s death, community members organized a fundraising weekend initially to help her immediate family. This has now developed into an annual benefit weekend in the Straits with an inspirational speaker and events to raise funds for the Children’s Wish-Foundation and other like causes (Northern Pen September 13, 2004).

3 The cloudberry, or bakeapple as it is known in the province, grows in northern regions and looks like a raspberry, though it is amber in color.

4 In 2001 the various provincial departments dealing with community economic development were brought together under the umbrella of the Department of Industry, Trade and Rural Development (ITRD). A government restructuring in February 2004 changed its name to Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development (Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development 2004).

5 The Department of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) was known as Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) until the end of 2003.

6 The Orange Lodge in the Straits was active until closing in 2002. The Catholic Church has no Knights of Columbus group per se, as the membership fees are more than the small parish can afford. However, its Men’s Group fulfills a similar function.

7 The Island of Newfoundland.

8 The Federated Women’s Institute of Canada was founded in 1919 as a means of bringing together women in rural settings to jointly address needed reforms. The provincial organization of Women’s Institutes has branches in more than 50 communities and membership in excess of 900 (Federated Women’s Institute of Canada 2004).

9 ATV’s or all-terrain vehicles.
In the mid-1970s the provincial Rural Development Program (RDP) charted a course to promote a participative economic development program for outports that included training seminars for the local residents in meeting management, effective communication, coping with conflict in a group setting, and so on. This was in response to reports from RDP field workers who were observing a lack of these skills and the "inability to control those at the meeting from rambling...." (Johnstone 1980:57). Such training courses still take place in the Labrador Straits, often conducted by a local development officer.


The Community Employment Strategy program was an initiative of the federal government designed to give communities the authority to come up with their own development plans. Two communities were chosen in each province, and the Labrador Straits was selected as one of these communities.

In the business community, local firms collaborate under the umbrella of the Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce (LSCC). Established in 1995, the LSCC has a primary objective "to encourage and promote economic growth and prosperity within the...region" (Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation 2004).

In spite of these efforts, the provincial government decided to reopen the Lewisporte route in 2004 (CBC April 13, 2004).

Even though the Inuit were not represented by the FFAWU, the union felt that it was right for them to share in the shrimp harvesting because the stock was adjacent to their settlements in northern coastal Labrador (Cashin 2003). In 1981 the Labrador Inuit Association set up the Tornagat Fish Producers Cooperative for administering the shrimp license (Industry Canada website). Interestingly, LeBlanc awarded three of the six Maritime licenses to already established conventional co-ops. The proposed co-ops for Labrador were the only recipients that were not yet in operation as organizations (Cashin 2003).

Canadian-owned and Canadian-crewed.

Father McGrath was a parish priest from the west coast of Newfoundland who joined forces with Cashin to set up the union in 1970. About 10 years later, Fr. McGrath was granted a leave of absence from his diocese to serve as the union's education officer.

In the spring of 2003 when the latest cod moratorium was announced, LSC employees anticipated financial troubles for the business. They approached management with an offer to eliminate overtime pay (time and a half) for hours over 44 in a work week. This willingness to work at straight time was intended to allow LSC to be able to pay for freight transportation on turbot from Newfoundland which the company was purchasing for processing.

Although the Grenfell Clinic serving the Labrador Straits in Forteau usually has physicians on staff, surgery and more involved outpatient procedures are done at the main Grenfell location at St. Anthony on the island of Newfoundland. Yet certain specializations, i.e. heart surgery, are only available at hospitals in St. John's. Canadians benefit from a national health care system, however, expenses for travel and lodging, including costs for a family member to accompany the patient, are the responsibility of the patient.

At a public meeting conducted by the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada to debate the Atlantic cod being placed on the endangered species list, the LSC general manager was quoted as saying that there might as well be a study on "endangered fishermen" to offset the study on cod (The Telegram October 16, 2004).
21 A caisse populaire is a credit union which conducts its business and democracy principally in the French language (Financial Services Commission of Ontario 2004).

22 In 1989, this staff person took over as general manager of the ERCU.

23 This differs significantly from how loans for fishers’ boats and licenses are handled in many other parts of the province, where fishers often have to rely on plant owners to co-sign loans.

24 The Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency of the federal government was established in 1987 to spur economic development and job growth in Atlantic Canada communities (ACOA 2004).

25 Towering 109 feet, the lighthouse is the tallest in Atlantic Canada (Labrador Coastal Drive website).

26 Established in 1990 as a charitable trust, this organization is dedicated to the restoration of the community of Battle Harbour, which for decades was southeastern Labrador’s economic and social center due to its role in the salt cod fishery (Battle Harbour 2004).
CHAPTER VI

THE NORTH SHORE OF CONCEPTION BAY AND ITS LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

From east northeast to sou souwest
From the Round Hill Islands to Cape Bonavist
Steer your course and steer it true
And you'll make the light on Baccalieu.
Anonymous

The previous two chapters concluded the analysis of my study of the local social structures and the civic culture of the Labrador Straits. I learned about the extensiveness of the civic institutions there, inventoried during my field work in the province from late 2003 through October 2004. I found the major employer was a cooperatively-run business owned by local fishers who invested all of their profits into providing jobs for their communities and community infrastructure. A locally-established credit union had been prospering there since 1984. Numerous small businesses were thriving. The provincial fisheries union members were very active there, as were churches, schools and an array of voluntary associations. Government and development groups based there could point to positive economic development efforts which they had initiated.

These local social structures and their attributes fit the theory of Tolbert et al. (1998) which linked such a proliferation of civic institutions with a highly engaged citizenry. They found higher measurements of socioeconomic well-being in such cases. During my research in the Labrador Straits, I uncovered numerous examples of citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership, and the free flow of communications and opinions which led me to conclude a rich and developed civic culture exists there. But in order to further substantiate whether the local social structures and the civic culture and their relationship to one another make a difference, it is appropriate to compare local social structures and civic culture of another provincial community cluster, the North Shore of Conception Bay.
This chapter examines in depth the local social structures of this second cluster. Geographically, the North Shore of Conception Bay is on the northeast coast of the island of Newfoundland at the tip of the Bay de Verde Peninsula, also described as the northernmost finger of the Avalon Peninsula. The Bay de Verde Peninsula is nestled between Trinity Bay to the west and Conception Bay to the east. It has 163 kilometers of coastline and 70 communities with about 41,000 residents (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2001). The North Shore of Conception Bay cluster is comprised of 12 of these communities that make up a federal census district, share schools and for the majority, a common employment base, the fishery. Aside from its historical dependency on the fishery, its setting and settlements are very different from the Labrador Straits. Yet this cluster was also dramatically affected by the demise of codfish industry. For this reason, it provides an interesting comparison of the status of community, its local social structures and civic culture.

Even though I have asserted that this group of communities makes up a cluster, the residents themselves may not perceive themselves in this light. Based on facts and circumstances which I examined, I readily labeled them as such for this research. My decision was grounded in their geographical proximity; the government’s determination that they make up a census district; the economic interdependence of the residents and the fish plants at the tip of the Bay de Verde Peninsula; the school districting of the area; local churches with membership mainly from these communities; area voluntary associations that include these locales; and the unofficial determination of government and development groups serving the Bay de Verde Peninsula that these twelve communities constitute a specific area.

I begin this chapter with my impression of the natural surroundings and communities here, then provide an overview of the settlers and their original settlements, highlighting population data. Next I discuss the characteristics of the local fishery. To follow this I inventory the local social structures, discussing the current structures while emphasizing those that were established prior to the 1992 cod shutdown. I augment this inventory with a case study about the formation of a local business, Quinlan Brothers, that grew into the cluster’s major employer. By looking carefully at the local social structures, I build on my argument that social and economic well-being will hinge on the type, number and features of institutions in the communities and how they advance the civic culture there.
The Setting

From St. John’s on the northeast finger of the Avalon Peninsula, I reached the cluster by driving west on the Trans Canada Highway. It is 70 kilometers to the intersection with Route 75, the Veterans’ Memorial Highway, which heads north about another 40 kilometers. The latter provides a limited access route as far as Carbonear, the service and commercial hub of the peninsula. The trip from St. John’s to Carbonear takes about 90 minutes. (See Figure 6-1 for map of the North Shore of Conception Bay.)

At the same Trans Canada Highway interchange, signs for the Baccalieu Trail, Route 70, also appear, and the turnoff is a few kilometers down the road. This trail has been designated as the route for tourists interested in traversing the perimeter of the Bay de Verde Peninsula. Named after Baccalieu Island located off the Bay de Verde Peninsula’s northern point, the trail links all the towns along the shorelines of Conception and Trinity Bays. Most are former fishing communities that drew their sustenance from cod.

In Carbonear, the bypass highway ends. To best grasp the area, it is important to start with an understanding of the cluster’s links to Carbonear, the largest town on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. Even though Carbonear is not a part of the North Shore cluster but rather on its periphery, it exerts a significant influence on what can happen in the cluster and what ultimately does unfold. Population in Carbonear is 5,415 (Statistics Canada 2001). Located here are most of the government and development offices that serve the entire peninsula, as well as two college campuses (Keyin College and College of the North Atlantic). It is also home to several financial institutions, along with numerous business, and retail establishments. The Trinity Conception Square Mall (TC Mall) includes a supermarket, Wal-Mart, and about 20 more retail stores. There are overnight accommodations and restaurants, entertainment (movies, theatre), and at least a half-dozen fast food outlets.

From Carbonear, the drive to the peninsula’s tip is approximately 65 kilometers and takes about an hour. In the 1840s a road was constructed to connect the communities on the North Shore (Cadigan 1995). By 1872 there was a road built to link communities at the tip of the peninsula. From 1915 until 1931, residents had the option of travel by train on the Railway Branch Line from Carbonear to Grates Cove and Bay de Verde. Highway 70 that connects the communities today was paved in 1971 (Chafe 1995).
Figure 6-1. North Shore of Conception Bay and Surrounding Area.
Leaving Carbonear on Route 70, posted as the Baccalieu Trail, one heads north through three towns before the road climbs hills with boulders and passes a few ponds, winding through rugged terrain. About 15 kilometers beyond Carbonear, Conception Bay comes into sight, and from the highway, there are majestic views of the water meeting the land. The North Shore cluster of communities begins here, and all localities lie directly along or off of this highway. Off to the south is a glimpse of scenic Spout Cove, a small fishing village in its heyday, but also a one-time favorite picnic spot of locals because of its grassy hills and beach (Maddock July 3, 2002).

Kingston is the first outport, and aside from houses and a small church on a parallel road, the only indication of commercial activity is a sign for a local used car business. Although Kingston is not unique in this respect, it is the first along this drive in which the visitor confronts a condition that plagues the unincorporated communities in this cluster. No sooner than passing the highway marker for Kingston, one is greeted with an abandoned home just a stone’s throw from the road in an obvious state of disrepair. According to a cluster homeowner, the house has been in this condition for over ten years, but because the community is not organized into a local government, little has been done to attend to the property. The dilemma extends to abandoned vehicles and old appliances that clutter open fields and seaside outlooks. Residents of three such communities recently banded together to combat this situation, and an accounting of their collaboration will be discussed in the chapter focusing on well-being after the moratorium.

From the high cliffs of Kingston, only the road signs inform travelers that they are crossing community lines as one village blends into another. The highway gradually descends to almost water level, and then climbs back up again, all the while winding its way up and down hills (Figure 6-2). Dwellings are on both sides of the road, and practically every community has a church and a school building that has been converted to some sort of community center. In Blackhead is a pull-off for tourists, calling attention to the site of the first Methodist church in Newfoundland built on that spot in 1769 (Poole 1994). A freshly-painted town hall serves the four amalgamated communities, Small Point-Broad Cove-Blackhead-Adams Cove, often referred to as “Small Point to Adam’s Cove.” The facility also is a base for the North Shore Volunteer Fire Department and the North Shore Central Ambulance Service.

According to a local official, many of the homes in this community have now been purchased by people “from away,” from St. John’s or from outside of the province or country. The location is an easy
Figure 6-2. View of Broad Cove, part of the town of Small Point-to-Adams Cove.

Figure 6-3. Ochre Pit Cove.
drive from Town² (less than two hours), and its scenic offerings have great appeal. At times Conception Bay to the east is out of sight, but when the shoreline is visible again, views are often extraordinary. From Blackhead one sees the northeast finger of the Avalon coming to an end and the open Atlantic Ocean beyond. Here and there are side roads that intersect with the highway, leading west into the peninsula’s interior. These roads meander their way past ponds and streams where recreational cabins, bases for year round outdoor activities, are plentiful.

There is a sprinkling of small businesses along the main highway serving residents’ basic needs. Many combine two endeavors into one, such as a convenience store with a gas bar, a gas station with a trucking business, a garage with a bus service, and liquor store combined with a grocery. The enterprises become more frequent as one travels through Adam’s Cove and Western Bay with some businesses also located off of the main road, based in residents’ homes. Western Bay has the first of two funeral homes along the highway, a third one being in Old Perlcan further north.³ The community also has a restored railway station used during the early 1900s for the peninsula’s railway branch line and now home to the North Shore Regional Development Association, the only development agency situated within the cluster’s boundaries. Cabot Academy is here, the elementary school serving students who reside along the North Shore.

Arriving in Ochre Pit Cove one is struck by the beautiful view down the shoreline, as well as the community’s handsome harbor and wharf. Homes along the highway are more scattered now, and pine trees punctuate the landscape. In this community is the Aubrey and Elizabeth Crowley Property situated on seaside grounds, which include a house built between 1910 and 1915, a stable, and an expansive root cellar.⁴ During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there were many families in this cluster who supplemented their fishing livelihoods with cultivation of vegetable gardens and animal husbandry. The house was erected in “a traditional two-storey biscuit box-style...with low-pitched roof and rectangular single-hung windows” (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage 2004). It is typical of other older dwellings still seen along the coast (Figure 6-3). One cannot help but notice deserted business structures, intermingled with unoccupied houses, some even decrepit, and lots of “for sale” signs in most of these shoreline communities. The houses vary in condition from very good to neglected. They run the gamut from recently constructed, expensive and sprawling residences to homes resembling the heritage property

121
in Ochre Pit Cove to modest one-family dwellings of all vintages to mobile homes to shacks in need of dismantling.

Traveling on to Northern Bay, one sees the first signs of the community’s summertime activity linked with the Northern Bay Sands, a former provincial park. Now a privately-owned park that attracts Townies and others for day trips, it has a pool fed by ocean water to cool off, but also the sandy beach is very suited to ocean swimming, in spite of the cold water temperature. Once past the park, there are more businesses in this community, some obviously defunct. A “We buy B-Berries” sign on the side of the road is a hint of the lucrative berry harvests and an underground economy which operates here. Blueberries, bakeapples, and partridgeberries abound in season, and as one resident commented, “If you are a good worker, have a good back, and the (berry) prices are high,” it is possible to earn as much as $1,000 in cash in a week.

Some communities have distinctive natural features, frequently with stories or legends connected to them. Gull Island has a small island in the bay. Burnt Point has a rock formation in a cliff along the shore known as the Mouse Hole. Job’s Cove is known for “The Droke,” an unusually steep ravine carved into the cliffs with a gravel road down to the shoreline. Near the line separating the communities of Job’s Cove and Lower Island Cove is a rest stop that affords the visitor a spectacular view of Flambro Head, a high point of land with a sheer drop protruding out to sea. In the distance it is also possible to see down the shore to the end of the peninsula and at dusk, the lights of the town of Bay de Verde. From this vantage point, a portion of Baccalieu Island is also visible, just east of Bay de Verde. The Flambro Head Heritage Society operates a museum and café in Job’s Cove. All make for attractive stops for tourists driving through.

Homes along the highway are less frequent now. In Lower Island Cove the highway winds past a large pond on the right. On its far shore are the grounds and building of the Association for Youth and Leisure Activities (AYLA), an organization that will be highlighted later as an example of citizen involvement in providing social activities. Just off the main road, Caplin Cove has dramatic view of the bay (Figure 6-4). Low Point, three kilometers from the highway and with an unlimited view of the coastline and ocean, is home to just a handful of families. The small white structure that served as a church, and later as a place for local social activities, is no longer in use.
Figure 6-4. Caplin Cove.

Figure 6-5. Old Perlican on Trinity Bay.
The highway now bears northwest and crosses over the barrens where moose are often seen. In a few minutes there is a first glimpse of Trinity Bay. Ahead the town of Old Perlican is laid out on a hillside, with a sprawling harbor and an uninhabited island in the bay (Figure 6-5). The Gasland complex at the intersection of Highway 80 attracts locals and passersby. Besides the several small enterprises housed here, one finds office of Employment Assistance Services under the auspices of a development agency headquartered in Carbonear. The town is home to the A. A. Wilkinson Memorial Health Centre, a Family Resource Centre, a public library, and the regional high school, Baccalieu Collegiate. The road from the high school into the town has many large, attractive homes, all built within the last ten years. The town has two fish plants: a Quinlan Brothers’ plant and the Quin-Sea plant. The modern harbor facilities on Trinity Bay accommodate longliners, pleasure boats and inshore vessels, and the full-size marina serves their needs (Figure 6-6). There is a small inn here open year round with a seasonally operated restaurant. A couple of eating/takeout establishments offer limited menus featuring home cooked/baked specials. They manage to garner a lot of take-out business, particularly when the local fish plants are operating. The newly opened Beckett Heritage Property showcases a fisherman’s home with a museum, along with fish store and flake typical of those used in the salt cod fishery.5

There is a back way from Old Perlican to Grates Cove—10 kilometers on a dirt and gravel road that is often so narrow that only one vehicle can pass. The route travels through Daniel’s Cove, formerly a small outpost that now has just one resident. Approaching Grates Cove, the road climbs high enough to catch sweeping views of Trinity Bay. At the top of the hill there are three cemeteries, each with evidence of recent burial activity. Two older graveyards are closer to the community. Three churches are within view, but the only retail establishments are a small convenience store in someone’s home and a crafts shop. Situated on Trinity Bay, Grates Cove is at the northernmost tip of the peninsula directly facing the Atlantic Ocean, with a view of the Bonavista Peninsula to the west and Baccalieu Island to the east. Here tourists find a national historic site, the Grates Cove Rock Walls, which early settlers used to separate their vegetable gardens and ward off animals. There is also a stone commemorating John Cabot’s voyage of 1497 and his connection to this location.6

Back on the main highway just before the turnoff to Red Head Cove is Tricon Elementary School, serving students who live on the tip of the peninsula, as well as those from a handful of communities up the
Figure 6-6. Fishing Boats in Old Perlican Harbor.

Figure 6-7. Red Head Cove.
Trinity Bay shore. Another abandoned building a little further down the road used to accommodate the high school that served these same communities. The next junction in the road indicates a turn to the left for Red Head Cove (Figure 6-7). Driving down this side road, one finds the descent to the now-inactive wharf to be very steep. Just beyond the wharf, the road continues up an equally challenging ridge. Dwellings are perched at unlikely places on the hillside. Other than home to fishing enterprises, Red Head Cove has no other businesses. At water’s edge a visitor is able to get the best view that the area offers of Baccalieu Island, nearly five kilometers away across the Baccalieu Tickle, a narrow strait separating the island from the peninsula (Figure 6-8).

The name “baccalieu” comes from the Spanish or Basque word for codfish. The island got its name because of the cod that were attracted to the peninsula’s headlands. For almost 100 years the island had a lighthouse tended by a keeper who resided there, often accompanied by his family. In 1950 the lighthouse was automated and still fulfills its mission to alert fishers and ships passing by (Smallwood and Pitt 1993a). Baccalieu Island is six kilometers long and one kilometer wide and is famous as a breeding ground to over three million pairs of a variety of sea birds, making it the largest such colony in eastern North America. In the mid-1990s it became a provincial ecological reserve. Close-up views of the island are possible only by chartered boat. Baccalieu Island can best be explored through an exhibit at the Blundon Heritage House in Bay de Verde (2004 Travel Guide – Newfoundland and Labrador; Maddox June 10, 2003; Flynn 1994).

Returning to the main highway and heading east, one sees newer, suburban-type houses on the approach to Bay de Verde, located on land that extends from the peninsula out into open water. As the road traverses the rock cut and heads down a slope to the community’s center, it is possible to view the Atlantic Ocean to the north and Conception Bay to the south, the latter being more sheltered and amenable to the docking of fishing boats (Figure 6-9). Bay de Verde is so picturesque that Walt Disney producers chose it to be representative of the region for the filming of a segment depicting the annual launching of (cod) fishing boats that appeared in their film “Portraits of Canada” (The Compass May 22, 1985). Bay de Verde is home to two more Quinlan Brothers’ fish plants. The only retail business in town is a convenience store, and during the months that the fish plants are operating, a take-out business is also open.
Figure 6-8. View of Baccalieu Island from Red Head Cove.

Figure 6-9. Bay de Verde.
The Blundon Heritage House here was built in 1896 for the family of a local merchant. Situated on a hillside above the harbor, it has become a popular tourist attraction since it opened in 1999.

As spectacular as the views of the open sea and Conception Bay are from this community, it is often shrouded in fog. Cool ocean air rolls in over the headlands and totally envelops the town. In winter, because of their isolation at the tip of the peninsula, it is not uncommon for residents of places like Bay de Verde, Red Head Cove and Grates Cove to be stranded because of snow drifts. Winds blowing at 100 kilometers an hour are a frequent occurrence here, and such force during a snowstorm creates white-out conditions and sometimes monumental drifts that take several days to clear away.

The Baccalieu Trail reaches its northern point at Bay de Verde, then returns to Old Perlican where it follows Route 80 south along the shore of Trinity Bay, the west side of the peninsula. Throughout this cluster, from Kingston down the shore to Old Perlican and “up over” to Bay de Verde, during spring and into summer, whenever the traveler has the ocean within view, there are likely to be glimpses of icebergs, dolphins, and/or whales. When these attractions are complimented by sights of the beautiful, rugged coastline and often quaint settlements, newcomers are rarely disappointed. Only the weather can put a damper on such an excursion.

**The Settlers and Their Settlements**

In this section I examine how the settlements in the cluster began, including events that occurred prior to the 1992 moratorium. Table 6-1 allows for an overview of historical developments in this cluster, some of which I will highlight here.

The first Europeans who arrived in this area were mainly from the West Country of England for the purpose of engaging in the cod fishery. Old Perlican was a seasonal fishing station as early as 1597 (Baccalieu Trail Heritage 2004). Due to Old Perlican’s natural features—the island in the bay that protected its harbor, its expansive beach, and its closeness to the Baccalieu Island headlands where cod were plentiful—the outpost became home to permanent settlers, their families and fishing servants, and grew to be Trinity Bay’s most substantial fishing station in the 1600s (Cram 1996).

These permanent residents were known as planters. Typically a planter owned a small fishing vessel and facilities on shore, such as a shed to process fish, called a stage, as well as platforms to dry fish,
Table 6-1. Historical Sequence of Events in the North Shore Cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>First Methodist Church (in what is now Canada) built in Blackhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>Opening of Methodist school in Old Perlican</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>Road constructed from Carbonear to the North Shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Road opened connecting Red Head Cove, Bay de Verde and Old Perlican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Telegraph lines established to Bay de Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Extension of school curriculum to grade 11 in Bay de Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1946</td>
<td>Fishermen’s Protective Union Store in Bay de Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-1929</td>
<td>Installation of electricity throughout cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1929</td>
<td>Operation of Railway Branch Line between Carbonear and Grates Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Opening of cottage hospital in Old Perlican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Confederation with Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Quinlan Brothers purchase general store from O’Neill in Bay de Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early 1960s</td>
<td>Quinlan Brothers open fish plant in Bay de Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Opening of Northern Bay Sands Provincial Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Quinlan Brothers open fish plant in Old Perlican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Opening of the Trinity Conception Square Mall in Carbonear</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Founding of Old Perlican Lions Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Community Futures Program established on Bay de Verde Peninsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association founded on Bay de Verde Peninsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Establishment of North Shore Development Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baccalieu Trail Tourism Partnership with Heritage Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cod Moratorium</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

known as flakes. A planter obtained supplies from a merchant and used family members and/or servants for labor. The servants, the majority of whom were male, were often recruited from Ireland for the fishing season, then given return passage. But as the years passed, it was not uncommon for labor from this migratory fishery to settle in Newfoundland and even establish themselves as independent fishermen. Even though they were initially employed in an apprentice-type servitude, as they advanced in skill, they were treated like family members. Over time many married into planters’ families (Cadigan 1995).

Old Perlican’s initial prominence lasted until the early 1700s, when the merchants from Poole, England, who controlled the local salt-fish trade, decided to move their major operations to another Trinity Bay port. The attack and demolishment of Old Perlican in 1697 by French forces prompted the merchants to relocate to a more defensible harbor. Nonetheless, Old Perlican remained a sizeable settlement due to its thriving inshore fishery and essential services provided by a magistrate, a physician, and a blacksmith (Poole 1993).

In 1662 nearby Bay de Verde had its first permanent resident, and by 1675, families and their fishing servants accounted for about 150 people working in the fishery there. The community grew in
stature when it was named a judicial district, one of six established in Newfoundland in 1729 to protect citizens and property (Smallwood and Pitt 1993). Other cluster communities were gradually being inhabited, such as Job’s Cove which had permanent settlers by the late 1600s, and Blackhead by 1710 (Poole 1994; 1993). For the most part, colonies along the North Shore were the result of planters, fishing servants, and independent fishermen relocating in the later half of the 1700s and early 1800s from population hubs like Carbonera and Harbour Grace, further south (Smallwood and Pitt 1993). Some settlers even came directly from Ireland and the Channel Islands (MUN Extension Services 1980). The influx of Irish servants was greatly reduced by the early 1800s, since by then there was enough labor locally for the fishery (Cadigan 1995).

By the late 1700s more independent, resident inshore fishermen had emerged and were trading directly with the merchants. Whether beholden to a merchant, a planter, or a buyer, fishermen were still locked into the credit or truck system. Ultimately all parties were tied to the international market for cod. When there was a season with an overabundant catch, for example in 1788, instead of realizing significant gains, the value of fish diminished to the extent that bankruptcy was prevalent for merchants, planters, servants and fishermen (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage 2005).

In spite of the lucrative fishing grounds in the area, there were many years when local catches were dismal. Residents faced extreme hardship and sought alternative ways to survive. In the early 1800s after Labrador was proclaimed to legally be a part of Newfoundland, coastal Labrador with its abundance of cod became the base for the “floater” fishery. This provided a viable option for fishermen from Newfoundland’s northeast coats, and many fishermen from Trinity and Conception Bays traveled there on schooners for the season. They fished and processed the salt cod on their vessels, as opposed to working from a land base there, then returned to their home ports. The Labrador floater fishery lasted until the 1910s by which time the cod stocks had experienced a significant decline (Battle Harbour 2004; Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage 2005).

Another way to supplement off-season income from the cod fishery was to engage in the seal fishery in late winter and early spring. Some fishermen participated as “landsmen,” making trips on a wooden schooner a few days in length to harvest seals on the ice floes not far from home. Larger numbers of cluster residents were involved in the large-scale seal fishery from the early 1800s. By the 1860s the
number of men employed in sealing decreased dramatically, and sealing waned by the advent of World War I. The industry was revitalized in the mid-20th century, but seals became overharvested by the 1970s. By then the market for them became no longer viable (Hiller 2001; Pagophilus 2005). Men from the cluster still “go to the ice” in April for the annual seal hunt, which nowadays has strict harvesting quotas and lasts for about one week.

Prior to the seal fishery, most independent fishermen were isolated in their outports with rare interaction with others in their occupation. The seal fishery brought large numbers of them together for extended periods of time every year and fostered awareness of their common lot. These circumstances led to “the first recorded organized, mass strikes...staged by sealers. In the 1830s and 1840s...thousands of sealers in St. John’s, Conception Bay, and elsewhere protest(ed) the harsh and dangerous conditions in which they worked, and the poor reward they earned” (Rennie, Botting and Inglis 1998).

Curiously it was a farmer from Notre Dame Bay, William Coaker, who emerged in 1908 as a spokesperson for fishermen’s rights. His appeal to fishermen to band together and form a union resulted in the founding of the Fishermen’s Protective Union (FPU). As Coaker took his crusade to other parts of the province, he succeeded in establishing local councils in cluster communities beginning with Old Perlican in 1910. Ten more cluster outports launched FPU locals in 1911, and three years later Red Head Cove also had a council. By 1914 the FPU had enlisted over 20,000 members, primarily along the north and northeast coast of Newfoundland. At the time that accounted for about half of Newfoundland’s fishermen (Smallwood and Pitt 1993).

Coaker’s vision for the FPU was to destroy the credit system, which he saw as unfair to fishermen, stripping them of economic and political clout. In spite of its name, the FPU did not engage in negotiations. Instead Coaker’s approach was threefold: (1) to establish cooperatives to give fishermen an alternative place to purchase essential goods; (2) to educate and communicate with members through a union newspaper and weekly meetings of local councils, where fishery, FPU and government matters were discussed; and (3) to form a Union political party to advance members’ concerns (Smallwood and Pitt 1993). 8

In 1915 an FPU cooperative store opened in the cluster in Bay de Verde and became a social hub. As one local resident portrayed it:
The Union, locally known as Coaker’s Union, was received with enthusiasm by fishermen. A large store was bought by the Union from Mr. Thomas Moore and a small business was set up there. This store called the “Union Store” was the scene of many activity meetings. The fishermen resplendent in their (FPU) blue jerseys with its fish crest would gather in the store, make speeches and hear business being discussed. Of notable interest is the fact that a Bay de Verde man, Mr. Andrew Broaders, was Vice President of the FPU in Newfoundland. As the Union at one time contained (thousands of) members and Mr. Broaders was next in line to Mr. Coaker, this gave him an air of distinction (Blundon 1977:10).

When Coaker entered into politics, the FPU itself lost influence as an organization (Smallwood and Pitt 1993). The Bay de Verde cooperative eventually closed in 1946, and around the same time another cooperative was formed there by outsiders (Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation 2004). A St. John’s businessman set up a factory where cooperative society members processed cod livers they had gathered into cod liver oil and shipped the product to St. John’s. When the price for their product plummeted, the society disbanded, the factory closed, and the store was sold (Blundon 1983). Aside from these attempts to introduce the cooperative movement, merchant-owned establishments connected with the fishery were the main commercial enterprises in the cluster well into the 20th century.

Table 6-2 displays the population trends in these communities since 1986. The actual number of communities is slightly ambiguous because some of the smaller outposts have been “resettled,” officially or otherwise, and included in the statistical data for larger, nearby communities. For example, Daniel’s Cove is considered part of Old Perlican, and the population of Low Point is counted in with Caplin Cove. Of all the communities here, only three are incorporated towns, and two have Local Service Districts, a form of community governance to be discussed in more detail later. Over the years the vagaries of the

Table 6-2. Population of Communities in North Shore Cluster

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bay de Verde</td>
<td>1950; reactivated 1975</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnt Point-Gull Island-Northern Bay</td>
<td>Local Service District 2003</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caplin Cove/Low Point</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grates Cove</td>
<td>Local Service District 1967</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job's Cove</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston 16</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Island Cove</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ochre Pit Cove</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Perlican</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Head Cove</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Point-Broad Cove-Blackhead-Adam’s Cove</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Bay</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,040</td>
<td>4,750</td>
<td>4,475</td>
<td>4,115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency (2004); Statistics Canada (2001); Community Officials.
fishery tended to drive population levels. When compared with earlier population counts, today’s population is dramatically lower.

The proportion of the provincial population residing here (.008) is about double that in the Labrador Straits (.0039). Table 6-3 lays out a more detailed comparison of this cluster with the Labrador Straits and the province. The population decline in the North Shore since the previous census period is slightly greater than the drop province-wide, while the Labrador Straits has the smallest drop. The distribution between males and female is practically identical in all three grouping. In the North Shore cluster, the percentage of those under 20 years of age is 6 percent less than the same age group in the Labrador Straits. Adults with no high school diploma are slightly more common here than in the Labrador Straits; both have higher percentages than the provincial average (40 percent). The two clusters lag behind the province’s 13 percent who have attained a bachelor’s degree or higher, with the Labrador Straits scarcely ahead of the North Shore in this category. The aging of the population is more pronounced in the North Shore cluster (19 percent being 65 or older) than in the Labrador Straits and the province, which are both at 12 percent. Population changes will be examined more thoroughly later in the context of the moratoria effects.

Nowadays the cluster is mostly residential, housing a populace with a wide variety of incomes. The signs of economic decline in many of the communities overshadow magnificent seascapes. Amenities for tourists are few and far between. Businesses are mainly of the mom-and-pop variety, with the exception of the fish plants in Old Perlican and Bay de Verde, which are the hub of the cluster’s economy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6-3. Cluster Regional Profile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population 2001 Census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline since 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20 years of age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years or older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (20 years &amp; older, without high school diploma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (aged 25 to 54 with bachelor’s degree or higher)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Fishery

For centuries cod congregated in droves in the waters surrounding the headlands, giving the area the reputation of being one of the most lucrative fishing grounds in Newfoundland. However, there were good years and bad, and, as described earlier, the Labrador floater fishery and the seal fishery attempted to fill in the gaps. The cod fishery was rich in tradition and woven into all aspects of life here. (See Appendix G for a description of two of these local traditions.) The buying, selling and bartering of codfish in this cluster was the domain of merchants in various communities until the system started to change from within. The first fresh fish plant in the area opened in 1943 in Old Perlican as a joint venture between a local captain and an English firm. Although the plant stayed open for just a short while, the market for fresh fish from the area expanded in the 1950s, with product being trucked to plants in other locations on the Bay de Verde peninsula (Cram 1996). Another local venture took root when two men from Red Head Cove, brothers Maurice and Patrick Quinlan, purchased a Bay de Verde merchant’s store in 1954. This signaled the founding of Quinlan Brothers, today the dominant employer in the cluster to be examined later in this chapter.

By the 1970s cod were diminishing in number and size. The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans introduced the TAC (total allowable catch) system to slow down the overfishing. However, foreign ships had no limit on their harvests, and at night they lit up the shoreline of the peninsula’s tip. Provoked by what he saw, following a spate of months with meager catches to process, Maurice Quinlan sent a letter to the editor of the local newspaper, warning that inaction would result in:

NO FISH…. The deterioration of the fishing industry along the east coast can…be arrested. We must start now….to prepare for the management of an exclusive economic zone. We should realize that the inshore fishery will never again recover as we once knew it…. A more secure, modern, sophisticated and remunerative type of harvesting and processing will have to be provided (June 19, 1975;Pp.4-5).

In 1977 Canada’s exclusive economic zone (EEZ) was implemented, barring foreign vessels from within 200 miles of its shoreline. Maurice Quinlan’s plea indeed forecasted the demise of the inshore cod fishery, however, another resource was taking precedence in these same cluster waters.

In the late 1960s snow crab was being landed as by-catch in Trinity Bay. By the 1970s larger vessels (from 50’ to 64’11” in length) were harvesting snow crab throughout NAFO zone 3L, the fishing grounds for the North Shore cluster. (See Appendix D for NAFO management zones.) DFO constituted
this contingent of fishers to be full-time holders of crab licenses. During this period the groundfish resources continued to decline, and in 1987 DFO reacted by designating a supplementary snow crab fishery that allowed for expanding the eligible vessels to those in the 34’ to 64’11” range, per a DFO source. By the time the cod moratorium was announced in 1992, fishers with these larger vessels were well entrenched in harvesting snow crab. As one career fisher recounted, “Here... we had diversified way before the moratorium with turbot, flounder, gray sole. Boats 35 (feet) and greater got into crab.... At the time of the moratorium my income was fifty-fifty, crab and cod.”

As in the Labrador Straits, the cluster’s cod fishery was reopened in 1997 but to very small quotas, insufficient for making a living. Here the opening was initially for the index and sentinel fisheries to estimate the cod stock. In 1999 it was extended to limited commercial fishing (DFO 2004). This fishery lasted until another total cod shutdown in 2003. In 2004, zone 3L was permitted a small quota of cod as by-catch. In addition to the growth of the snow crab harvest here, a lucrative shrimp resource has been prosecuted since the late 1990s (DFO 2003). The impact of snow crab and shrimp harvests and processing on the cluster’s social and economic well-being after the moratorium will be examined in greater detail later in this study.

Since the moratorium there has been a growth in the number employed in the fishery in this cluster. The total of fish harvesters was boosted by 25 percent, with the number of women in the occupation rising from 11 to 24 percent. Fish harvesters and those close to the fishery connect this increase to the number of women who have joined family harvesting enterprises. Another reason stated was that the price of crab (much more lucrative than cod) attracted more crew to enter a fishing enterprise. Furthermore, some new crews took up the harvesting of crab in the area. A career fisher from the area explained that as the result of the professionalization of fishers since the moratorium, those who fish must carry a “professional fish harvester's card. Now everybody is documented. In earlier years a lot of people were in the fishery as a part-time or summer job, and there was no need to keep exact numbers.” This lack of documentation of fishers prior to 1992 confirms what Clarke found in studying the post-moratorium fisheries in Petty Harbour (in Byron 2003).

There was also an increase (15 percent) in women working in fish processing during this period. The entire number of fish processors climbed by 9 percent (Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency 2004).
According to local employment sources, the increase in processing employees is attributed to the growth in the plant operations here. Quinlan Brothers had closed plants in other parts of the province and consolidated operations in Bay de Verde and Old Perlican. In 1997 they launched shrimp processing facilities in both towns, further expanding their presence. Table 6-4 provides specifics for this workforce. The number of women working as fishers has gone up since the moratorium, as circumstances made the shift from plant work to going out on the water more appealing. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on post-moratorium in the cluster. What is not shown here is the aging of the fishers. As a career fisher in Bay de Verde remarked, “Here we now have 35 to 40 fishing crews. Only five or six are under 40.”

Table 6-4. Fisheries Employment – North Shore of Conception Bay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Employed in Fisheries in 1995</th>
<th>Employed in Fisheries in 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishers</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Processing Workers</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Today the fisheries in the North Shore cluster are harvested by a wide range of vessels, most locally based. What and where the fisher reaps is determined by licenses and quota (Total Allowable Catch or TAC) as well as the boat’s length and weight. For example, in 2003 the TAC for the smaller, inshore boats less than 35 feet long was 14,000 pounds for Trinity Bay fishers and 20,000 pounds for Conception Bay fishers. Mid-sized boats from 35 to 65 feet are restricted to particular harvesting zones, depending upon their weight in gross tons. Longliners or boats 65 feet or more long, contingent upon their licenses, can fish in offshore waters beyond the 200-mile zone.

An inshore fisher from Trinity Bay who “buddies up” with another described a typical day on the water:

...With a quota per license of 14,000 pounds times two, we can make from 9 to 12 trips and bring in the 28,000 pounds. We have GPS (global positioning system) and radar and take ice with us. We leave at 1 AM and get back about 3 to 4 PM. (Plus) the two of us harvest 100 lobster pots, also lump roe…with gill nets and sell to the fish plant.

The bigger boats harvesting crab typically go out for three to four days, while shrimp harvesters are gone for five days— one day out, three days of fishing, one day back. One skipper with a boat that works the
mid-shore zone related that in 2003, "...just for crab...we made more trips than normal. We were later getting started...10 trips, three to four days each from 20 to 110 miles."

Fishers here are served locally by crab and shrimp processing plants in Bay de Verde, along with a crab and shrimp plant plus a groundfish and pelagics plant in Old Perlican, all under the auspices of the Quinlan Group. There are also fish buyers on the wharves for other plants located outside the cluster in Hant's Harbour or Carbonear. As someone connected with the fishery explained, "...fishers can go to whatever plant they choose with their product. Some make commitments to plants. For production purposes, this is vital." A pledge that links a fisher with a processor is typically part of a trust agreement that involves the plant owner co-signing a loan to a fisher for the purchase of a vessel. These agreements came into being after the moratorium and will be discussed later.

According to cluster employment sources, the number of workers in these operations varies between 500 and 600. As with fishers, the plant workforce is graying. The average age of employees is mid-to late-40s, which augurs a recruitment crisis downstream, a challenge that is already difficult to manage. Employees work 12 hour shifts, seven days a week, from April to October, days one week and nights the next. Processing is in full swing once the crab harvest begins and, depending upon the availability of resources, shuts down for the season, sometimes as late as December.

The fisheries in the North Shore cluster are very distinct because of their geographical position and resource base. In lean years the Labrador floater fishery and the seal harvest played important roles. Here snow crab had become abundant almost 20 years before the moratorium, allowing for further diversification in the fisheries as cod declined. Larger boats to harvest crab, which required more investment, had also become commonplace during this period. Because of these factors, the cluster communities were vulnerable to different paths for the inshore fishery than for all others engaged in harvesting, the latter being more set to cope with the cod closure. As we will see in the chapter focused on what transpired after the moratorium, the first few years were a real hardship for inshore fishers. Interestingly, because of the tenacity of the dominant employer (Quinlans) to continue to secure product for processing, fish plant employment levels were not severely affected.

To better grasp the workings of the North Shore cluster, I now turn to an analysis of its local social structures.
Local Social Structures in the Cluster

So far I have looked at the state of the cluster today, from its outward appearance to an overview of its demographics. I have also reviewed the origin of its settlements, which has been heavily intertwined with the fishery. I highlighted major shifts in the industry, such as the Labrador floater fishery, the seal fishery, and the rise of the shellfish fishery. I also touched upon the area's involvement in the Fishermen’s Protective Union, as well as the role that the fisheries play in the present day economy. This section focuses on the local social structures of the North Shore of Conception Bay and their characteristics, with particular emphasis on institutions that formed prior to the 1992 moratorium.

In this cluster I found a very different scenario than in the Labrador Straits. Here, cooperatives were tried in the first half of the 1900s, but did not succeed. Instead the major employer, the Quinlan Group, is a privately owned company that has expanded beyond its humble beginnings in Bay de Verde to be one of the top seafood processors in the province. There were fewer other businesses. Most existing small businesses were spin-offs, dependent upon the Quinlans for economic activity. Cluster-based voluntary associations were rare, as most voluntary groups were community-specific. Churches which once exerted considerable influence in their communities were struggling to stay open. Government and development groups were mainly in Carbonear, serving a populace 20 times that of the Labrador Straits.

In this part of the chapter I will analyze these institutions — local firms, labor unions, churches, schools, educational and social services, other non-profit and voluntary associations, government and development organizations — and examine their characteristics. This account was formulated during my fieldwork here in 2003 and 2004, reflecting the state of affairs about a dozen years after the moratorium. Appendix H gives a summary of these local social structures by community.

Local Firms

Researchers have used the presence of small businesses and the subsequent involvement of local entrepreneurs in a community to be indicative of the engagement of the population in civic matters (Tolbert et al. 1998; Oldenburg 1989). When such affiliation is high, socio-economic well-being generally follows. This is particularly the case because small businesspersons have a stake in seeing that their community prospers, hence they tend to get involved in and be supportive of local institutions. In this inventory I
examine details about these firms, such as, size in relation to number of employees (20 or less, small; 21 to 99, medium; and 100 or more, large) and ownership (local or not; public, co-operative or private).

According to a local development official, there were 1,200 businesses that existed along the Baccalieu Trail. Of this number 8.4 percent were in the North Shore cluster: 98 small, one medium, and two large businesses. Fishers also were considered businesspersons as owners of their own fishing enterprises, although precise data on the number of these enterprises were not accessible and hence not included in these numbers.¹⁴

Small businesses were scattered throughout the area but predominated in four of the twelve cluster communities. The municipality of Small Point to Adams Cove was home to 15, while its neighbor to the north, Western Bay, had 16 firms. The nature of business conducted here varied from small shops to construction firms to garages to housekeeping cottages to in-home establishments. The newly organized community of Burnt Point-Gull Island-Northern Bay with the largest population in the cluster (775) had a concentration of 25 concerns, many seasonally supporting the Northern Bay Sands Park. For example, in Northern Bay spin-off economic activity included enterprises such as lounge bars, a laundromat, take-outs, cabins and about 75 camp sites. The summer season lasted about eight weeks, and, weather permitting, on weekends the park attracted from 1,000 to 2,000 people. According to a cluster official, “There are one or two folk festivals held here in the summer, and everyone benefits—small businesses, gas stations, liquor stores.”

During my fieldwork I patronized many of the cluster convenience stores, grocery stores, gas stations, and post offices, and observed all to be informal meeting places, or examples of Oldenburg’s (1989) “third places,” where residents would greet one another and share the news of the day. But none compared in activity to the Gasland enterprise in Old Perlican located at the junction of Highways 70 and 80. In addition to selling gas, the facility offered customers a convenience store, a dairy bar, take-out, a liquor store, a Sears counter, an ATM, and a pay telephone, the latter a rarity in the cluster. Also part of the enterprise was a small motel. Besides those passing through on the main highway, the facility was a magnet for locals, a hubbub of greetings and conversations.

In Old Perlican, the second largest population center (720), I found the other significant concentration of cluster small businesses where another 25 firms operated. Aside from stores and service
businesses, these included limited overnight accommodations (an inn and a motel), a restaurant open during the tourist season, and several eating/take-out establishments. One of the latter businesses was operated by a fish plant veteran of more than 20 years who sought an alternative career because of concerns about the crab resource going the same route as cod. Some of the more substantial small businesses were a retirement center, a marina/retail center, and a trucking firm that thrived on business from the two fish plants in town and the plant in Bay de Verde. As a local resident described it, "There are tractor trailers going and coming here all the time, day and night, all summer long... hauling fish — crab and shrimp — from St. Anthony."

But spin-off business from the fish plants was not confined to Old Perlican. Many small establishments benefited because of the nearby fish plants. One entrepreneur on the main highway estimated daily traffic of between "50 to 60 (fish plant employees) around 6:30 every morning who stop for coffee, subs and chips." As to the rest of the cluster communities, there were a handful of small enterprises in places like Bay de Verde, Grates Cove, Lower Island Cove, and Ochre Pit Cove. Fishing enterprises also gained from having access to the Quinlan plants so close to the fishing grounds. In spite of their attractiveness for tourists, these locations had a noticeable lack of facilities to accommodate them.

Also noticeable was the absence of a financial institution in the cluster. The Bank of Nova Scotia had a branch in Old Perlican from 1970 until 2002. Now residents must confine their financial transactions locally to ATM machines or drive to Carbonear, which is home to several banks and a credit union. (The residents’ efforts to retain a bank in Old Perlican will be examined in more detail in the chapter describing events after the moratorium.) Carbonear with its multiple retail and service operations, including a shopping center, had become increasingly attractive to cluster residents. There was also been a growth spurt in jobs available in Carbonear, though many required lower skills and pay accordingly. "All this is perhaps to the detriment of the small business community along the North Shore," confided one development staffer. "Along the North Shore, in Bay de Verde and Old Perlican," said a cluster leader, "there's no way to survive in retail. Since people have cars and money, they travel to... Carbonear." Another factor that discouraged cluster residents from shopping locally was their proximity to St. John's, on the new highway just a little over an hour's drive from Carbonear.
Nearly every North Shore business was locally owned, with the exception of a retirement residence and a variety store in Old Perlican, which had owners in another part of the province. A couple of enterprises were owner owned and operated franchises. The cluster’s economy was heavily weighted by the commercial involvement of two towns and two families. In Bay de Verde, the Quinlan Brothers plant employed up to 350 in their crab and shrimp processing facilities. In Old Perlican Quinlans operated the cluster’s only medium-sized firm, a pelagics and groundfish operation with plant employment of about 40 during peak season. In Old Perlican Quinlans also joined forces with a prominent local family, the Hopkins’. For generations the Hopkins family was known for its importance in the salt fish business. Nowadays one Hopkins family member, in partnership with Quinlans, runs Quin-Sea Fisheries, Limited, another major cluster employer with about 170 workers who process shellfish. Other Hopkins family-owned enterprises in Old Perlican were a retail/furniture business, a trucking business, and a funeral home. To best understand the importance the Quinlan organization has to the cluster, it is appropriate to examine how it got started.

**Quinlan Brothers Limited**

The Quinlans of Red Head Cove were Newfoundland fishers with Irish roots. Several generations had fished the waters of the Baccalieu headlands, and in winter, to supplement their incomes, the Quinlan fishers went to work in the coal mines in Sydney, Nova Scotia. In 1946 brothers Maurice and Patrick (Pat) bought a truck and set up a business of transporting goods. A couple of years later they bought a second truck and by 1950 were operating a small store in Red Head Cove. Pat did much of the trucking, servicing Mr. James O’Neill’s large general store in Bay de Verde (Woodrow 1982). He would transport fish that O’Neill would buy from local fishers to a plant in Harbour Grace for processing. When O’Neill decided to sell his business in 1954, the two Quinlan brothers scraped together $11,000 to purchase it. A lifelong resident remembered, “Quinlans had nothing when they started. They weren’t afraid of work. Their sleeves were rolled up, their rubbers were hauled up, and they came here to do the job in Bay de Verde.”

During the next decade, the Quinlans oversaw the area’s transition from salt to fresh codfish. Initially they bought salted and dried fish from fishers, as well as fish in salt bulk (Woodrow 1982). Later they switched to fresh cod, which they gutted and sold to another processor for freezing for the American market. As recounted by co-founder Pat Quinlan (2004) in an interview:  

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Our business was the first time any work was created in Bay de Verde.... Before Quinlan Brothers, Bay de Verde was an area where people were preyed upon. People would take everything out of there.... But we weren't absentee landlords. We were from the area.... My brother Maurice was a teacher, a very hardworking man, and was involved in the business on weekends and summers. My wife was a nurse at the Old Perlican hospital, and she took on our accounting work. Maurice's wife excelled in retail and customer contacts. We never took a salary ourselves for a long time.

In the early 1960s after several years of trucking fresh fish from area wharves to other processors, Quinlans built their own fish processing plant in Bay de Verde (Blundon 1977). In those days they also had a fish plant in Grates Cove until its operations were eventually phased into the Bay de Verde plant (Stanford and Stanford 2003). By 1961 their total year-round workforce was approximately 100, which included the fish plant, the store and the trucking business (Woodrow 1982).

By the mid-1960s Quinlan Brothers had built a new facility in Bay de Verde with freezing capacity. In addition to dealing with fresh and salt cod, they added fish oil production and bought and distributed salmon and lobster (Woodrow 1982). During this period Quinlans began to pay fishers in cash rather than relying on the old credit system (MUN Extension Services 1980). About those early days, Pat Quinlan (2004) recalled:

It was hard to survive with competition. We were rookies, upstarts, based in Bay de Verde.... We became a target for other processors... they tried to stop us before we got too far. We worked seven days a week, day and night, and finally got to a position where we were able to handle the competition.

About the same time larger boats known as longliners, 38 to 60 feet in length, were being used to catch turbot in Trinity Bay and surrounding areas. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s Quinlan Brothers bought as many as nine of these deep-sea boats, which were capable of harvesting significantly larger catches, a boon to processing production lines (Blundon 1977; Quinlan 1966). As turbot stocks declined, crab was on the upswing, a species to which longliners were well suited. In 1974 Quinlans established a crab plant at Bay de Verde to handle the processing of the area’s growing crab stocks (Figure 6-10).

During this time, Quinlans continued to operate their general store, having opened a new facility in 1963, which stocked fishing supplies, groceries, hardware, furniture and appliances (Woodrow 1982). To augment their fishing business when catches were low, they had a fall-back plan. As Maurice Quinlan explained, “Our business relies on what we call the five B’s: berries, buns, beer, buses, and bulldozers” (MUN Extension Services 1980:35). By 1980 the Quinlans had fish plants in Bay de Verde, Old Perlican
Figure 6-10. Quinlan Brothers Plant and Bay de Verde Harbor.

Figure 6-11. Quin-Sea Fisheries in Old Perlican.
and Lower Island Cove (Smallwood and Poole 1994). They also still ran their general store, together with a tavern, school buses, minor construction, and snow clearing (MUN Extension Services 1980).¹⁵

But the Quinlans also ventured into establishing processing plants far beyond their home base. In the early 1980s they opened facilities on Bonavista Bay, White Bay, the Northern Peninsula, and on the southeast finger of the Avalon Peninsula. In the mid-1980s their business dealings included partnerships, such as Quin-Sea Fisheries, Limited, in Old Perlcan (Figure 6-11) and self-standing enterprises like Dorset Fisheries in Long Cove, Trinity Bay. Eventually they divested themselves of their interests in most of the outlying plants. As a company source explained, “We decided…to concentrate our (efforts) in Old Perlcan and Bay de Verde, where we had maintenance capabilities and resources within ten miles of each other.”

Nonetheless, the Quinlan Group, as they are known now, continued to invest in other endeavors away from their home base, such as a crab processing plant in Black Tickle, Labrador (NL Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture, July 21, 1999). They also ventured into seal oil capsule production on the Baie Verte Peninsula, a joint venture with a Chinese partner (The Compass February 12, 2002). Other acquisitions were a crab processing plant in Bas-Caraquet, New Brunswick, and a plant in Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Sullivan 2004). Furthermore, Quinlans diversified into experimenting with the processing of shellfish waste into nutraceuticals such as chitin, chitosan and cartenoprotein (NL Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture, May 29, 2001).

Much as they did in the 1960s, Quinlans still invest in large harvesting vessels and contract with fish harvesters to provide product for their processing facilities. The competition for crab is fierce, as crab has replaced cod in importance in the provincial fisheries since the 1992 moratorium. Because of the potential for significant financial return that crab brings and the major fluctuations in market price, Quinlans and other crab processors were often caught in allegations of conspiracy over price fixing and attempts to control the supply of raw material for plant production (The Telegram, June 12, 2003; Cormier 2003; CBC News November 1, 2002).

Many of those interviewed in this cluster study spontaneously heaped praise on the Quinlans and their contributions to the area, for example:

- As a company, they have kept ahead of the game. They are one of few processors in the province expanding when the moratorium hit.
• Here the backbone of the fishery stems from the foresight of...Quinlan Brothers. They have been very progressive in thinking, very strategic in...planning.

• Pat Quinlan in his wisdom recognized the potential in shellfish and has sought to keep this business going.

• The aggressiveness of Quinlan Brothers...has been a saving grace for the community.

• If Quinlan Brothers didn’t exist, this shore would be devastated.

• If Quinlan Brothers weren’t in this area, folks couldn’t manage without government transfers.

• I’ve been dealing with Quinlans years and years. They are pretty fair. All business people are...(focused on) making a profit. Quinlan Brothers are good entrepreneurs...and have created a lot of jobs in the area.

Expectedly there were others with mixed or negative viewpoints, linking their concerns to Quinlans accumulating too much power, their involvement in trust agreements (a topic to be discussed in a later chapter), or their perceived favoring of Bay de Verde interests over those of other communities. As a privately held family enterprise, there is much about how such a firm operates that is kept from public scrutiny, a circumstance in itself with the potential to generate mistrust.

Despite how they were viewed in the cluster, from modest beginnings the Quinlans became one of the top four processors in the province in production volume (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture 2002). They also achieved a revenue-based distinction of ranking as number 23 in the top 101 companies of Atlantic Canada (Holt 2004). Company sources hailed Quinlans as the world’s largest producer of snow crab and the world’s largest buyer of fresh northern shrimp landed by inshore boats. As I look deeper into the North Shore of Conception Bay cluster and its civic culture, the influence of the Quinlan Group will become clearer.

Labor Unions

Union organization in the fisheries sector here was distinctly different from that in the Labrador Straits. The fishers in the North Shore cluster were all members of the provincial Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAWU). Interaction between fishers and fish plant owners tended to be confined to the one-on-one relationships for the purchase of catches for processing or to trust agreements. Due to the way the North Shore cluster fishery was organized with fishers belonging to the union and the major processor being a private corporation, other matters were typically confined within a vertical structure with

145
communication taking place at the provincial level between the FFAWU and the Association of Seafood Processors (ASP). ASP represents those who purchase and process seafood, and the organization is involved in issues such as crab quotas and the negotiation of a price for crab for the season. The separation between fishers and plant owners created the potential for tension between the two groups when volatile issues surfaced. This was in contrast to the Labrador Straits where fishers and plant workers all belonged to the union, and the fishers were the owners of the Labrador Shrimp Company. All interactions between fishers and the LSC were handled locally, eliminating any reason for friction to develop between the two.

Processing employees at the Quinlan and Quin-Sea plants did not belong to the union. As one company source said, “Our employees don’t want a union. This way everyone can be treated fairly and equally.” An FFAWU source confirmed that there was occasional card signing involvement in an attempt to hold an election, however, nothing has taken place within at least the last five years. On the Bay de Verde Peninsula there were other fish plants that are also union-free. The lack of union organization had not prevented Quinlan employees from banding together for a cause though. Because of concerns over the declining supply of crab for processing, Quinlan plant workers traveled to St. John’s to protest the provincial government’s awarding of crab processing licenses in spite of overcapacity in the industry (The Compass August 27, 2002).

Another aspect to consider here is the relationship between the unionized fishers and family members who work at the non-union plants. As McCay (in Byron 2003) reported, it is common practice for fish processors to give preference to the hiring of the wives of fishers who sell their harvest to that plant. Under such circumstances, union membership or lack thereof occasionally puts spouses on opposite sides of the debate over current industry happenings (CBC March 9, 2005; The Telegram June 12, 2003).

Churches

How involved residents are in churches and other local voluntary organizations is a sign of how much the populace is engaged in their communities. Despite the prevalence of church edifices in the North Shore cluster, all 22 existing buildings were not in continuous use, with some even closed during winter months. Many residents made reference to the decline in church attendance and the weakening of financial support for many of the churches here. These appeared to be signs of the diminishing influence of the
churches in the cluster. Yet it is important to this study to recognize the dominant role that churches have played here for more than 200 years.

The latest census indicates that 99 percent of the cluster residents identified themselves as Christian. There are roughly 60 percent Protestant, and 40 percent Roman Catholic (Statistics Canada 2001). The religious congregations that existed in the North Shore cluster had considerable history behind them. Significant effort to convert residents to the Methodist faith took place in the second half of the 1700s, and the first Methodist church in North America was erected by 1769 in Blackhead. In the early 20th century the Methodist church became known as the United Church. Bay de Verde was the site of the first Catholic chapel in 1810, and in 1841 a Church of England clergyman took up residence in the same town. No other denominations had a presence in the area until 1944 when the Salvation Army established a congregation in Lower Island Cove. A Gospel Hall was recorded as active in 1950 in Western Bay (Poole 1994). Old Perlican also had a Gospel Hall during the second half of the 20th century, but the only Gospel Hall currently in existence is in Burnt Point.

In many cluster communities the first organized religion there became identified with that community, just as churches that had a community presence ran the first schools in these locales. These religious ties were so strong that they were known at times to be contentious. Perhaps the most glaring instances of this friction were those of sectarian violence that occurred in 1884 in the communities of Burnt Point and Gull Island (Chafe 1995). For example, even now, Ochre Pit Cove and Old Perlican are still considered to be United Church communities, in spite of the fact that they have residents belonging to other denominations. Exceptions to such designations were in Lower Island Cove where the Salvation Army had members from throughout the cluster as well as in communities that had two or more churches.

In an informal survey of cluster clergy I inquired about the number of families who belonged to their congregations and were considered to be active. There were three United Church “charges” or areas of responsibility encompassing 11 churches, each charge with its own clergy member. These 11 churches served approximately 648 families, but cluster residents said some were struggling to survive. “People don’t want to give up their churches,” observed one. According to another, “We may have a wake-up call coming. People cannot come together to say one church (is good) for five to six communities. They are
fighting every bit of the way. (I believe) it's all based in history. At one time these communities had
several hundred children in them.”

Active membership in other denominations included 587 families in the Catholic parishes
administered by one priest and 120 in the Salvation Army congregation with a full-time clergyman. The
Anglican churches at the tip of the peninsula had 103 active families attended by a priest on circuit from
further south on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. I was unable to make contact with the Gospel Hall in Burnt
Point, but was told by locals that the congregation consisted of a handful of families. All together there
were 1,458 families considered as participating in church activities in the cluster. A family could consist of
a household of one or more family members who live together under one roof, so it is difficult to quantify
the participation in comparison of cluster population of about 4,100.

A number of residents explained that the strong sentiments attached to the importance of one’s
religion tended to pit one group of believers against another and could even determine an individual’s
eligibility for employment in particular organizations. I was told there were cluster congregations that
discouraged socializing with members of other denominations, a practice that was fostered by having
schools that were denomination specific. This convention, which even carried over into daily interactions,
would have considerable impact on the cluster’s civic culture, to be studied in the next chapter. Also to be
examined there is the involvement of these congregations in volunteer efforts.

Schools, Educational Offerings and Social Services

Residential perception of social well-being in a community is linked to a community’s provision
for educational, social and medical services for its residents of all ages (Morton 2003). Historically in the
province, community schools were under the aegis of churches until the late 1990s when such an
arrangement was no longer permitted under provincial law. Even before it was mandatory, integrated
schools appeared in Old Perlican and Bay de Verde in the mid-1900s. Nonetheless, the schools’ close
linkages with the churches for more than 100 years had built barriers between the various dominations that
would act as impediments to a smooth integration and subsequent downsizing of cluster schools. Other
educational offerings here were very limited, with residents relying on institutions in Carbonear to fill the
gaps. Overall, there was a noticeable scarcity of organizations serving infants, children, youth, families,
and seniors, with the Family Resource Center in Old Perlican being an exception.
Methodist minister John Hoskins set up one of the earliest schools in Newfoundland in 1774 in Old Perlican. In the decade from 1836 to 1846, ten schools were founded in the North Shore cluster. In 1893 the Newfoundland Council of Higher Education extended the course of study to grade 11, and the Roman Catholic school at Bay de Verde was one of the first in the area to make these advanced studies available (Riggs 1968). By contrast the Labrador Straits did not have a high school until 1964, about 70 years after this cluster.

Some cluster schools combined operations starting in the 1950s. With budget deficits looming, school consolidation began in earnest in 1996 though not without controversy (Bowman April 16, 1996). The largest resistance was to a centralized high school (Bowman January 19, 1999; Pike April 25, 2000). “It was a holy war,” recalled a longtime resident. The tide seemed to turn, per a cluster leader, when a respected businessperson “stood up at a public meeting and said he thought such a school in Old Perlican would be a good thing for the students. After that, some people started to consider the idea more positively.”

Baccalieu Collegiate Regional High School opened in September 2002. Its catchment area extended from Ochre Pit Cove north and included communities outside the cluster along the Trinity Shore. Youngsters who lived in Kingston, Small Point to Adam’s Cove, and Western Bay were also eligible to attend, but they needed to catch the school bus in Ochre Pit Cove. Baccalieu Collegiate was viewed as a “trophy” school with state-of-the-art facilities and top-notch programs for its students (NTV News December 2, 2003). After a long and bitter struggle to retain schools closer to home, the cluster residents reconciled themselves to the new configuration of their school district, and in the case of Baccalieu Collegiate, actually celebrated its accomplishments. The consolidation appeared to tear down invisible barriers between communities that had existed for decades because of the proliferation of one-room, faith-based schools. The downside to amalgamation for some was that a good portion of the student body is bussed home immediately at the end of the school day. The consequence was, “Our son misses out on tutoring, basketball, volleyball, indoor hockey, cross country skiing, all after school activities,” shared a parent from a North Shore community.

Adult education program opportunities within the immediate cluster were rare. This confirmed the finding of Barbara Neis and her colleagues who concluded that many outports lacked the capabilities to
offer retraining courses after the moratorium due to the state of educational infrastructure (Neis et al. 2001). Here, if one had access to a vehicle to get to Carbonear, there were many choices, such as adult basic education classes and the offerings at campuses of the College of the North Atlantic (CONA) and Keyin College. A former cluster fish plant worker, who overcame the distance to Carbonear and took a two-year program in computer technology at Keyin after the moratorium, shared, “A lot of people thought when I decided to retrain that I was nuts going back to school.” But she graduated with honors and now has a responsible administrative position in a local office. Among other educational opportunities that made up the cluster’s local social structural base included a public health/community health nurse who conducted health education programs in the schools; a regional library in Old Perlican; four local Community Access Program (CAP) sites with internet connections; and a literacy program for the Bay de Verde Peninsula.

The Dr. A. A. Wilkinson Memorial Health Centre in Old Perlican was the hub of medical and social services in the northern segment of the cluster. A modern structure opened in 2001, replacing the cottage hospital that served the vicinity since 1936. The facility had an emergency room, six beds, and other up-to-date facilities, along with doctors’ offices. It was under the administration of Carbonear General Hospital, which had 80 acute care beds and full hospital services (Newfoundland and Labrador Health and Community Services 2004). For those who lived on the North Shore itself, there was also a physician’s general practice located in Western Bay. A retirement center in Old Perlican had 28 senior residents and offered assisted living services, along with some social activities. There were nursing homes in Carbonear for citizens requiring acute care. Personal care attendants referred through the health care system attended to cluster residents who were still in their homes and needed help with daily living activities. Services fostering social well-being will be examined in more detail in the chapter looking at the cluster after the moratorium.

Other Voluntary Organizations

There were many voluntary organizations throughout the North Shore cluster, although there was a heavier concentration in the three organized municipalities. Also the voluntary groups tended to be community-based rather than regional. There were nine recreation committees, plus three committees formed to manage activities at community centers, typically former local school structures. Only one
formal group existed for seniors in Blackhead, and there was no self-standing youth organization. There were, however, Girl Guides, Brownies and the Sea Cadets Program. Involvement in community matters was possible through town councils or local service district committees. Four communities had waste disposal committees. There were three Fire Brigades (plus one ladies’ auxiliary) and two volunteer ambulance services, which covered the entire cluster. Each of the three schools had a school council. Three community-based heritage committees and one heritage society that took in five communities were in operation.

Connected with the cluster churches were organizations for men, women, youth, choir.band, and boards/committees/councils/vestries, all involved in the management of their particular churches. The Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary had a presence in the cluster. Organizations focusing on service and social activities included the Baccalieu Lions Club, the Loyal Orange Lodge, and chapters of the Loyal Orange Benevolent Association. There were also a library board, a hospital auxiliary, and half a dozen small groups with various charters. The cluster’s single development group, to be examined under the next section, had a volunteer board associated with it.

What is striking about this cluster is the absence of voluntary associations that take in the entire area. Of course, for this research I have designated the cluster boundaries, which may not correspond to the residents’ view of their region. But nonetheless, I can draw the comparison between this cluster and the Labrador Straits, which is predominantly regionally focused. If associations were formed in the cluster to include more than one community, they tended to center either along the entire or partial North Shore or encompass the locations at the tip of the peninsula, namely Old Perlican, Grates Cove, Red Head Cove, and Bay de Verde. More about these structural observations will surface in the discussion of collaboration in the chapter on civic culture.

**Government**

On the federal level the cluster populace was included in the Avalon constituency, which consisted of the entire Avalon Peninsula except for the St. John’s area. The MP (Member of Parliament) representing this riding was a native of Port de Grave on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. The provincial riding for the House of Assembly was known as Trinity-Bay de Verde and included the entire cluster plus all communities along the Trinity Shore south of Old Perlican as far as Dildo. In October 2003 by almost a
two-to-one margin the voters chose a 27-year-old Progressive Party candidate raised in Gull Island to replace the Liberal incumbent who had held the post for 14 years. The newly elected office seeker was “the youngest female...ever elected to the House of Assembly” (Pike October 28, 2003).

Bay de Verde was one of the first communities in Newfoundland to incorporate in 1950, however its attempts to establish a municipal government lasted less than one year. According to one local citizen, “Some residents were concerned about regulations that never materialized,” and the experiment into governance was dropped. It was 25 years before the community re-established its municipality status. Old Perlican was incorporated in 1971, and communities from Small Point to Adams Cove amalgamated into a municipality in 1972. Grates Cove formed a Local Service District (LSD) over 17 years ago to deal with the provincial government on matters that concerned the community. The LSD arrangement allows for a committee of seven to be elected annually by residents, and subsequently the committee members select one of their own to act as chairperson.

Without this structure, cluster residents from unincorporated or unorganized communities had found it very difficult to get responses from the provincial government. Yet the move to municipal government was still frowned upon by many. Some local residents volunteered that the biggest reason for the avoidance of such a structure was the fear of property owners that they would have to pay taxes, even though property taxes were not universal under a town or LSD jurisdiction. Another aspect was the reluctance of having to conform to community legislation. For example, a new property owner got advice from a neighbor, “No town hall here, my dear. You could do whatever you please,” when it came to property renovations. Yet such sentiments did not deter the adjacent communities of Burnt Point, Gull Island and Northern Bay to undertake the LSD process, which will be examined in detail in a later chapter.

The opportunity to participate in government at the local level was not available to seven of the communities in this cluster, about one third of the population. Some communities joined together to form waste disposal committees for their locales, and a handful formed recreation committees to meet local needs. This was in marked contrast to the Labrador Straits where 97 percent of residents were under a system of municipal government and served on councils and committees in their hometown.
Development Organizations

Just as I found that the voluntary associations did not incorporate the entire cluster, I discovered that the same held true for the development organizations here. The cluster’s only formal development organization was the North Shore Regional Development Association (NSRDA) founded in 1991 and headquartered in Western Bay, representing the communities from Kingston to Low Point. One of the last provincial rural development associations to take shape, the NSRDA’s mission was to seek funding and development opportunities. Yet its main focus has been the administration of job creation projects (JCPs) to meet the needs of numerous residents clamoring for ways to accumulate hours to qualify for EI.

According to House (1999), the shift from emphasizing the long-term to generating local JCPs has been typical of provincial RDAs because of their lack of resources and opportunities to concentrate on development work with more lasting impact. The NSRDA’s JCPs included restoring a heritage-designated railroad station, students’ gathering of oral histories from long-time residents, closing landfills, recycling, and its popularly supported North Shore T’Railways project (Maddox 2002). Guided by a 28-person board (two from each locale in its area), the head of NSRDA was a volunteer until 2000 when it became possible to fund a permanent part-time executive director position. The communities of Old Perlican, Grates Cove, Red Head Cove and Bay de Verde have not joined a locally-based development agency like NSRDA. There were two other RDAs on the Peninsula, representing communities along the Trinity Bay shore.

The development organization involved with the Bay de Verde Peninsula prior to the cod closure was the Community Futures Program, set up in the late 1980s by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). Located in Carbonear, the organization evolved into the Trinity Conception Community Development Corporation (TCCDC) with efforts geared to the development and expansion of small businesses that contribute to the economic sustainability of the region. TCCDC has the option to provide some financing to entrepreneurs, whereas its neighbor located in the same building, the provincial Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development (IT&RD), offers predominantly advisory services to the same clientele. Since they began, both organizations have had continuity in funding that has allowed for uninterrupted paid staff.

The development organizations based in Carbonear promoted the North Shore cluster communities as well as the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula. These agencies included the Baccalieu Trail
Board of Trade; the Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation; the Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association (BTTA); and the Mariner Resources Opportunities Network known as M-RON (the zonal board). Of these development groups, the BTTA got its start before the moratorium. More about the launching of this organization will be examined in the chapter about post-moratorium developments in the tourism industry. The Newfoundland and Labrador Organization for Women Entrepreneurs (NLOWE) had an office in Bay Roberts, which serves the province’s Eastern Region. Two other government offices that were often involved in development projects in the cluster were the provincial Human Resource Labor and Employment office in Carbonear and the federal Human Resources and Skills Development office situated in Harbour Grace.

With nine distinct organizations working in the development field on the Bay de Verde Peninsula and one development office geared to service a segment of the North Shore cluster, one could suppose that there would be considerable development activity taking place in the cluster. However, I found this has not been the case.

In this chapter I have detailed the characteristics of the North Shore of Conception Bay cluster and inventoried its local social structures. From my fieldwork I determined that the cluster has 233 local social structures for a population of about 4,100. This translates into a ratio of about six social structures for every 100 residents. In the Labrador Straits, where there are 252 social structures, the ratio is 13 social structures for every 100 inhabitants. Small businesses are not as prolific here, spread fairly evenly throughout the area. Four communities have none and four more have a half dozen or less. The only medium-sized firm is a Quinlan fish processing plant in Old Perlican, part of the same privately-owned corporate group that operates the plant in Old Perlican and the one in Bay de Verde. Between 500 and 600 processing workers are employed seasonally here. All but two businesses are locally owned, and the major employer is a family held company that has expanded from here into other parts of the province and of the Maritimes. The ATM machines found in various establishments are the only signs of financial institutions, linked to offices located in Carbonear. This leaves residents and local institutions obligated to making a trip to Carbonear to handle their banking transactions expeditiously. All fishers belong to the provincial union, however, the plant processing employees do not.
Five full-time clergy and one “on circuit” serve the 22 churches that are located here, with approximately 1,460 families listed as active in these congregations. There are signs, however, of declining church membership, as many communities are struggling to keep their small congregations going. I found that the importance of churches here has been significantly diminished due to their lack of collaboration with other denominations. This will be clarified in my discussion of the cluster’s civic culture. In this cluster it is difficult to look at churches without looking at schools. I was particularly struck by the stronghold that the churches had historically in the various communities where they were located. In many ways, they defined the location to such a degree that if you lived there, then it was assumed you were of that faith. There are still some traces of this in communities today. Yet in places where there was a history of presence of more than one religion, lines of division were more likely to be blurred.

The cluster has three schools for the area’s pupils with a small portion of students attending one in Carbonear. After several contentious years of determining the configuration for cluster schools, parents and children are supportive of the new arrangement. Post-secondary educational offerings are available in Carbonear, if someone can provide their own transportation. The recently built health center in Old Perlican handles the immediate medical needs of those living at the northern end of the cluster, with the full-service hospital in Carbonear providing complete medical services. Institutions offering organized activities for children, youth, families and seniors are scarce.

The cluster’s voluntary associations number about 88, giving residents options to get involved in various civic, church and service groups. In spite of the economic and geographical circumstances for communities in the cluster to have organizations that serve the entire area, this is not present here. Only one development organization that provides for about half of the cluster is physically located here, while the other nine with jurisdiction over the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula are based in Carbonear and beyond. How these arrangements have influenced the civic culture of these communities will be probed in the next chapter.

Based on the lower numbers of these local social structures, I hypothesized that the civic culture here may not be as vibrant as that in the Labrador Straits. This contrasts with the Labrador Straits where there are twice as many structures per cluster resident. Businesses are also fewer when compared to the total population, and all but two are privately owned. In the Labrador Straits the dominant employer and
the credit union are operated as co-operatives, each with more than 20 years of tradition of investing in the local communities. The strong ties between churches and schools in some North Shore communities were diminished only within the last ten years. In the Labrador Straits, the local school traditionally served the entire community and often neighboring towns, regardless of the school’s religious affiliation. Voluntary associations in the North Shore cluster tend to serve their home communities, with some exceptions being those with membership from localities close by. In the Labrador Straits, voluntary associations may be based in respective communities, but often have a regional group that includes representatives from each community group. In addition there is a multitude of organizations that represent the entire cluster.

Only five out of twelve communities are organized into some form of municipal government, compared with six incorporated towns out of seven communities in the Labrador Straits. Only one development group is devoted to a segment of the North Shore cluster, with many others located in Carbonear serving the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula. In the Labrador Straits all the development offices located there serve the cluster itself.

My hypothesis for this research is predicated on the idea that success in socioeconomic well-being after the cod shutdown will have hinged on the local social structures and civic culture in place before the moratorium, as well as the relationship between the two. I identified the North Shore local social structures to be not as well developed as those in the Labrador Straits, putting the cluster in a less favorable place to respond to the moratorium. Further, the characteristics of these institutions which I studied lead me to forecast that the cluster’s residents will not be as civically engaged as those in the Labrador Straits. To put my claim to the test, in the next chapter I will examine aspects of the North Shore cluster’s civic culture, such as civic involvement, collaboration, civic leadership, and the diversity of communications and opinion.

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1 According to a local historian, this verse guided ship captains traveling from the Labrador fishing grounds (Round Hill Islands) to Conception Bay by way of Cape Bonavista (the first land they would sight on the island of Newfoundland) and Baccalieu Island at the tip of the Bay de Verde Peninsula. Many captains were illiterate, so they memorized this rhyme and used it along with a compass to guide their voyages.

2 Throughout the province, St. John’s is referred to as “Town” and its residents as “Townies.”

3 It is not uncommon for provincial natives who relocate far from home to express their last wish as to be buried in their home community. “Newfoundlanders always come home,” said one cluster resident, “even after 60 years away.”
The property attained recognition as a Registered Heritage Structure by the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador in 2001 (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage 2004).

A fish store is fisherman’s work shed used to repair and store gear and sometimes dried and salted codfish awaiting shipment. A flake is a platform supported by poles and utilized to dry codfish (Dictionary of Newfoundland English 2005).

Cape Bonavista to the west is acknowledged to be Cabot’s official landing site, though Grates Cove was thought to be another spot where Cabot touched land (http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/grates.html).

The production was aired at the Vancouver world’s fair, Expo ’86, then for ten years at the Canadian Pavilion at Florida’s Disney World (Swain June 1, 1985).

Discussion of local matters often found their way into these weekly meetings, which exposed the members to some elements of a basic municipal government (Smallwood and Pitt 1993).

Under the government of Premier Joseph Smallwood, the province launched a program to consolidate many small outports by offering the population in these locations financial incentives to relocate to larger communities. By 1972 over 25,000 chose to resettle, closing down about 220 communities in all (Webb 2000).

The provincial statistics agency includes the community of Kingston, located at the southernmost tip of the cluster and about 16 kilometers from Carbonear, as part of Carbonear. However, Kingston is part of the federal census division number 1, subdivision G, as are all other unincorporated cluster communities. Based on my calculations using Statistics Canada data for this census area, I estimate Kingston’s population to be about three percent of the cluster’s total and have listed these estimated figures.

Old Perlican’s population peaked in 1874 at 920. In 1884 Lower Island Cove reached 937 and Western Bay was at 1,117. By 1911 the tally of residents in the now-amalgamated communities of Small Point-Broad Cove-Blackhead-Adam’s Cove was 1,600 (Poole 1994, 1993, 1991). Grates Cove climbed to 846 residents by 1928 (MUN Extension Services 1980). In 1961 Bay de Verde population reached a high of 884 (Newfoundland Statistics Agency 1987).

The figures here are primarily from the provincial statistics agency and do not include Kingston for reasons just specified.

Per the Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency, the totals for these figures may appear to not add up because of random rounding.

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada licenses fishers but releases data on the number who are licensed only in the form of provincial totals to protect confidentiality in various communities, as clarified by a DFO source.

This tradition of owning local businesses outside the fishery still holds true today, as Quinlans own the Gasland enterprise in Old Perlican, leasing some space to a local businessperson. They also own other real estate properties in town for rent or lease.

An Irish Methodist preacher, Lawrence Coughlan, arrived on the Bay de Verde Peninsula in 1765. Another Methodist preacher, John Hoskins, came to Old Perlican in 1774 and within five years had converted almost the entire community. The Methodists spread their teachings to other cluster locations, in particular Lower Island Cove, Grates Cove, Western Bay, Ochre Pit Cove, Northern Bay and Burnt Point (Smallwood and Poole 1993).
17 The Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches in Canada merged in 1925 to create the United Church (United Church of Canada 2005).

18 The first presence of Catholicism in the area had ties to the Irish fishing servants who settled here in the 1700s. Yet, because of Crown legal restrictions on the practice of that religion, it was not until they later eased in the early 1800s that Roman Catholic places of worship were built (Chafe 1995). A Church of England clergyman in Bay de Verde served church members in Grates Cove as well.

19 Some friction between sects could be attributed to fraternal organizations like the Loyal Orange Association (LOA), which had established itself in Newfoundland in 1863 and later in several cluster communities. Conception Bay was deemed to have its highest concentration of membership. LOA had its major goals in those days as “upholding Protestantism and maintaining loyalty to the British Crown” (Poole 1991:381). There were many secret rituals and regulations, such as, those who married Roman Catholics were banned from the group. Yet the lodges also performed humanitarian deeds, offering support to members and their families in need (Poole 1991). One middle-aged cluster native recalled that in his youth he used watch “the Orangemen’s Parade in (his hometown) with a brass band and a white horse up front.” Nowadays the cluster branches of the LOA and its women’s counterpart, the Ladies’ Orange Benevolent Association, are no longer connected to any church but rather are social groups, which also support charitable causes.

20 All were one-room elementary schools taught by lay teachers under the auspices of the three religious groups, Methodist, Church of England (later Anglican), and Roman Catholic. Typical of those earlier days was the example of Grates Cove, where in 1901 there were three separate facilities offering grades one to eleven: a two-room Methodists school, a one-room Roman Catholic school, and a one room Church of England school (Smallwood and Poole 1994).

21 Presently the junior high students who have chosen to attend high school in Carbonear are housed at Cabot Academy on a short-term basis. In the fall of 2006 it is planned that junior high classes for them will be shifted from Cabot to Persalvic School in Victoria. For high school they are bussed to Carbonear.

22 In 2004 consolidation of another sort transpired, when the provincial government downsized the number of provincial school boards from eleven to five to cope with declining enrollments. The cluster high school and two elementary schools are now part of the Eastern School District, the largest in the province governing schools on the Avalon, Burin, and Bonavista Peninsulas, which continues to experience financial and other woes. As an example, in the Fall of 2004 facilities at Cabot Academy were strained to accommodate an extra 90 students from a nearby elementary school for several months due to the need to attend to an unexpected discovery of mold and asbestos at their school (Bowman October 5, 2004).

23 The College of the North Atlantic (CONA), the province’s public college with 17 campuses, offers Carbonear students a chance to accumulate transferable credits for further post-secondary studies; one- to two-year programs in areas such as business administration, community studies, and heritage carpentry; Adult Basic Education and other programs (College of the North Atlantic website). Keyin, a private college with seven campuses in the province, has degree and certificate programs geared to meet industry needs (Keyin College website).

24 As explained by a volunteer with the Bayshore Adult Literacy Council, the organization serves the Bay de Verde Peninsula. Its program is under the umbrella of Laubach Literacy of Canada, which offers free reading, writing, and numeracy skills development to adult learners.

25 The Sea Cadet Program fosters leadership, good citizenship, physical fitness, and an awareness of careers in the Canadian Navy (National Defence 2005).
The Small Point to Adams Cove community originally included Kingston. Four years after incorporation, Kingston’s residents decided to pull out of the council’s jurisdiction and took their case to provincial court to get permission to do so (Bowman March 25, 1997).

A Local Service District committee is elected annually within a community and given powers by the Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs to impose limited fees for services that are provided (Newfoundland and Labrador Municipal and Provincial Affairs 1999).

Some Burnt Point property owners experienced poor communication from government about assistance in dealing with arsenic in their community water supply (Maddock September 17, 2002). Two members of the Western Bay waste disposal committee resigned their committee posts because of frustration with lack of assistance from the provincial government in resolving environmental pollution issues (Simmons February 17, 2004).

In 1995 HRDC transferred the program to ACOA, and the initiative became known as the Community Business Development Corporations (CBDC) (Goss Gilroy Inc. 2003)

The Women’s Enterprise Bureau was formed in the early 1990s and by 1998 it had evolved into the Newfoundland and Labrador Organization for Women Entrepreneurs. Its funding is primarily from ACOA (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, according to a NLOWE source.
CHAPTER VII

CIVIC CULTURE IN THE NORTH SHORE CLUSTER

This study has been designed to examine two clusters of resource-dependent communities by focusing on characteristics of their local social structures and their civic culture and how they relate to one another. I define a community’s civic culture as a combination of attitudes, behaviors, beliefs and norms that predominate in a community setting. Researchers such as Tolbert et al. (1998) and Flora et al. (1997) have found these factors to be good predictors of a community’s socioeconomic well-being. For example, Tolbert et al. (1998) emphasized the value of a proliferation of small and medium-sized businesses, effective local government, citizens involved in churches and civic organizations, social and educational services to meet community needs, and, importantly, the presence of a local financial institution.

Based on what I observed, the analysis of the North Shore cluster’s local social structures in the previous chapter indicated that the cluster’s civic culture might not be as vibrant as what was found in the Labrador Straits. In the North Shore cluster small businesses were present, but not in great numbers. The one medium-sized employer actually is part of the same corporate group as the largest employer here, making medium-sized businesses with 20 or more employees practically non-existent. The viability of the churches here is in doubt, for a number of congregations seem to be struggling to keep their doors open. There is a presence of some strong civic organizations, to be looked at in more detail in this chapter on civic culture. Social and educational programs are few and far between, leaving youths, families and senior citizens to provide for their own needs without support from local institutions. Lastly, the absence of a financial institution makes it difficult for local small businesses and for residents without transportation to attend to their banking needs.
The assessment of a community’s civic culture for this study includes an in-depth analysis of the following:

- *Citizen involvement*: how residents take part in community life;
- *Collaboration*: how citizens cooperate for the common good as demonstrated in networking between organizations internal and external to the cluster;
- *Civic leadership*: the diversity among leaders, their leadership approaches, and how residents see them;
- *Communications and opinions*: the availability of objective public information and the ability to deal with conflicting opinions.

In this chapter I will look closely at these attributes and point out examples of where I found them in the North Shore cluster, augmented by case studies to elaborate. In the end I anticipate being able to assess how the local social structures and the civic culture here are interrelated.

**Citizen Involvement**

If the local populace as well as business owners volunteer their energies and resources for causes that benefit the community, then collective action will come easier when the need presents itself (Flora et al. 1997). For this reason I look at citizen involvement and whether locals reach out to others to assist in time of need or whether they focus more on their own personal necessities. What I uncovered about citizen involvement in this cluster is that residents tended to be involved in activities within their home communities. Some locales exhibited more citizen participation than others, and there were some groups that included more than one community.

"When people are good (here), they are beyond all expectations and show extreme kindness," relayed a longtime resident. Arriving in the area, I had heard from several sources about a recent collection taken up for a fisher who was suffering from cancer because the health care insurance system did not cover all the treatments he required. Yet he was told by one of his fishing buddies, "You concentrate on getting well, and we'll take care of the rest." A canvassing of residents in three communities and half of a fourth resulted in raising the $10,000 that was needed. Another oft discussed assistance dealt with home improvements. "Last summer seven guys showed up and helped my daughter and me shingle the roof," shared one. A second citizen explained, "If I were to shingle my house and say, 'I'm going shingling
tomorrow morning, at nine they’ll be coming with their hammers. By noon it’s all done. Money is not even discussed.” This was what Omohundro (1994) observed in communities he studied on the Northern Peninsula where “building is a cooperative venture and labor is provided through the informal economy” (p.251). These individual acts of generosity reinforced that the populace were indeed living according to the provincial model of helping those in need, whether they be a neighbor or a stranger. Yet in one of the more prosperous parts of the cluster, there was a hint of a change in approach. A native explained that it used to be “anybody would give you a hand. But even before the moratorium, things changed. The last 10 to 15 years people don’t help out. I have to pay people to do things now.”

Aside from these personal accounts of involvement, the local social structures were also instrumental in mustering resources for a cause. The area’s 22 churches were good examples. Together they accounted for 29 voluntary associations. Although some groups were more geared to the religious aspect of church life, such as choirs, others also did their share of volunteer work, in particular, fundraising. Bingo games, garden parties, fall fairs, pancake days, Irish stew or sausage suppers, and the sale of cold plates were familiar on the local scene. But a couple of those close to the church activities confided, “Things start off with a bang but fizzle out. When the (fish) plants are going full steam, everything stops.”

Correspondingly schools served to foster community participation. “If children are involved in anything,” said one community leader,” parents and grandparents have always supported them wholeheartedly.” The school councils organized fundraisers like selling chocolate or cookie dough or candles. At Cabot Academy the junior high French students were selling tickets to a teddy bear raffle and coupons to a Carbonear fast food outlet to pay for a trip to Quebec City in the spring. Last year parents at Baccalieu Collegiate held a dinner and auction to help finance the school choir’s trip to Montreal to perform in a national competition. Parents of the Sea Cadets ran bingo games and sold vegetable hampers to generate financial support for the program’s activities.

Fishers volunteered their talents to running the six Harbour Authority groups. But noticeably diminished in presence were local Fishermen’s Committees, active before the moratorium but having since lost their purpose. Most of their involvement had been linked to the cod fishery infrastructure, such as the
upkeep of community stages and stores, along with the designation of cod trap berths. Yet fishers did participate and contribute to other community organizations.

Owners of business enterprises were continuously supportive of local causes with financial or in-kind contributions. The Quinlan businesses gave to a myriad of cluster causes, plus projects in their home communities like the upgrading of a cemetery or the construction of a playground. “Quinlans have good relations with the town,” reported one native. “Just last night they contributed three monetary awards to students and one to Baccalieu Collegiate, too.” The importance of monetary and in-kind contributions of businesses is not to be undervalued, as they infuse needed funds into valuable local causes. However, over and above such donations, there is no substitute for hands-on participation in community affairs. Business owners bring skills and talents to local groups that have the potential of enhancing the operation of these organizations. However, I did not find this volunteer involvement to be common in the North Shore cluster.

Due to the scarcity of formal local governments, there were limited outlets for citizens to participate in such efforts. Fire and ambulance organizations and even heritage groups enjoyed considerable community support, both from volunteers who served and those who contributed financially to their causes. The Old Perlican Fire Department was the first in the area in the early 1990s to use a closed circuit channel on the cable network for broadcasting TV bingo weekly to raise funds. Other communities and organizations picked up the method, and TV bingo games as well as telethons were regular events. As an example, one cluster fire department's TV bingo games raised $65,000 toward the purchase of a fire truck and a rescue squad vehicle, purchased on a cost share basis with the aid of the provincial government. The North Shore Central Ambulance Service was another well-supported venture, discussed in more detail under the topic of collaboration.

There were many instances of communities acknowledging the accomplishments of their volunteers. One town council held a volunteer appreciation evening each October. For its 2003 event there were 90 citizens on the invitation list. Anniversaries of the founding of town councils, fire departments, ambulances services, and the like were typically cause for celebration. Nevertheless, for every one community leader I interviewed in this area who told me there was no problem in getting volunteers for
their particular organization, there were two more leaders who felt that it was getting to be harder. “The trend is that the same people are involved,” said one. “That results in overload, burnout,” said another.

This brought out another perception that exists here with “the same people trying to do it all,” explained a cluster native. “The rest of the community may perceive involvement as negative...Oh, that’s so and so again!” Even though there was a lot of support from residents, interviewees said, the hesitation to step forward could be attributed to a lack of self-confidence. “Everyone wants to be involved, but no one raises their hand,” shared one leader. Another explanation was a reluctance to take on responsibility because if something goes wrong, “you’ve got to take part of the blame.” An additional observation that surfaced often was that people who move into the area and take on volunteer positions experience “resentment from natives because they’re taking over, though that’s not the outsiders’ intent.” One more interpretation of this dilemma could also be the out-migration that has occurred here. “A major drawback is that many of our people are older with health (problems),” said a long-time leader, “and not enough younger people are staying to be involved. Traditionally Newfoundlanders are good neighbors and looked after Uncle Joe or Aunt So-and-so, and if the call was there, there was no reluctance to come forward.”

The area’s development organizations appeared to have the most difficulty in recruiting cluster volunteers. Since most development groups are situated outside the cluster in Carbonear, they draw volunteers from the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula to serve on their boards and committees. According to one development staffer, “we have several open seats on our board now, and most of the others have served since day one.” In general, the Carbonear-based organizations have much stronger volunteer presence from larger towns like Carbonear, Harbour Grace and Bay Roberts. “It’s so hard to get someone from (the North Shore cluster),” shared a development leader. “You have to be willing to make a commitment and attend monthly meetings.... But you get out of it what you put into it.” Another saw the North Shore as a “very close group when it comes to emergencies, but not a lot when it comes to community development.”

There were a number of community-based voluntary groups that utilized local buildings, often former schools, to organize social activities, such as card games, bingo, teenage dances, parties for New Year’s and Valentine’s Day, and dart games. I learned about a few that drew volunteers from more than one locale. Founded over 20 years ago, the Hospital Auxiliary of the A. A. Wilkinson Health Centre in Old
Perlcan emphasized fundraising to purchase items for the facility or the ambulance. Their Fun Walk, which raised over $3,000 in 2003, had become an annual event, attracting participants from many cluster locales. The Baccalieu Lions Club, formerly the Old Perlcan Lions Club, was formed in 1988 and has members, both men and women, from a number of communities in the area. According to a charter member, “in the last 15 years, we gave over $150,000 to help people with medical treatments.” The club had its own facility and was developing a small park with trailer sites and hook-ups in Old Perlcan. Other Lions Club activities included an Old Christmas Day party for seniors and catering for special community events (Duggan April 15, 2003).

Probably the most active of these groups was the Association for Youth and Leisure Activities (AYLA), formed in 1989 in Lower Island Cove by parents seeking constructive outlets for their youngsters. By joining forces with the neighboring communities of Job’s Cove and Caplin Cove to form a recreation service area, they launched fundraising events like dances, dart games and concerts. “When we first started, there was nothing here for kids,” said an involved parent. “So we held a lot of teenage dances, and we’d get 100 teens on a Saturday night from Bay de Verde to Kingston.” They restored a small park, built a playground and a sports field, and eventually raised enough to match government monies for the erection of their own facility, which contains a large hall, kitchen, canteen for snacks, fitness center, poolroom, and youth area with table tennis and a pinball machine. AYLA volunteers supervised activities for all ages year round and also catered special events at their facility. Because the AYLA park had a small pond, the group organized a regatta, then supplemented it with a folk festival and fireworks. This became so popular that the Lower Island Cove Regatta and Folk Festival is now held annually in August and regularly attracts attendees from afar, including former residents home for a visit. Although government grants helped initially, the AYLA raised between $35,000 to $65,000 annually for upkeep of its building and grounds. Per a Newfoundland and Labrador Parks and Recreation Department source, the AYLA received the department’s prestigious Pitcher Plant Award in 1992 for its start-up accomplishments.1 “Once it all got off,” said a charter member, “it’s made a lot of community spirit and built great pride in what was being done here. There’s no place on the Shore like it.”

165
The AYLA is one of the few instances that I could find in this cluster with such a high level of citizen involvement. Therefore, I concluded that in spite of volunteer opportunities within communities and locally based institutions, there were a limited number of voluntary organizations that spanned several communities and none that I found that incorporated the entire cluster exclusively. With the exception of the North Shore Regional Development Association, in itself not a cluster-wide institution, all other groups dealt with social rather than economic well-being. Residents and organizations were financially generous with their contributions towards local causes. But in terms of actual citizen service, there were reports of volunteer burnout. Residents' involvement in community economic development groups serving the Bay de Verde Peninsula at large was sparse, a factor which no doubt impacts cluster economic well-being, to be examined in the chapter dealing with events after the moratorium. In contrast, citizen involvement in the Labrador Straits was as vibrant in locale-based associations as it was in a myriad of cluster-wide voluntary groups. There were also examples like individual community Women's Institute groups which provided representation for the cluster-wide Southern Labrador Women's Institute, as well as town Recreation Committees which fed into the Labrador Straits Regional Recreation Commission. Seats on the volunteer boards of development groups were filled solely by citizens drawn from cluster communities.

**Collaboration**

For this research I have considered collaboration to be an important aspect of a community's civic culture. By looking at whether local social structures link with one another to accomplish community objectives and whether ties from these institutions extend outside the community to neighboring regions and beyond, I sought to evaluate the extent that collaboration is a part of the fiber of the community's civic culture. As researchers have shown, trust emerges in a community when residents are involved with one another in varied settings, in particular under the auspices of local social structures, and cooperation with one another tends to be a by-product (Flora et al. 1997; Putnam 1993). By building such social networks within communities, citizens as well as organizations are positioned to obtain access to resources they would ordinarily not be able to tap or perhaps even be aware of within the community, or in the case of this study, within the cluster. The same premise holds for collaboration outside the community. If the external
networks of residents and organizations are broad and adaptable, then a community could have an entrée to resources in neighboring communities, regions, and even further away. By fostering such ties a community achieves an identity outside the area that can facilitate wide-ranging cooperation (Flora et al. 1997; Granovetter 1973). Collaboration in a community manifests itself in residents coming together to jointly solve problems of community concern and even sharing community facilities. Community leaders in a collaborative civic culture typically hold responsible leadership positions outside the community as well, in regional, provincial, national or international settings. In a well formed civic culture, a community’s local social structures look for opportunities to enter provincial or national contests. Chances for visitor exchanges with distant communities are promoted to build vertical connections. This section will demonstrate that in the North Shore of Conception Bay, my research uncovered some prominent examples of collaboration, but they did not include the entire cluster. Also, I found that networking here tended to be stronger external to the cluster than within.

A case in point is with the dominant employer. The Quinlan Brothers and Quin-Sea operations were by their corporate ties very strong partners. One Carbonear-based development officer stated, “Quinlan’s and Quin-Sea have representatives on our steering committee for the broadband project, and there’s always been someone from Quinlan Brothers on (our) board.” Yet these were the only cases of Quinlans’ participation in official regional community development activity that I found here. Quinlans’ vertical bonds with other fish processors were strengthened through membership in the provincial trade organization, the Association of Seafood Processors (ASP), and the National Seafood Sector Council (2004), which attempts to promote a healthy processing industry with a competent, productive workforce). Connections with federal fishing authorities in matters of export and product quality and with provincial authorities who grant processing licenses were very solid. Plants in other Maritime provinces, joint ventures with Chinese businesses, and linkages with customers worldwide made them a viable national and international player in the industry. All of these involvements translated into strong linkages outside the cluster.

Likewise, a minor portion of cluster small businesses were involved in development efforts for the area. In reviewing the website membership listings of two Baccalieu Trail development groups, the cluster
participation was weak. In one organization, there were six cluster members out of 92 on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. In the other, there were a dozen cluster members out of a total of 154 for the region. In actuality I observed somewhat of a disconnection between and among local businesses and other institutions in this regard. Instead entrepreneurs were focused on the operation of their businesses and perhaps did not see how their personal participation could enrich civic groups.

A departure from this pattern of nonparticipation was the collaboration of some business people in two *ad hoc* initiatives. One committee was formed to save the local bank branch, to be examined further in the chapter of post moratorium activities. The other was the effort to build a regional recreation arena. In the years before the moratorium, residents from the tip of the peninsula started to take part in a minor hockey league team in Harbour Grace, an hour and ten minutes from their homes. Interest grew until there were between 50 and 70 people from Old Perlican, “driving back and forth, even sending buses up,” recalled a community leader. “After a while we had enough folks from here to have our own team.” A group of interested citizens decided they had enough with all of the driving, so they set up a committee to determine if it could be financially feasible to erect a stadium closer to home. They sought funds from the provincial government’s Department of Parks and Recreation and learned that a portion of the money would have to be matched locally. In response to requests for contributions, “we got (letters) from just about everybody, but no dollar amounts,” recalled a committee member. The collaborative undertaking to construct such a facility was dropped due to the lack of specific monetary pledges and the inability to agree on a location.

Providing another example of collaboration outside of the cluster were the fishers. As members of FFAWU, they built firm vertical connections due to their representation on various committees that were typically regional or provincial in scope. They served on FFAWU committees such as the Executive Council; the Inshore Council; the Vessel Safety Committee; the 3L Under 35 (Feet Boats) Crab Committee; the 3L Full-Time Crab Committee; and the Professional Certification Board. According to an FFAWU source, these committees were part of the union’s shift to organize by species, fleets, bays, and regional representation. In the cluster there were about 50 Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary (CCGA) volunteers, mostly fishers or former fishers, who were able to mobilize up to 20 boats to augment search and rescue
missions in a district that extends along the northeast coast of the province. These involvements strengthened external ties with other fishers and communities far beyond the cluster.

The town councils and fire departments of the three cluster municipalities were eligible to participate in the Trinity Bay de Verde Association that meets monthly during winter to work on joint projects and discuss issues of mutual interest. Nevertheless, one town official acknowledged that no one from his council had time to attend the monthly meetings.

The area’s emergency services stress collaboration here, even though none were cluster-wide. The Bay de Verde and Old Perlican organizations worked together and looked after neighboring communities. For several decades the North Shore Volunteer Fire Department provided protection to the residents all along the North Shore. Likewise the North Shore Central Ambulance Service (NSCAS) attended to emergencies on the North Shore from Kingston to Lower Island Cove since 1974. Founded by concerned citizens seeking a formal means of transporting sick and injured residents to the hospital, the NSCAS grew to an organization with four full-time employees and 24 member-responders, an ambulance that was a current year’s model, and a substantial cash reserve. The group had three yearly fundraisers, with the primary event being a telethon broadcast over the two area cable community channels, bringing in about $10,000 annually (The Compass February 24, 2003). The town of Small Point to Adams Cove partnered with NSCAS for an annual summertime Fun Days fundraiser and also allocated rent-free space. Other local social structures, including local businesses, United Church Women, the Sea Breeze Senior Citizens’ Club, and the Salem Community Center lend a hand. The North Shore Fire Department volunteers augmented the NSCAS emergency team on an as-needed basis (The Compass July 5, 2000). Combined with their “good neighbor” approach of offering CPR training to the public and promoting everyday safety practices among children, NSCAS brought a professionally run emergency response service to the cluster (The Compass October 19, 2004).

Cluster schools also found ways to horizontally connect with their communities and even venture beyond. Tricon Elementary sponsored an outreach to musicians in neighboring locales, interviewing residents about the longstanding presence of traditional music in the area and capturing samples of local musicians’ music for posting and airing on the school’s web page. Cabot Academy hosted a weekly Story
Time event for area pre-schoolers and their parents. Organized by a local volunteer, the activity drew such a large crowd that often the room was practically filled to overflowing. Baccalieu Collegiate public speaking students won top honors in annual Speak Off competitions, sponsored by voluntary associations on the Baccalieu Trail, including the Baccalieu Lions Club (The Compass April 6, 2004; Duggan April 18, 2003). That school’s choir qualified to enter the national MusicFest Canada competition in Montreal and came home with a silver medal (Pike June 22, 2004).

Even with the positive reports of collaboration and networking outside the cluster, there were other narratives to the contrary. In one town, concerns were raised about town council’s disinterest in the efforts of some of its own local committees. Another town was approached a number of years ago to join the adjacent rural development association but rejected the invitation. A local leader opined that such membership was not really worthwhile because of his perception that “some civic leaders talk regionalization but they are only interested in their own little town.” Another leader shared that from time to time law enforcement officers for the peninsula reacted to vandalism reports from cluster communities by making efforts to involve residents in programs like Crime Stoppers. Once they even attempted to talk up the establishment of a youth center. But locals assured them that the community could take care of its own needs without outside assistance. This leader concluded, “In small communities, everybody knows everybody, and residents are reluctant to be known as ‘citizen-on-patrol.’”

In two communities where more than one church exists, residents recounted that they attended one another’s churches. One spoke of “no division here whatsoever” on religious grounds. In another, women from three local churches teamed up to prepare a traditional Newfoundland dinner to a group of visitors (Bowman June 16, 1998). The clergy serving here were all from outside the cluster with the exception of a retired clergyman who spent summers in his native community, substituting for fellow clergy as needed. No ecumenical group existed but there were one-on-one connections between clergy of varying intensity.

As a whole, I could locate very few channels of routine cooperation among local social structures within the cluster. The absence of this collaboration readily translated into missed opportunities, like the minor hockey league team or the location for cluster-wide recreational and entertainment possibilities that
never materialized. In addition the spin-off business from such events that might have pumped economic benefits into the area did not come to fruition. I did learn that where collaboration exists, it tended to be vertical rather than horizontal. For example, Quinlan Brothers fostered connections outside the cluster, with their other plants and with other processors through the provincial trade organization. The fishers’ involvement in their labor union was geared to regional or provincial committees as opposed to Fishermen’s Committees from communities within the cluster. Even so, the vertical contacts of local social structures did not appear to benefit or be shared with other cluster institutions. There were no planned attempts to reach outside to enrich cluster resources or to welcome outsiders to the cluster for exchange purposes. Hence I conclude that collaboration does not appear to be prevalent in the North Shore cluster. Perhaps this is due to the way people survived in earlier years. As one native commented:

In these outport communities, characteristics of people are a little odd. All households were independent. It was very, very competitive in the (cod) fishery. Sometimes (people) were friendly, sometimes not so friendly. On the other side of the coin, community effort was needed to put your boat in and get it out. You couldn’t get buried unless you had a group of men to dig your grave.

Because the role of the government and development agencies in this cluster became more pronounced after the moratorium, I will describe how I see their collaboration in the next chapter.

**Civic Leadership**

To complement citizen involvement and collaboration in a community’s civic culture, civic leadership needs to be diverse and inclusive with all citizens being seen as important contributors to civic causes. The progression from volunteer to civic leader should be open to all, with a supportive, mentoring atmosphere facilitating this development. Celebrated rather than discredited, leaders are skilled and encouraging rather than limited in exposure and lacking confidence. A participative leadership approach enhances civic culture. In communities with a healthy civic culture, civic leaders who promote the common good, exhibit vision, and take risks are more common than those who are hesitant, uninspired, and focused solely on their community or organization rather than the bigger picture. In this section I analyze the civic leadership in the North Shore cluster. What I found was that leadership often was concentrated in the hands of a few longtime residents and that there appeared to be a paucity of leaders being groomed for such responsibilities. Leadership expertise was more on-the-job than formally addressed.
Before reviewing the contributions of the structures themselves, I begin with a look at the makeup of the local governmental bodies here, as shown in Table 7-1. There were 33 citizens holding these slots of civic responsibility, with two vacancies in one town. Women had 30 percent of the seats, and one chaired a Local Service District (LSD). Municipal committees were composed mainly of fishers, educators, fish plant workers, and other working people. Over the last 20 years in the cluster, it has been the exception that a businessperson other than a fisher served in such capacity. Many years ago a local businessperson stated to a longtime resident that the reason for not serving was the potential for “too much of a conflict of interest between the company and the committee business.” In the newly formed Local Service District (LSD) of Burnt Point-Gull Island-Northern Bay, however, there are two local businesspersons on the committee of seven. Also, some business people had served on regional ad hoc committees, such as the one presented above to set up a regional arena and another for saving the local bank, to be looked at in the next chapter.

Just nine percent serving in these municipal roles were under 40 years old. The low participation of younger residents in civic government pointed up a critical gap in leadership, due to the exodus of so many youths from the cluster once high school was behind them. The area’s recently elected MHA in her late 20s was among the exceptions to the rule here. One cluster community I learned about has several married couples under age 40 who were very involved in volunteer efforts connected to their church,

Table 7-1. Demographics of Town Councils/Local Service District Committees – North Shore

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town/Local Service District</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Under 40</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bay de Verde</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnt Point – Gull Island – Northern Bay</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grates Cove</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Perlican</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Point to Adams Cove</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Community Officials (November 2004)
community recreation, and emergency services activities, among others. Another cluster community had two residents under 40 in leadership positions in a local group. However, overall I found a dearth of younger leaders here.

I did observe the schools to be fertile grounds for producing community leaders from the ranks of their professional staff. I discovered teachers and school principals engaged in roles such as fire chief, mayor, local service district committee member, and board members of development and library groups. Some educators were cluster natives, who have returned after their university training to reinvest their talents in their home communities. The provincial Department of Education's policy has allowed teachers to retire after 30 years of service. Since they can count their years of university education as part of the 30-year qualification period, these retirees are positioned for a second "career" at age 50 or thereabouts. I met many throughout my fieldwork who have devoted their retirement years to community leadership efforts. The development groups as well as heritage committees serving the North Shore cluster benefited greatly from the contributions of these retirees, for example. The prominent role of teachers in community affairs was also seen by Dona Davis in her study of a Newfoundland outport during the fisheries crisis (in McGrath et al. 1995). She referred to "an internal village stratification system...emerging where teachers (and professionals like nurses and social workers) are on the top, followed down the hierarchy by other government or salaried workers, merchants, fishermen and fish plant labourers, those on (unemployment), welfare and a tiny group best characterized as hard-core poor" (pp. 281-2).

Perhaps the most industrious civic leader in the cluster was a retired school principal who has built a legacy of his volunteer contributions with over 40 years of service to the area. His involvements in his hometown of Old Perlican included stints as its founding mayor, organizer and/or one-time leader of its ambulance service, recreation commission, fire department, and heritage committee (Bowman November 17, 1998). While chair of the local Harbour Authority, he oversaw the development of a long-range plan that resulted in the construction of a $1.8 million, DFO-funded wharf and pier (Simmons October 21, 2003). His other leadership roles were in the church, school and health care arenas among others. An author of two books on the history of Old Perlican, he was a tireless advocate of the town and the area.
Economic leadership in the cluster's business community was readily assigned to its major employers, Quinlan Brothers and Quin-Sea Fisheries. The organization distinguished itself as the economic engine of the cluster and community leader in that regard. Quinlan Brothers in Bay de Verde were pacesetters in the area’s critical transition from a credit to a cash system. In an industry that endured major downturns over the last 50 years, Quinlans have done remarkably well at providing a place for area fishers to sell their harvest and seasonal employment in fish processing for hundreds of cluster residents, along with several dozen full-time positions. Many perceive that Quinlans’ investments in plants, equipment, boats, and research have built a secure economic base for the area, although it was only as secure as the area’s natural resource supply. Overall, this meant prosperity for a number of businesses that sprung up to meet industry needs, in particular, in construction and transportation. Other small businesses that serve the cluster were also dependent upon business from customers tied to this dominant employer. Because of the high level of fisheries activity here with “90 fishing vessels regard(ing) Old Perlican as their home port, making it one of the five largest fishing harbours in the province,” the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans invested in significant fisheries infrastructure improvement projects (Simmons October 21, 2003:B5). The area had an aura of prosperity here because of the Quinlans’ successful endeavors.

From those familiar with the Quinlan operations, I learned that they invest in training their management and production employees. For example, Quin-Sea Fisheries was one of the provincial leaders in running courses in quality control, quality assurance, safety, and even in seafood processing. As to Quinlans’ role in civic leadership, I learned that employees have generally not been available to take on community leadership roles during peak season when plants were continuously operating. Yet some still managed to be civic leaders or participate in voluntary groups. As mentioned earlier, the Quinlan enterprises were represented on committees of the zonal board for the Bay de Verde Peninsula (the Mariner Resources Opportunities Network or M-RON). Further they openly supported the Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade and Trinity Conception Community Development Corporation, although most of their involvements were directly linked to their business needs.

I found other businesses in the area were sparsely represented in civic leadership. A small business owner admitted, “There’s not much time to get involved myself or have much to do with the
Carbonear agencies.” Nonetheless, one small business owner here was an exception. A native of Old Perlican, he distinguished himself in service to his home community as a 20-year town council member, including two terms as mayor, as well as a long-term volunteer ambulance driver and member of its fire department (The Compass November 24, 1998). But his most exceptional voluntary work has been with the Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary (CCGA). Since he joined in the late 1970s, he rose through the ranks of the provincial and national organizations. In 1990 he was chosen to be the latter’s chief executive officer, a post he still holds (The Compass, October 26, 2002). His contribution of over 25,000 hours of volunteer service earmarked him for many CCGA awards. Most recently, the Governor General of Canada inducted him into the Order of Canada (The Telegram February 13, 2004; The Compass June 18, 2002). He was instrumental in setting up a partnership with the U. S. Coast Guard Auxiliary and was even named its first honorary member from outside the U.S. (The Compass, October 26, 2002). A spokesperson for the CCGA on a national and international level, his horizontal and vertical networks extended far beyond his hometown and the cluster.

Although this small businessperson has been hailed far and wide for his civic leadership, recognition for cluster leaders was not widespread. To its credit, the Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade set up a virtual Hall of Fame in 1994 to honor citizens of the Bay de Verde Peninsula, who have made outstanding contributions in such sectors as industry and commerce, education, sports and recreation, and community volunteer services. Eight cluster residents were inducted since its founding. But what I heard from several interviewees was that in their experience as community leaders, they were treated as someone who was “different” and not necessarily accepted in the leadership role. Occasionally it was due to the individual’s being from outside the community — a CFA (a Come From Away’er) — who was chastised by residents that the CFA really did not understand how things were to be done there. Even the return of a native after a few years’ absence, coupled with the person’s enthusiasm for community development, was met with resistance. “Perhaps the locals felt threatened by my suggestions, which often involved a change to the status quo,” said one who repeatedly experienced disapproval. Substantiating my finding about the attitude toward leaders is what Davis (in McGrath et al. 1995) reported on her return to an outpost 10 years after her initial fieldwork, that is, “the members of the community development committee, the tourism development
committee, and the town council (were) censured by locals, as being out for their own interests, nepotistic, ineffective” (p. 281).

Another obstacle to broadening the leadership base were occasional statements from a volunteer or even civic leader, such as “If so-and-so is going to be on that committee, count me out,” a remark sometimes based on an age-old grudge or a narrow assessment of the individual’s potential contribution. There were also sentiments about a reluctance of some to share power. “It’s the ‘big fish in a little pond’ syndrome,” said one. “In our particular organization, the bylaws limit terms to three years, but some have held these posts now for more than 15 years.” This hesitation to give up the “what’s in it for me” outlook was echoed by others. From my assessment of civic leadership here I believe it is strongly linked to the role of collaboration in the cluster’s civic culture. Observations I heard on this included the following:

Up and down the North Shore we have small buildings (run by) religious, non-profit or community based groups. We cannot sustain what we have, but if we came together in a cooperative, proactive approach, we would be that much stronger. But what I find still is those who have a little bit of authority can’t see the bigger picture....Look at the ideas, changes that could come out of (consolidation of groups)....

Another explanation of what could deter individuals from assuming a leadership role is in fact the manner in which a leader might, perhaps unconsciously, make less-than-positive assessments of other leaders rather than acknowledging their contributions or acting as a mentor toward them. Some comments I heard were, “Not much point in talking with (that person),” and “The head of that group... is not a very good spokesperson. A better contact is.....” One leader observed that because of a particular individual’s stature in the community, others serving on the same committee would hesitate to challenge that person’s point of view.

Some interviewees addressed the absence of training for leaders, current and prospective. A respected authority pointed to the problem as being “a lack of confidence, a lack of skill” among some in leadership slots. Another explained that some folks had gained skills in conducting meetings from their association with the Orange Lodge. The FFAWU also provided good opportunities to develop leadership skills for those fishers who got involved in union committees. But these training options were not accessible to all. “In the earlier years of our existence when we were funded, we held some seminars,” said a development staffer, “and when the zonal board first got started, they offered training workshops.”
Whatever training in interpersonal skills and management techniques that may have been provided decades ago, such as in the provincial Rural Development Program, did not appear to be fostered here in the interim (Johnstone 1980). One resident with years of involvement in community affairs admitted, “Teambuilding is not being done by community groups, nor has strategic planning been utilized to any great extent.” Still another civic leader designated the lack of formal education beyond high school as the culprit. However, I found inspiring examples of leaders in this cluster who completed Grade 11 or even lower and never let an absence of more formal educational credentials keep them from making remarkable contributions to their communities.

From my contacts with cluster residents, I found that the ranks of civic leaders were not diverse in background and ages. Because of the fewer number of local social structures, there were less chances for inhabitants to take on leadership roles. Yet opportunities for such roles in area community development groups were available but rarely filled from the cluster. Businesspersons in general did not step forward to assume leadership responsibilities. Further I concluded that leadership training has not been a high priority. Leaders were not uniformly hailed for their achievements. Perhaps the stories of these leaders’ accomplishments have not reached the general populace and are an indication of how these leaders are celebrated (or not) in the communities in the North Shore cluster. For that, it is appropriate to take a look at the diversity of communications and opinions here.

**Communications and Opinions**

The fourth and last facet of civic culture in this study is how a community deals with conveying information and handling diverse opinions. When residents are up-to-date and accurately informed from credible sources about civic happenings, this dissemination of information has a positive affect on civic culture. In addition the civic culture benefits, if citizens feel free to speak their minds openly and can deal constructively with conflict. Under these circumstances, residents are more likely to resolve differences on community matters constructively rather than divisively (Flora et al. 1997). If current, objective news about matters important to communities is lacking, then residents tend to rely on informal sources. Rumors, secrecy and unnecessary friction could invade the community climate. An examination of communications
and opinions in this cluster points to a limited communications exchange about civic affairs through formal channels.

In the North Shore cluster, communications were mainly informal. "Two or three men congregate on a bench or a store," said one citizen. "It'd be a funny thing that happens during the night that we don't hear about it next morning." According to another, "the media don't come down the shore very often, so news travels by word of mouth, at gatherings at the bingo hall or at a ... group meeting... true, false and add on." When I inquired if people here feel free to speak their mind, the responses ran the gamut from "No trouble getting an opinion on current affairs," to "Some people hold it in, maybe because they are not natural born speakers," to "There are people who don't speak their mind in the open, not like they do in the twine loft when everyone's had a drop of rum...." Several cluster natives labeled one topic as taboo. Explained one, "...Less said about the fishery, the better. Fishers are making a barrel of money — $50,000 trucks, bikes, skidoos, and they only work five to six weeks a year. It's a controversial topic." I explore these sentiments in more detail in the next chapter about post-moratorium socioeconomic well-being.

Among the more formal communications options here were town council and various municipal committee meetings. Yet at least one third of citizens lived in areas that do not have this communications outlet. I was told that ad hoc meetings were well attended by residents when they are given the opportunity to have input about important cluster issues like school consolidations or the closing of the local bank.

The Carbonear-based radio station CHVO served the Trinity and Conception Bay areas since 1980. CHVO was an outlet of the province-wide VOCM radio network. Four local closed circuit cable channels broadcast advertising and news of community events. They also were a platform for TV bingo and for telethons conducted by various cluster voluntary associations. In the early 1990s the Old Perlican Fire Department pioneered TV bingo through this medium, and other communities here latched onto it. But with the advent of satellite dishes, which do not air the local community channel, the participation in local bingo decreased. For example, a local source estimated there were about 80 satellite dishes in Old Perlican now, and these households not only were cut off from telecasted fundraising events but also community announcements, a backwards step for local communication.
The local newspaper, \textit{The Compass}, was published in Carbonear and covered Carbonear, Harbour Grace and Bay Roberts, together with 35 other communities on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. The weekly publication was in continuous circulation since it was launched in 1968 (Smallwood and Poole 1993). Per company sources, average weekly circulation was 7,635. A more exact circulation figure for the cluster per se was not available. A few years ago the paper had a correspondent to cover the North Shore of Conception Bay on staff, and during this period, features profiling cluster communities and residents were more common (\textit{The Compass} June 25, 2002). But now, “articles in \textit{The Compass} are more driven by events,” said a cluster leader. The \textit{Evening Telegram} published in St. John’s was available in the cluster at one time, but presently only the weekend edition of \textit{The Telegram} could be purchased at specific outlets along the shore. Issues of the daily paper were bought in larger towns like Carbonear. A substitute teacher who worked in local schools observed, “Most people don’t get newspapers, books or magazines. It is not a reading culture here.”

Occasionally \textit{The Compass} ran stories about news and events generated by the work of the development and government agencies based in Carbonear and Harbour Grace. Communications about other cluster local social structures was infrequent, though every so often the Quinlans made the news.

As a privately held, family owned business, the Quinlan Group were not obligated to discuss their internal matters in a way that a publicly held corporation must. Hence for the most part Quinlans relied on the Association for Seafood Processors to act as spokespersons for any industry-related news. I noticed that some journalists and media columnists continued to refer to the provincial seafood processors in disparaging terms, comparing them to the merchants of old, in spite of the fact that the truck or credit system had been phased out for a number of decades. This nomenclature was still used from time to time by residents as well, something I experienced during my fieldwork. As unpleasant as it may be for Quinlans to be considered one of the provincial “merchants,” the company sometimes made the news in more unfavorable ways.\footnote{7}

Channels for the flow of information here are quite informal with the exception of closed circuit cable TV announcements and fundraisers. The Carbonear-based radio station and newspaper cover the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula, though reporting appears to be centered on larger communities outside the

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cluster. Discussion of community issues and the resolution of differences of opinion are not frequent happenings in public forums here. I conclude that these conditions make for a weaker showing in the communications and diversity of opinion aspect of civic culture in this cluster.

In this chapter I have examined the civic culture of the North Shore cluster, looking closely at the four key characteristics of civic culture as defined for this study: *citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership*, and *communications and opinions*. I have described these characteristics and attempted to demonstrate how they are found here. In addition, wherever possible I linked the local social structures to aspects of the civic culture to demonstrate how they are interrelated. The emphasis was on civic endeavors that took root prior to the cod moratorium and have still thrived in the interim. In that respect they continue to show the relationship between the civic culture and the local social structures.

Given the stipulation I presented at the onset of this chapter that I chose these communities to be examined as a cluster for this study, it is clear from researching the civic culture that the populace here do not consider themselves as one large community or an entity unto themselves. In spite of the fact that certain local social structures, such as the schools, do encompass the whole cluster, many interactions remain community-based or include a few neighboring locations. There are exceptions to this, such as the North Shore Central Ambulance Service and the North Shore Volunteer Fire Department. The North Shore Regional Development Association will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Nonetheless, I found that in most cluster communities, elements of the civic culture had a similar appearance. For the most part there were opportunities for *citizen involvement* in community activities, but chances for participation in cluster-wide groups were limited. However, I did learn of a strain of burnout among volunteers who tended to participate in multiple groups. Also I encountered the existence of sentiments among residents who found fault with those who always stepped forward to volunteer, whether they were natives or from away. Other contributing factors that cause concern were the population decline and the loss of youth who generally do not return to their hometowns after completing university degrees. These same explanations hold true for my assessment of *civic leadership* here. I would add to that list the difficulty in getting residents to aspire to leadership roles, whether it is due to lack of confidence, of
training, or of mentoring. The schools and the fisheries industry workers (fish harvesters and plant workers) seemed to be the local institutions that were generating the most candidates for civic leadership. There was a noticeable scarcity of participation in volunteer activities and leadership in civic affairs from the business community.

In most instances collaboration among local social structures was not commonplace. Mayors, town councils and firefighters from some communities take part in common activities. Some churches from different communities served by the same clergy have a joint parish council or management board or perhaps a women's group encompassing these communities. But examples of different churches or social groups or civic organizations joining together were few and far between. Two civic leaders profiled have participated in a number of local associations and have strong ties external to the cluster that have enriched their involvements. The major employer, the Quinlans, also has established firm vertical ties as well as a multitude of business relationships within the cluster. Members of the FFAWU, the fishers' union, have a recognized network of links outside the cluster. Yet the horizontal connections that cluster organizations have among themselves are weak, even in dealings with the government and development groups that serve the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula.

Communications and opinions are fostered locally by the radio station that serves the Bay de Verde Peninsula, which in some ways compensates for the absence of detailed newspaper coverage of local items of interest. The closed circuit cable TV channels offer news of local happenings. Because the dominant employer, the Quinlan Group, is privately owned and operated, news releases about the company's activities are rare. Locals typically get news about the Quinlans' operations from provincial news media before it makes the weekly newspaper for the region.

Some aspects of the civic culture here are indeed stronger than others. Yet after studying these characteristics, I assess the civic culture to be not as rich and well developed as in the Labrador Straits. The relationship between the civic culture and the local social structures is clearly complementary, reflecting a strong relationship between the two. According to my theoretical framework, this less developed civic culture coupled with the nature of the local social structures should be evident in less favorable outcomes for the cluster's social and economic well-being. This will be clarified in the next chapter when I analyze
how the cluster was impacted by the cod moratorium and how the communities' social and economic welfare look twelve years later.

1 The pitcher plant is designated as the provincial flower.

2 In April 2005 in the midst of a provincial crisis over the government’s dictum to put quotas on crab processing plants, the Quinlans resigned their ASP membership due to differences in opinion on the issue (VOCM April 19, 2005; CBC April 20, 2005).

3 The designation “3L” refers to the NAFO fisheries management zone, where cluster fishers are authorized to harvest their catches.

4 Within recent years the organization’s area of responsibility no longer included Lower Island Cove, which is now serviced by the Old Perlican Ambulance Service.

5 In 2004 this gentleman was inducted into the Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade Hall of Fame for his outstanding volunteer contributions to the area (Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade 2004).

6 The Order of Canada spotlights citizens whose lifetime achievements at the local, national, and/or international level have made a positive contribution to Canada (Governor General of Canada 2005).

7 The Quinlan Group was under investigation by the federal DFO for alleged misreporting of crab catches in Labrador and the subsequent clandestine processing of these catches in Bay de Verde. Such an investigation could take months before the outcome is known (CBC July 7, 2004; Antle June 16, 2004; Wellman 2004). In recent years the Quinlan organization and two of its officials were charged with violations to the provincial Wildlife Act, which resulted in fines being levied (The Compass November 13, 2001).
CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AND WELL-BEING
IN THE TWO CLUSTERS AFTER THE MORATORIUM

The overarching goal of this research has been to examine how selected community clusters responded when the cod fishery was shut down by the Canadian government in the early 1990s. Also this study is focused on the relationship between the local social structures and the civic culture of the residents. I propose that this relationship be used to explain why residents handled the circumstances surrounding the closing of the fishery as they did and subsequently, the impact of their actions on community economic and social well-being. To this point, I have analyzed both the Labrador Straits and the North Shore of Conception Bay clusters, examining their local social structures as well as civic culture and the ways in which the structures and culture are intertwined. Much of my analysis has dealt with characteristics of its local social structures and aspects of its civic culture that were well entrenched before the moratoria of the early 1990s.

In the preceding chapters I described the settings and settlements of the Labrador Straits and the North Shore of Conception Bay clusters. In addition, by analyzing the local social structures and their respective characteristics, I was especially cognizant of how the clusters differed. I found that, in relationship to the size of the population, there were roughly twice as many small businesses in the Labrador Straits as in the North Shore cluster. (See Table 8-1 that corresponds to this discussion.) The Labrador Straits has three medium-sized businesses (from 20 to 100 employees) and one large employer (over 100 workers), cooperatively run, known in the area as the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC). The locally founded Eagle River Credit Union serves the financial needs of the cluster’s residents and businesses. In the North Shore cluster, there were one medium-sized and two large employers, all under the ownership of the Quinlan Group, which started into business in the cluster almost 50 years ago. The ScotiaBank had a branch in Old Perlcan at the time of the moratorium, but closed in 2002, forcing
residents and local businesses to travel to Carbonar for their banking needs. I analyze this turn of events in a case study later in this chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8-1. Differences in Selected Local Social Structures by Cluster*</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small (Less than 20 employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (20 to 100 employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large (over 100 employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools: Government/Development Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL Local Social Structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio of Local Social Structures to Residents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Appendices E and H provide inventories of all local institutions by community.

Labor unions were present in both clusters, as government workers, including school and health care employees, were unionized. All fishers in the clusters belonged to the provincial Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAWU). In the Labrador Straits, processing employees at the Labrador Shrimp Company were also members, however, the three Quinlan plants in the North Shore cluster were non-union. The number of churches in each cluster was comparable, when the cluster population was considered. In the Labrador Straits; all of the church congregations were thriving and active in community affairs. In the North Shore cluster, there were several flourishing congregations, however, far more were struggling to keep their doors open, due to a reduction in active participants and a reluctance to combine congregations.

Community-oriented educational and social services were more prevalent in the Labrador Straits. Within the North Shore cluster, social services were minimal, found mainly at the health center in Old Perlcan. Schools in the latter cluster recently consolidated, and residents could access post-secondary educational possibilities in nearby Carbonar. Because of its geographical isolation, such prospects were not within such easy reach for Labrador Straits residents. Other voluntary organizations were far more plentiful in the Labrador Straits than in the North Shore cluster, considering their numbers in relationship to the local population. North Shore voluntary associations were mostly community-based as opposed to cluster-wide. Less than half of the North Shore communities had some type of municipal government, with the last local government installed as recently as 2003. Six out of seven Labrador Straits communities have been incorporated as towns for more than 25 years. Government and development groups serving each
cluster were proportional in number, although in the Labrador Straits they were all physically located inside of the cluster. In the North Shore cluster, only one development group was in the cluster; the remaining were located in Carbonear or further south. Overall there were twice as many local social structures per Labrador Straits residents as per North Shore residents.

I also examined the clusters' civic culture, studying their attributes and assessing the presence of a healthy citizen involvement, collaboration of local social structures inside and outside the cluster, conspicuous civic leadership, and open communications along with diversity of opinions. I contrasted these attributes and paid particular attention to the relationship between the clusters' civic culture and local social structures. In spite of the high citizen involvement in North Shore institutions, civic leadership was not as diverse or experienced as in the Labrador Straits. In leadership posts in the North Shore cluster there was noticeably less representation from the business community. Collaboration between and among North Shore local social structures was infrequent, whereas the vertical and horizontal networking in Labrador Straits institutions was more common. Labrador Straits community activities were regularly featured in a weekly regional newspaper, and the cluster had a strong tradition of open public meetings for sharing opinions and building consensus. In the North Shore cluster, communications and opinions about local affairs traveled more through informal channels than via journalistic sources and the electronic media. These assessments led me to conclude that the civic culture in the Labrador Straits is rich and developed. Further, to a great extent the local social structures in the Labrador Straits facilitate the development of its civic culture. Because of the strong relationships between the cluster's social institutions and the civic culture, I proposed that they had built up a solid capacity to cope with the enormous changes the moratoria would bring.

Table 8-2 summarizes my appraisal of the two clusters. In this study the local social structures in each cluster are either ranked high or low, and the civic culture of each matches the assessment of its respective local social structures identically. The fact that the social structures and the civic culture are rated the same gives credence to the correlation between the two in their individual clusters, as depicted in the analytical model for this research (Figure 3-1). This parallels the findings of Lawrence Hamilton and
Table 8-2. Assessment of Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic Culture</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>North Shore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Labrador Straits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
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his research team who examined two Greenland municipalities that were both dependent on the cod fishery in the mid-1900s (Hamilton, Brown and Rasmussen 2003). In that study one town with a tradition of entrepreneurship and a strong civic culture made the transition to harvesting shrimp in the late 1960s. In the second town the local social structures and civic culture were less complete, and the community struggled with diversifying its fishery. Another example of such an assessment is found in Robert Putnam’s study of social capital and civic life in Italy (1993). The northern region he researched was high in local social structures and civic culture, as evidenced in healthy civic engagement and prospering institutions. Conversely, the southern region would classify as low in these two components of social capital with a weakened citizenry and an ineffective and often underhanded bureaucracy.

The question remains, however, if there are examples in the literature that identify an absence of a strong relationship between the local social structures and the civic culture. Studies in community economic development have pointed out inner city neighborhoods where civic engagement was described as high, while the local social structures were weak and classified as low (Saegert et al. 2001). On the other hand, there are instances of some immigrant communities—ethnic enclaves within large cities—that might merit a high rating in both civic culture and local social structures. The high rating for the latter is particularly evident when there is a considerable presence of small- and medium-sized entrepreneurial ventures (Portes and Zhou in McFate, Lawson and Wilson 1995). Cynthia Duncan’s research into three rural American communities provides more cases (1999). The Appalachian town with a powerful elite and pervasive corruption could rank as low in both variables, whereas the northern New England locale with an inclusive and constructive civic environment could rank as high. Yet the third community—the Mississippi Delta town segregated by class and race—had plenty of institutions. In some cases though, there were duplicate institutions, such as schools and churches, that varied in quality. This community then might be
assessed as medium in local social structures. But a low assessment might characterize the civic culture. This would be due to a scarcity of civic engagement because of the strongly segregated line that permeated the community, in spite of one group's dependence upon the other. This attempt at assessment of other locations, however, is perhaps best accomplished with further research.

This study revealed that local institutions in the North Shore cluster reflected the properties of the civic culture there, but these properties—citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership, and the diversity of communications and opinions—were noticeably weaker and not as advanced with local institutions as in the Labrador Straits. Because of this, I hypothesized that the North Shore cluster would have a more difficult time handling the shock waves of the cod closure. Based on the work of previous researchers, my prediction is that communities which possess a multitude of social structures and a well developed civic culture are more likely to be successful in attracting and implementing economic development projects. As a consequence, they have a relatively stable population base and higher levels of social and economic well-being.

In this chapter I examine how the clusters' local social structures reacted to the cod moratoria. I then analyze why the relationship between the local social structures and civic culture is a major factor in explaining the clusters' actions and the status of socio-economic welfare there thirteen years after the first moratorium. My argument for this study is that the more active and involved the local social structures are in a community, the more fertile and highly evolved the civic culture and the better the community will be positioned to cope with unexpected blows to its economic viability and chart a course to sustainability.

I begin this chapter by describing the onset of the moratorium in each cluster, with particular emphasis on impacts to the fishing industry, including the actions of the dominant local social structures, the Labrador Shrimp Company and the Quinlan Group. Then to assess the cluster's socio-economic well-being, I focus first on development programs and initiatives, including the launching of new businesses, that took place after the moratoria to enhance economic and social well-being. To guide me in measuring the economic well-being initiatives, I analyze the government funding of community development and business projects in the clusters from 1992 to 2004 from Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), the key federal/provincial agency charged with spearheading the recovery from the fisheries crisis in the
Maritime provinces. Flora et al. (1997) used such funding indicators to determine a community’s success in the implementation of projects for economic development.

I also consider the impact of these cluster-initiated efforts to augment the economy as demonstrated in ways such as the diversification of the fishery and/or the introduction or expansion of a different industry sector. An essential component of this analysis will be the achievements of the cluster government and development organizations especially geared to coping with the cod collapse. Further I examine grassroots efforts to enhance the cluster’s social well-being. Even though some of these initiatives were not responses to the moratoria per se, they are indications of the community responding to its perceived needs. According to Ramsey and Smit’s model of rural community well-being, social well-being is “characterized by social support and activity, personal interaction, and life satisfaction” (2002:271). To demonstrate why the clusters took their respective courses, I look carefully at the way the local social structures and civic culture worked together to shape the process. To further explicate the relationship between local social structures and the civic culture, I present several case studies. For the Labrador Straits I explore the economic development undertakings of the Labrador Straits Development Corporation and the Labrador Information Technology Initiative, as well as the ventures emanating from the town of West St. Modeste that were primarily geared to enhance the cluster’s social well being. For the North Shore cluster I examine its Tourism and Heritage Initiative as a means of economic diversification. In addition I look at two cluster efforts to achieve social well being — its struggle to retain banking services, as well as the joining of three communities to found a basic form of municipal government.

I then examine cluster-level population changes over census periods 1945, prior to Confederation with Canada, to 2001 to assess outmigration activity. Irwin et al. (1999) maintain that active churches can stem population decreases, just as Putnam (1995) contends that local voluntary associations and churches foster civic participation, in turn reducing population flight. Further, I examine private household income, median family income, and the self-reliance ratio to assess social and economic well-being. Such measures are similar to those used by Tolbert et al. (1998) to examine social and economic results in communities. I intend to draw linkages between the relationship of the local social structures to the civic culture that clarify these income, population, and dependency indicators. I conclude with a summary analysis of the outcomes I presented.
To begin then, I now highlight each cluster’s reaction to the government’s policy decision to shut down the cod fishery.

The Moratoria of 1992 and 1993 and Fishing Industry Developments

The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) announced a moratorium for the Northern cod in July 1992. The cod harvest was already in progress for the season, but with this announcement, all Northern cod harvesting and processing activity ceased immediately. Because the fish harvesters in the Labrador Straits relied on the Gulf (of St. Lawrence) cod as well as the Northern cod, the 1992 shutdown was a partial one. At the end of 1993 the Gulf cod was also placed under moratorium. By 1997 the Gulf cod stock rebounded enough for DFO to authorize the reopening of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO) zone 4R to limited harvesting for commercial purposes. (Appendix D depicts NAFO management zones.) Total allowable catches varied from year to year until 2003 when these fishing grounds were again shut down completely (DFO 2004). In May 2004 DFO announced a limited fishery for the Gulf cod (DFO 2004). The 1992 of the Northern cod moratorium affected the North Shore cluster (NAFO area 3L) immediately, and the cod fishery remained closed until an experimental fishery tested the volume of cod stocks in 1997. In 1999, limited commercial fishing was permitted, then shut down again in 2003, and reopened the following year for a small by-catch option (DFO 2004). In Chapter 1, I referenced cod landings in Newfoundland waters from 1960 until the end of the century. Because of its relevance to this discussion about cluster-specific reactions to the cod shutdown, I am repeating the data here. (See Figure 8.1.)

The Labrador Straits

Fishers here acknowledged that the cod shutdown was not unexpected. One local leader admitted, “There were all sorts of clues heading up to closure. Catches were way down. The majority of fishers began to diversify earlier… so it didn’t even affect them that much…. Scallop and crab fisheries were going well.” A long-time fisher explained, “The fishers knew maybe 10 years earlier that the cod fishery was going, all over Newfoundland. We were catching the same amount of fish with five times the number of nets (than before).” Well before the moratorium, fishers here experienced the hardship of the lean years, and witnessed the depletion of the cod stocks. Many opted out of fishery-related careers and began to establish their footing in small businesses.
After the moratorium, the scars of this turning point in the fishery were not always visible or calculable. "People experienced psychological things, not being able to think right, getting up in the morning and not knowing what to do," said a career fisher. More than a decade later, there was still evidence of what happened. "I still see a fallout from the cod fishery," related a local leader. "Those who have found work after the collapse of the cod are sometimes very discontented with their lot and not knowing where to turn. It's sort of a competitive scramble for towns and for people to get onto a (government funded) project." In one cluster community, a former fisher remembered there used to be 50 fishers, but now there are just two. Another talked about his inventory of "$100,000 in fishing gear, just sitting there. You can't give it away." Those who stayed with fish harvesting were able to eke out a living by combining their annual earnings (averaging about $10,000) with government Employment Insurance payments.\(^1\) This resulted in the inshore fishers attaining a modest income level, fishing for whatever species they could obtain licenses. There were only a few fishers in the cluster who have access legally to snow crab, a much more lucrative product, through arrangements such as partnerships or co-operatives.\(^2\) Consequently they could generate annual incomes eight to ten times that of the rest of the area fishers.
As fish harvesters were impacted by the moratorium, plant workers equally felt the blow. Prior to the moratorium, each cluster community had a small fish plant at one time or another, but many had downsized or shut down because of declining catches. Finally when the moratorium was announced, the remaining plants closed, except for the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC) plant, the major employer in the cluster from the early 1980s. Other enterprises in these towns felt the effects as well. As one entrepreneur explained, “Our small business benefited from (the fish plant), but after the moratorium when the plant shut down, there was no point having an inventory of rubber boots and clothing gear.”

To keep operations going at the LSC plant, one manager recalled, “We brought in frozen cod twice from the Bering Sea, thawed it out and processed it. It was an excellent product. All of this product went to the Boston area, and the status quo was maintained.” The diversification into other species, which some fishers had begun when cod stocks were diminishing, was able to keep the fisheries going. Another LSC manager remembered that at that time, “The Labrador Shrimp Company was the biggest asset on the Straits. We put fishers into scallop dragging and processed scallops in the plant.” Such diversification into other species was the strategy used for economic survival by Northern Peninsula fishers, who began to harvest shrimp and scallops even before the cod closure (Hamilton, Haedrich and Duncan 2003).

Figure 8-2 graphs the changes in species harvested here from before the cod shutdown to 2003. Groundfish landings, mainly cod, began to drop dramatically and actually reached a low point in 1990, two years before the first closure. By 1995 cod was replaced by turbot, also known as Greenland flounder, as the primary groundfish catch. Starting with 1997 when the cod fishery reopened, cod gradually climbed to almost half of the groundfish catch. In 2003 when the cod fishery was again closed, turbot held its own as the groundfish catch in the cluster.

Northern shrimp that are the core of the Labrador Shrimp Company’s business were processed on board their middle-distance boats off Baffin Island. Occasionally when there was an extra large harvest, shrimp was actually landed and processed in the cluster. In general the plant in the Labrador Straits processed groundfish and other species. Snow crab landings here were minimal. The “other” category though brought in substantial landed value. The biggest contributor was the scallop catch, which kept the fisheries economically viable from 1992 through 1998. Setting aside the crisis years, the value of catches during this period remained relatively stable, except for the two years with peak catches (1987 and 2000).
This consistency in value manifests itself in cluster income data, which show moderate variation and depict a growing middle class to be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

In the wake of the cod shutdown, the provincial Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture emphasized the small boat sector (under 35 feet) and funded cluster diversification research into whelk, toad crab, shrimp beam trawl, sea urchin and sea cucumber among others. The research on the toad crab (now known as the Atlantic crab) resulted in the issuance of 25 commercial licenses, a 25,000 pound quota, and several person-weeks of work at the Labrador Shrimp Company. These exploratory projects employ local fishers, although occasionally a technical adviser or biologist is hired from the outside (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture 2003).

Diversification was not the mandate of the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), which instead focused on enforcement of fishery regulations and the protection of its resources. However, its Small Craft Harbours Program responded to proposals from communities needing funds for maintaining
and/or upgrading its harbors, wharves and basins which served commercial fishers. The rebuilding of the wharf at Forteau, improvements to the L’Anse-au-Clair boat basin, and a five-crib extension to L’Anse-au-Loup’s wharf were all evidence of DFO grants over the last several years (Town of L’Anse-au-Loup 2003; The Telegram July 23, 2000). Requests for these local investments were usually put forward by community Harbour Authority Committees, although occasionally they got assistance with the process from town officials. These grants played a role in enhancing the economic viability of the area.

The North Shore of Conception Bay

The 1992 moratorium caught inshore fishers here by surprise. Recalled one, “The moorings were out and ready. Right out of the blue, I had one week to get everything out of the water.” A civic leader recalled more than the economic effect: “Fishers had no purpose…. A lifestyle abruptly ended. Mentally they had to fight the depression and asked, ‘How do I look after my family?’” Yet a longtime fisher, who was harvesting crab and other species, acknowledged, “The impact here was not as great as in other parts of Newfoundland.”

The government stepped in immediately with financial assistance programs and two years later introduced TAGS, referred to as “The Package” by locals. However, not everyone was eligible. “Things were slowing down before the moratorium,” said one resident. “They said there wouldn’t be enough plant work so my husband left for work in Ontario.” By leaving the industry before the closure, he could not qualify for “the package.” Twelve years later, he was still traveling seasonally to the mainland for employment to support his family. Options for retraining and resources for starting a new business were not available for those who had lost employment in other industries due to the spin-off effects.

Circumstances like these served to plant some seeds of resentment among the populace, similar to what researchers found in other provincial communities as a reaction to TAGS and comparable programs (Clarke in Byron 2003; House 1999; Ommer 1998). Fishers felt the repercussions, too. Said one, “There was backlash from other trades. Fishers were getting retrained and taking work away from carpenters, welders, and so on.”

In spite of a prospering crab fishery taking place in their backyard, fishers with small boats were denied permission from DFO to participate. Interestingly, their strongest opponents were other fishers. Per a veteran fisher, “There was more flack from larger boats than from government. ‘You’ll drown in small
boats!" they said. To combat the opposition, fishers in Trinity and Conception Bays collaborated with their counterparts from the Southern shore to set up an "Under 35-Foot Inshore Crab Committee" (Simmons July 9, 2002). Three years passed before DFO opened the crab fishery to inshore, small boat fishers on a trial basis and gradually expanded their participation. The tension between the inshore fishers and those in larger boats parallels a division that Palmer found between inshore fishers and the dragger fleet on the Great Northern Peninsula (in Byron 2003). The antagonism there surfaced in the late 1980s over the issue of access to resources, with the draggers harvesting shrimp and other species in large, technically sophisticated boats that left little cod for the inshore fishers using fixed gear (cod traps).

With entry into the crab fishery, fishers had to upgrade their boats and equipment. Those who decided to buy new boats often needed substantial loans. Before the moratorium, to reinforce its commitment to fishers to remain independent from processors, sometimes referred to as the fleet separation principle, the provincial government set up the Fisheries Loan Board to administer programs that facilitated loans for new vessels (Joy 1999). After the cod closure, however, the venture was scuttled, and the government negotiated with banks to take over this role. A veteran fisher recounted:

Banks would give you credit at first, and interest was 25 to 30% if you had no credit. Fish buyers and banks got together in the last four to five years, and fish buyers are now cosigners of trust agreements. A fellow has to put his license up as collateral, rather than his house, because the house involves his family.... Most of us stayed with the same equipment, never went big. But those who bought new 34' 11" boats had to pay between $125,000 to $150,000.

Bonnie McCay (2003b) found examples of these loan or "trust" agreements among fishers at Fogo Island. She referred to them as "debt peonage, with fishers beholden to buyers for capital to buy boats." Those close to the fishery reported that the larger boats have price tags of between one to two million dollars, in some cases even higher. Hence there is rarely a way to avoid a trust agreement with a seafood processor. Also, this arrangement usually mandates selling the vessel's harvest to the processor. This provision of supplying fish plants leads processors to make tough decisions to ensure the viability of jobs for plant workers, as McCay described in Fogo Island Cooperative operations (in Byron 2003a).

Although snow crab was being landed in the North Shore cluster prior to the 1992 cod shutdown, groundfish, primarily cod, had been the fisheries mainstay. (See Figure 8-3.) In the years following the
cod collapse, groundfish never regained their earlier prominence. Further, the "other" category of catches even decreased. Snow crab landings since 1992 grew from $1.3 million to $21 million in 2003. Once the shrimp fishery was opened in 1997, it also added considerably to the total worth. The overall landed value here roughly tripled since the pre-crisis years. Not all of the catches stayed in the cluster though, as fish buyers from Hant’s Harbour and Carbonear had a presence on the wharves as well. Also, not all fishers benefited equally. This will be analyzed later in the chapter when income data are discussed.

Another post-moratorium change was movement of women from fish processing to harvesting. They said goodbye to the plant regimen with long hours on their feet and its occupational hazards, difficult working conditions described by Neis et al. (2001). These women earning a living out on the water with their spouse or other family members generated a strong sentiment among some non-fisher residents who felt that some women were not pulling their share of the harvesting load. They observed neighbors employed in a fishing enterprise who handled the bookkeeping and/or buying and delivering groceries to the wharf for the voyage. These tasks positioned them as eligible to collect employment compensation.
Such a practice is not new, as Palmer and Sinclair (1997) found that putting wives on the payroll to qualify for EI was done by dragger fishers in northwest Newfoundland communities in the late 1980s. But one lifelong fisher disagreed that women could not do the manual labor required for the job. "It's a lot more feasible ... for women (to be) in the crab fishery," he said. "Boats have power blocks and hydraulics to aid with picking up balloons, lifting pots, pulling on the rope.... Then pulling on the string, the crab falls out on the deck; crab are graded, and the small ones are thrown back." Work experience in the local fish plant with grades and sizes of product helped one fisher adapt to her new work environment, though overcoming sea sickness was her biggest adjustment (*The Compass* July 9, 2002.).

Even though wealth accumulated here from the crab fishery, there are still circumstances that make the fishery very vulnerable, such as a noticeable decline in the resource, requiring fishers to go further out to sea and spend more time on the water to catch their quotas in the last few years (CBC June 22, 2004). Fishers and processors were united in calling for conservation measures, and fish plant owners voiced concerns about overcapacity in processing (Roberts October 5, 2004). Yet another controversial matter in the crab fishery has been the political pressure to rectify what some saw as a geographical disparity in the allocation of crab processing licenses. Despite the uncertainties in the fisheries, the dependency on the fisheries continued to increase with no concerted attempt to diversify the economy into other sectors or to open small businesses.

The paths taken by the two clusters in the wake of the cod moratoria were distinctly different. In the Labrador Straits for almost 14 years prior to the shutdown, the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC) had established the offshore harvesting of shrimp as its main source of income. There were two moratoria affecting this cluster, the Northern cod in 1992 and the Gulf cod at the end of 1993, which softened the economic blow somewhat. The LSC took a leadership role and imported cod from distant waters to keep production jobs going at their plant. They also helped inshore fishers into the harvesting of other species like scallops and Atlantic crab. Many fishers had been convinced prior to the moratoria that the cod was on a sharp decline and either began to diversify or more likely, to leave the industry all together.

Specific data on fisheries employment in the clusters only offer comparisons from a five-year span, as shown in Table 8-3. Local employment sources in the Labrador Straits have claimed a two-third's
reduction in the number of fishers from before the moratorium through 2003. Official data are unavailable from prior to 1995 to shed light on the exact differences from prior to the cod closure to the present. Yet what is obtainable provides some insight into industry activity. The roughly one-third rise in fishers during this period can be attributed to the 1997 lifting of the Gulf cod moratorium and diversification into other species. Fish plant employment climbed slightly (8 percent) during this period as well.

In the North Shore cluster, fishers with investments in larger boats with sophisticated technology were harvesting snow crab and other species since the 1970s. Small boat fishers saw the decline of cod but continued to fish. When the moratorium was called, they were hardest hit. In the four to five years that passed before inshore fishers qualified for harvesting crab, the large boat fishers were not supportive of the government’s opening the snow crab fishery to more players. The dominant employer, the Quinlan Group, switched from processing cod to other species in two of their plants. In 1997 DFO decided to issue licenses for harvesting northern shrimp inshore, that is, within the 200-mile limit. Subsequently, the Quinlan Group was awarded shrimp processing licenses for its facilities in Bay de Verde and Old Perlican. This addition of shrimp processing was a factor in the 8 percent increase in fish plant workers. When the supply of product at the Old Perlican plant was low, Quinlan management gave employees the option to work at QuinSea or the Quinlan plant in Bay de Verde in order to accumulate enough weeks of work to qualify for unemployment benefits.

Finding a way for the small boat fishers to stay economically sufficient was not a Quinlan priority, as the Quinlan organization was focused on maintaining processing operations and expanding to meet the product being harvested. On the other hand, it was predictable for the Labrador Shrimp Company, the cooperative owned by fishers, to be facilitating alternatives for fishers. I find the demonstrations of leadership from the LSC and collaboration with local fishers exhibited in the Labrador Straits during this post-moratoria time as reinforcement of my prediction that proactive local social structures working in tandem in the cluster would position the cluster to be better equipped to survive the cod shutdown.

Table 8-3. Fisheries Employment By Cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labrador Straits</th>
<th>North Shore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fishers</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Processing Workers</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of Cluster Development Projects and Initiatives

In this section I compare cluster initiatives of various development groups and other local social structures intended to bolster economic and social welfare after the moratoria. I center my analysis on a sampling of the projects of cluster institutions that sought and received funding from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). I also examine the infusion of ACOA funds for business development. Next I attempt to explain why I believe the relationship between the local social structures and the civic culture was critical in achieving these ACOA results. I examine the coordinated efforts of cluster government and development organizations to diversify its traditional economic base, including the establishment of the moratorium-generated development organizations and their subsequent interplay with cluster local social structures. Throughout I point to aspects of the civic culture (civic involvement, collaboration, leadership and diversity of communications and opinions) that manifested themselves during this time. To further analyze how the relationship between local social structures and the civic culture influenced the cluster socio-economic well-being after the cod shutdown, I present case studies depicting cluster initiatives that demonstrate this relationship.

ACOA-Funded Community Development Projects

As in other parts of the province deeply affected by the crisis in the fisheries, both clusters have been the recipient of large sums to spur economic development. The intent has been to help the residents stabilize their incomes and to launch efforts that would result in a diversified and sustainable economic base. During my fieldwork I learned about numerous sources of funding utilized by various local social structures in the clusters to foster such development. A good portion of these funds were disbursed by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), set up in 1987 to deal with the impending fisheries crisis in the Maritimes. As newly crafted federal and provincial programs were introduced to combat the cod collapse of the early 1990s, many of these were placed under the ACOA umbrella for administration.

For this portion of the analysis of economic development projects I chose to concentrate on post-moratorium undertakings of community groups funded by ACOA from 1992 to the present. I use the number of ACOA-funded projects in the cluster, the dollar amounts of ACOA grants, and the matching monies raised by cluster-recipient organizations for these projects. The volume of these projects and funding is my guide to cluster-initiated economic development. According to Flora et al. (1997),

198
communities rich in entrepreneurial social infrastructure, similarly referred to as civic culture in this study, were more likely to succeed in attracting funds for economic development projects that stipulated a matching funding component. When some locally matched portion was essential, the matching money was often pieced together in a variety of ways, such as local fundraising events, community loans, and solicitations from other government agencies or departments, businesses and private foundations. Table 8-4 provides a listing of ACOA-funded development work that was initiated in both clusters since the first

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Projects Approved</th>
<th>Labrador Straits</th>
<th>North Shore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development Groups/Initiatives</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Associations</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACOA Funds ($000)</td>
<td>5,238</td>
<td>1,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matching Funds ($000)</td>
<td>7,442</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Project Costs ($000)</td>
<td>12,680</td>
<td>1,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% ACOA Funds</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As discussed earlier, in the Labrador Straits, the majority of development groups situated there are responsible only for that area. In contrast, the North Shore cluster is one of several groups of communities that fall under the development groups with jurisdiction over the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula. Therefore, ACOA initiatives spearheaded by Bay de Verde Peninsula development groups were omitted from my assessment unless they impacted the North Shore cluster directly in some manner. Also, to level the playing field, I left out from both clusters' totals the ACOA funds earmarked for operating funds for their respective Regional Economic Development Boards. See Appendix I for more detail about these ACOA-funded projects.

In comparing the two clusters, the Labrador Straits had success with far more projects (38 versus 5). The development groups there generated considerable ACOA support, while the groups responsible for the North Shore cluster garnered none for the North Shore itself. The North Shore initiatives that won ACOA monies included two connected to the local fish plants and the towns' water supplies and three related to tourism and heritage, to be discussed later. The Labrador Straits raised a greater percentage in matching funds and hence showed less dependence on ACOA. Overall almost seven times more community development money flowed into the local economy in the Labrador Straits than in the North.
Shore cluster. Such success with funding is typically preceded by community structures exerting considerable hard work. The pattern that emerged here manifested itself in business project funding as well.

**ACOA-Funded Business Projects**

What transpired in each cluster in the way of ACOA funding for business start-ups, including expansion and modification projects, is also telling. As shown in Table 8-5, the number of ACOA-funded projects in the Labrador Straits is five times those approved for the North Shore. The volume of funding in the Labrador Straits is seven and a half times as much as the North Shore cluster. All together, almost nine times as much money was pumped into the Labrador Straits economy through these commercial ventures, as compared with the North Shore activity.

**Table 8-5. ACOA-Funded Business Projects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labrador Straits</th>
<th>North Shore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business clients</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects funded</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACOA Funds ($000)</td>
<td>1,035</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Loans</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Project Costs ($000)</td>
<td>2,862</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% ACOA Funds</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs Created</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ACOA (2005)

Even development staffers serving the North Shore cluster commented on the lack of small business activity. Said one:

> I have no specific data, just a gut feeling, that (North Shore) businesses are shutting down rather than starting up. Very rarely would we even get an inquiry from that area. As to Old Perlican and Bay de Verde, there are not many inquiries at all from there. Some families there have been in business for generations, doing their own thing.

According to another, “There were 45 to 50 new start-ups in 2003, a very good year for our total area. (But in the North Shore cluster) I can count them on one hand — one in Old Perlican, one in Grates Cove, nothing from Kingston to Caplin Cove.”

In the North Shore cluster there is an absence of the “one-stop-shopping” approach used by the Resource Team in the Labrador Straits, as I pointed out in Chapter V. There someone with a new business idea can go to “The Building” and find all the development resources under one roof. Instead the Bay de Verde Peninsula development groups are mostly located in offices within a few blocks of each other,
except for one in Harbour Grace and another in Bay Roberts. The North Shore Regional Development Association office is in the cluster, in Western Bay, but does not appear to be considered a part of this quasi-fellowship. Such a physical separation of organizations combined with the lack of strong collaboration could account for so few applicants receiving funding from ACOA or other agencies for business start-ups or expansions. In addition the process of qualifying for business funding from the myriad of resources available is a daunting task. (See Appendix J for a list of such resources.)

Through the collaboration of development staffers and local community organizations, the Labrador Straits was able to affect the diversification of the cluster economy. The boom in small business development along with undertakings in the tourism industry did much to offer employment possibilities to citizens who had lost their livelihood as a result of the drastic downturn in the fisheries. As discussed earlier, fish harvesters in the area had declined in number by at least two thirds. Out-migration was an option for some of those jarred by the moratoria, a factor to be analyzed more thoroughly in the discussion of population changes later in the chapter. But many impacted residents who decided to stay and needed employment were absorbed into the local economy because of the diversification results achieved.

These achievements demonstrate how the social structures in the Labrador Straits were more engaged than those in the North Shore cluster to keep the social and economic well-being of the cluster intact as the port-moratorium period unfolded. To explicate why I believe the flow of these monies into cluster economic development projects are a result of the relationship between the local social structures and the civic culture, I will now contrast and analyze the clusters’ government and development organizations and show how their collaboration and inclusiveness were instrumental (or not) in achieving such funding.

**Government and Development Organizations**

In the Labrador Straits, the announcement of the moratorium intensified the involvement of cluster government/development staffers who had already been assisting local businesses, entrepreneurs, and voluntary organizations in obtaining federal and provincial funding from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). When the first moratorium struck, the cluster’s Resource Team of government/development staffers strategized. One development officer recalled:
We said we're going to make this a positive thing. The end is not here. We'll have to change a bit, but we'll utilize government programs.... Whatever we did, we wanted to maintain a quality of life. Ninety percent (of residents) own their own homes without a mortgage. Our value system plus utilization of government resources would be our formula.... With our Resource Team, no matter what the crisis, we believed we could make something out of it.... If there was an initiative happening here, everybody jumped in.... We're all here for the betterment of the Straits. We have no turf setting....

The federal government had indeed put a variety of income support and retraining programs quickly in place. Early retirement, self-employment assistance, license retirement, and retraining were valid alternatives for most clients. One staffer, who was serving at the time on his town council, recognized how critical it would be to stave off out-migration in his community. He chose an unorthodox way of counseling clients by leaving another available option, assistance to move to other areas of the province or of Canada, off the list. “We didn’t want to push or sell that last option,” he explained. “If someone really wanted to move, we would help. In the end, only two or three persons whom I met with (out of about 400 fishers, fish plant workers and spouses) left the Labrador Straits.”

Local development officers attributed the boom in small business development in the Labrador Straits to their combining forces and accessing available government programs. Some fishers affected by the moratorium who were in their 20s and 30s established their own enterprises because of the federally funded Fisheries Alternative Program (FAP) in fields such as TV and electronic repair, welding, marine fabrication and repair, and appliance repair. In the wake of the moratoria, reported another, “businesses sprung up. In four to five years, we had doubled the number of small businesses.”

Not everyone affected by the moratorium was interested in setting up his or her own business. Many employment opportunities in the region were and still are seasonal, which allows workers access to unemployment compensation assistance, referred to as Employment Insurance (EI). When workers were unable to obtain sufficient qualifying hours (or “stamps”) to obtain EI, development officers and municipal officials sought out government funds for job creation projects (JCPs) to enhance infrastructure in order to offer citizens a chance to accumulate enough stamps to get EI. Although these JCPs are frequently referred to as “make work” in other parts of the province, in the Labrador Straits residents have mostly hailed them as meaningful employment and important to the local economy. Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) has been the most frequent supplier of money for such undertakings, although ACOA often funds a part of the total project.

202
Other development offices here were also involved in initiatives. The development activity that accumulated the most funds, both ACOA and matching, was the Labrador IT Initiative, to be analyzed as a case study later on in the chapter. The Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation (LSHDC), introduced in Chapter 5 for its leading role in tourism and heritage ventures garnered over $700,000 for four projects. The Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce, an advocacy and lobbying organization for local businesses that was set up in 1995 under the leadership of the cluster’s Telecentre, submitted five development projects that ACOA sponsored. The cluster’s original development organization, the Southern Labrador Development Association (SLDA), utilized ACOA funding to initiate employment opportunities for locals in experimental projects. The Labrador Straits Development Corporation (LSDC), to be discussed later in this chapter, sponsored two proposals that were awarded over $350,000. Certain municipal projects also brought significant ACOA and matching monies into the cluster’s economy. In the realm of tourism and heritage development, the town of L’Anse-au-Clair teamed with the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation to secure funding for the development of the Jersey Rooms, an archaeological site in L’Anse-au-Clair where remnants of the dwellings of Jersey fishers from the late 18th century are found. Over the course of two years, the project will employ 11 (MacDonald March 22, 2004; Labrador Straits Development Corporation 2003). The town of Red Bay attracted monies to build a walking trail over two kilometers in length, enhancing its tourism infrastructure and funding JCPs for locals (ACOA 2003). The town of L’Anse-au-Loup set up its own community economic development office in the early 2000s, an investment that resulted in ACOA-funded awards toward the construction of a Town Hall/Business Development Centre and the upgrading of the Labrador Straits Regional Arena (ACOA 2003).

The North Shore cluster came under the jurisdiction of the region’s zonal board, Mariner Resources Opportunities Network or M-RON. The provincial government established 20 such Regional Economic Development Boards in the mid-1990s to cope with the post-mortem economy. M-RON was headquartered in Carbonear and served Zone 17, the Bay de Verde Peninsula. The organization saw itself as brokers — soliciting input from all stakeholders, conducting viable and practical research, and harmoniously promoting the efforts of all groups engaged in economic development. According to
M-RON sources, to accomplish their objectives, M-RON originally set up a Board of Directors to represent six sub-zones of communities. The intention was that these publicly-elected directors would establish committees in their own sub-zones to gather concerns and issues from the local level to bring to the Board of Directors. When this organizational structure did not work, M-RON revamped the board to allow for representatives for various sectors, such as, business, fisheries, labor, public and private education, tourism, youth, municipalities, and RDAs (regional development associations). Some individuals with expertise in their industry were appointed to the board, while other seats remained filled by public elections. The organization has maintained constancy in its funding since its inception.

M-RON's involvement in the cluster manifested itself in various initiatives, such as engaging the Quinlan Group in the nutraceutical research into shellfish waste and organizing Community Youth Info Fairs at Baccalieu Collegiate. In its role as regional facilitator of information technology, M-RON established CAP (Computer Access Program) sites in the cluster and a website which promoted all communities on the peninsula (www.aroundthebay.ca). It was also instrumental in securing a contract for broadband internet service for the cluster. Perhaps its most significant impact on cluster communities was its efforts to promote tourism along the Baccalieu Trail, to be dealt with in more detail under the tourism initiative case study.

The stability in funding and staffing that supported M-RON was not automatic, as all development groups struggle to survive funding reductions and government reorganizations. Other peninsula development groups were not so fortunate. For example, a group of businesspersons formed the Baccalieu Trail Chamber of Commerce in 1993 to represent the specific interests of peninsula businesses. But after a couple of years, it became inactive because of internal disagreement and resignations. However, a handful of volunteers involved in the initial undertaking revived it in 1996, incorporating a new entity, the Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade (BTBT). For awhile the BTBT flourished, receiving a 1999 Chamber of the Year Award from the provincial Chamber of Commerce as well as a 2000 President's Award from the Atlantic Provinces Chambers of Commerce in recognition of its growth and accomplishments (O'Reilly, Cooper correspondence 2005). But again there was a lapse in staffing when its executive director resigned in 2001, and the organization slipped into a period of inactivity. The Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association.
and the Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation have experienced similar ups and downs in funding and staffing, which will be addressed in the tourism and heritage case study that follows.

Overall I observed relationships among development agencies to be outwardly cordial and found instances where several were working together on a particular initiative. A prominent example was the regional Labour Market Development Agreement Board, with representatives of some of the agencies, including those dealing with employment and education. But aside from these collaborative efforts, I would characterize the interaction between and among development agencies serving the cluster as a mix of cooperation, confusion over roles, lack of communication, and in some instances, resentment.

Observations from development people about their interactions with other development agencies ran the gamut:

- We have a good working relationship. We refer people back and forth on a regular basis.... The ABC group...I'm not sure how active they were or still are.

- Community economic development in theory is being done by the XYZ group, but they do very little.

- We wanted to look at integration and cooperation with the XXX organization but the workshops keep getting rescheduled.

- We can't understand why the ABC agency exists. They are dealing more with long term developments.... We see ourselves as grassroots. We administer funds and put people to work.

Another characteristic of the development groups serving the North Shore cluster was their inattention to strategic planning. This is not to say that it has not been tried. One development organization conducted strategic planning sessions in peninsula communities in the mid-1990s, using tools like SWOT (assessment of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) and establishing a vision. "They looked at the social and economic sides and conducted 45 to 50 meetings, including with youth groups, seniors," said a cluster leader. "In the end they had very limited success. Residents were very distrustful of government.... They were afraid (moratorium) benefits would be removed, as in TAGS." From my discussions with development staffers I found that strategic planning may have been done originally in some organizations, even if put together by a outside consultant. However, the original plans were not updated with the regularity I observed in the Labrador Straits, and the extent of civic involvement in the process was typically relegated to the respective Boards of Directors.
My examination of the government/development groups in each cluster and how they operate allows me to conclude that the convincing results in the Labrador Straits in securing ACOA funding for community development projects are a reflection of the leadership and collaboration of the local social structures that exists there. The mediocre results in the North Shore cluster mirror the weak civic culture that I have analyzed previously. Interestingly, the less developed attributes of its civic culture are evident in the government and development groups that serve not just the cluster but the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula.

A comparison of specific development organizations and efforts provides evidence of the importance of civic culture and its relationship to local institutions. There are many examples in the Labrador Straits, but I have chosen to profile the following. The Labrador Straits Development Corporation shows a well-coordinated approach to economic development. The Labrador IT Initiative, which started in the cluster and spread throughout Labrador, embodies diversification into a new industry. Lastly, the endeavors that began in the town of West St. Modeste enhanced the social well-being of communities in the cluster and beyond.

**Labrador Straits Development Corporation**

A group instrumental in obtaining ACOA funding for community projects was the Labrador Straits Development Corporation (LSDC). To understand the facilitative role of the LSDC in the cluster, some background on its inception and organization is useful and provides data on the role of the local social structures and civic culture. The LSDC is one of 20 provincial Regional Economic Development Boards in operation since the mid-1990s. These boards were established to cope with the post-moratorium economy, and each board had free reign to set up its own operations. Referred to locally as the zonal board, the LSDC serves Zone 5. The LDSC is considered to be the smallest zonal board region in the province, serving the entire cluster population of about 2,000. Its geographical location and its population were determining factors for establishing its boundaries and funding, according to a local development official.

Acting as an umbrella to development groups and organizations, the LSDC’s role was to “facilitate and coordinate economic development” in the Straits (LSDC 2003). Developed with civic
participation, its bible was its Strategic Economic Plan that spelled out the area’s priorities over a five-year span. Because the organization was democratically run, its constituents decided on how to organize community involvement in its activities. When LSDC established its board of directors, the region was divided into domains, each with a volunteer representative (Table 8-6).

Table 8-6. Labrador Straits Development Corporation Board Composition

| Labrador Straits Historical Development Corp. | 2 Citizens at Large |
| Fisheries                                      | Labrador Straits Youth Council |
| Women’s Institute                              | Southern Labrador Development Assoc. |
| Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Co.          | Municipalities            |
| Eagle River Credit Union                       | Secondary Education       |
| Business Community                             | Post Secondary Education  |

Source: LSDC (1997)

Originally, when the design of the board was announced, fish harvesters were not represented with a board seat. At an LSDC community meeting, a fisher-spokesperson challenged the organizers about the absence of such a designee. Fishers felt that the lack of a presence on the board was an insult to the fishers whose efforts had built the local communities. After deliberating behind closed doors, the organizers agreed to create such a position.

One of the LSDC’s first endeavors was to form committees to formulate the strategic plan in sectors of tourism and heritage development; aquaculture and fishery; business; education and training; social development; and watershed management. An outcome of the strategic plan for the fisheries, for example, was to research the potential for the deblubbering of seals. A seal deblubbering plant opened in early 2004 in L’Anse-au-Clair as a joint venture between the Labrador Shrimp Company and Barry’s Seafoods and provided employment for 11.16

In its role as facilitator/coordinator of such initiatives, the LSDC allows for others to be in charge of project implementation. An ACOA-funded collaborative venture was the hosting of a Northern Fisheries Forum. Fish harvesters under the auspices of the LSDC took the lead in organizing this event which included industry delegates from Labrador, the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, Northern Quebec, and Nunavut. Co-sponsors of this three-day conference included the Labrador Shrimp Company, the provincial Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture, and the Combined Councils of Labrador (Flynn October 10, 2003; Petrie November 24, 2003). Another ACOA-funded LSDC initiative was the Labrador Straits Natural Heritage Centre and Rare Plant Project, designed to survey rare plants in
the Labrador Straits and establish a facility at Point Amour with science, arts and natural history exhibits to open in 2006. The LSDC had commitments of contributions to this project, both financial and in-kind, from well over 20 partners, including many government departments and six colleges and universities, plus the National Research Council. Six people started to work on this project in 2004 (MacDonald October 12, 2004). The LSDC was recognized provincially at the RuralEXPO 2003 for its Excellence in Partnership (Flynn October 6, 2003b).

During my field work I attended an annual general meeting of the LSDC, open to all cluster residents. The event, which included a dinner, was an occasion to honor civic leaders and volunteers from a variety of local social structures; to celebrate the collaboration that exists among them; to elect two citizens-at-large to fill slots on the Board of Directors; and to revel in the cluster’s achievements of the past year that were accomplished under the aegis of the LSDC. It was a occasion that demonstrated a blending of various aspects of civic culture which I purport are strongly tied to a community’s socio-economic well-being.

**Labrador IT Initiative**

In addition to the diversification of the fisheries and the further development of the tourism sector, the cluster was the birthplace of an information technology (IT) sector that impacted not just the Labrador Straits but the entire Labrador region. The Southern Labrador Telecentre was an IT initiative already in full operation in Forteau at the announcement of the first moratorium. Due to the collaboration of the Southern Labrador Development Association (SLDA) and the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation (LSHDC), the Telecentre was founded in 1991 to assist local development offices, businesses and municipalities with computer access and support. It was one of six established in rural Newfoundland and Labrador under the Enterprise Network project, funded by the federal and provincial governments. The Telecentre provided locals affected by the moratorium crisis with a place to go for information about training for new careers along with support for start-up businesses. Internet access was introduced in 1995, and the Telecentre staff “played a key role in the development of local skills as they relate to software applications, electronic mail, online databases, the internet, and the world wide web” (Downer in Fuchs, 1998:5)
Aside from its contributions to the advancing of individuals’ skills and the promotion of technology in the area, the Telecentre was instrumental in the founding of the Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce. In addition it teamed up with the Mountain Feild Academy in Forteau to open a computer resource center. Another partnership was formed with the literacy group, Partners In Learning, in West St. Modeste to help prepare their initial three-year development plan and train its staff. When the Telecentre’s manager learned about the federal government’s Community Access Program (CAP) to set up publicly accessible internet sites, she took the initiative to inform Labrador communities outside the Straits about funding opportunities. Proposals from ten Labrador communities were accepted and funded. The Telecentre coordinated the setting up of seven CAP locations in the Straits (Downer in Fuchs, 1998).

In spite of the federal government’s cessation of financial support for the Telecentres, the Forteau center continued to operate under the sponsorship of various Labrador Straits agencies. Further, in 1997 ACOA’s Strategic Regional Diversification Agreement allowed for the zonal boards to allocate funds to technology development (ACOA 1997). Labrador’s five zonal boards partnered to accomplish the Labrador Information Technology Initiative (LITI) over a three-year period. The LITI was designed to increase “awareness of ... information technology, to support equal access to the information highway for all communities, provide opportunities to help build a skilled population to meet the demands of the knowledge economy, (and to) support initiatives to increase development of IT business opportunities and partnerships” (Labrador IT Initiative 2001).

In an effort to establish Canada as a forerunner in utilizing information and communications technology to connect it to the rest of the world, the Canadian government launched its Smart Communities project competition. In May 2000 the LITI entry, SmartLabrador, beat out seven other provincial contenders to receive a contract for a three-year “world-class demonstration project” (Smart Communities 2004). Industry Canada’s $5 million in funding was matched with monies raised locally in partnerships to launch this initiative (Labrador Straits Development Corporation 2000). Connecting 32 isolated communities from across five different cultural and economic sectors of Labrador, the project originated from its headquarters at the E. M. Taylor Resource Centre (“The Building”) in Forteau.

The twelve national Smart Communities projects were required to work toward sustainability while setting up at least three standard “Smart Services.” SmartLabrador decided to offer nine. The first
five, Telehealth, Distance Education, Government Services, Virtual Courtroom and ICE (Information Communication Education) Technologies, connected Labradors with numerous technological applications, many through video conferencing (41 sites in 23 communities), and offered access to training courses, medical consultations, career counseling, and virtual meetings (Smart Communities 2004; SmartLabrador 2002). Video conferencing for the Labrador district provincial court proceedings in Happy Valley-Goose Bay started with estimated savings of at least $100,000 annually in travel costs (CBC 2004). Other innovative services included the Labrador Intranet, the Labrador News Network, and the Virtual Museum Network. The Heritage Mall, which opened on-line in March 2004, offered Labrador businesses, in particular the tourism sector, the chance to market their products and services via the internet (Northern Pen April 3, 2004; SmartLabrador 2003).

SmartLabrador’s executive director attributed the project’s success to dozens of partnerships formed along the way with such players as government agencies, development groups, and educational institutions, and even suppliers of network technologies, who were generally more comfortable in the role as competitors. Equally as important were contributions from community volunteers and in-kind contributions (Smart Communities 2004). In the fall of 2003, the SmartLabrador was awarded a $2.9 million grant from Industry Canada’s Broadband for Rural and Northern Development (BRAND) Program to bring high speed internet service to its citizens (Industry Canada 2004a). These funds were required to be matched equivalently at the local level.

At the Newfoundland and Labrador RuralEXPO 2003, the executive director of SmartLabrador received the provincial Individual Achievement Award for her accomplishments in community economic development, including the 12 years she invested in leading Labrador’s information technology efforts (Flynn October 6, 2003b). Hailed for its success across Canada, SmartLabrador was the demonstration project for remote communities at Industry Canada’s Ontario Smart Fair (Industry Canada 2004b). The most recent acknowledgement of its efforts was the invitation to collaborate with the International Development Research Centre (IRDC) by sharing its experiences at a conference in Pueblo, Mexico.17 IRDC partnered with the Unlimited Potential Program of Microsoft to provide support worldwide for its drive to establish telecentres in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Northern Pen December 29, 2004).
SmartLabrador and its predecessors, the Telecentre and the LITI, provided skilled job opportunities to the Labrador Straits, adding to its economic well-being. Its ties to cluster, regional, provincial and national organizations put the Labrador and the Straits “on the map” and opened up a multitude of social and economic opportunities for cluster residents, businesses and institutions. The involvement of its volunteers, from its Management Committee to appointed “Community Champions” who promoted the SmartLabrador sites in their own communities to the residents in Labrador villages who helped set up and maintain the project by handling a myriad of tasks, fostered a healthy civic culture there as well.

**Town of West St. Modeste**

What transpired in the community of West St. Modeste provides an interesting example of how the mayor and the residents dealt with the after-effects of the moratoria and strove to improve the social well-being in their town as well as throughout the cluster. When the mayor’s son and his family left for Ontario in the wake of the cod moratoria, she vowed not to give up or give in to out-migration. To get things started with local residents, she strategized, “We’re going to have fun while we work at this. So we’d have a barbecue on the weekend and have a meeting, and pretty soon people were asking to be invited to the barbecues.” To construct a new town hall, residents raised $40,000 and received over $200,000 in provincial and federal funds plus invested over 4,000 hours of volunteer labor. The modern facility had space rented to five organizations and the post office to generate income.

This mayor of 20 years was involved in numerous local, cluster, regional, provincial, and national activities and provided a striking illustration of leadership in the Straits. Her volunteer service fostered community collaboration and tapped resources foreign to most provincial outports. In recognition of her leadership, the mayor received the Newfoundland and Labrador Volunteer Medal for 30 years of volunteer service as well as The Queen’s Jubilee Medal for Civic Service (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2001). In addition to having her own small business, the mayor served on the boards of the Combined Councils of Labrador, SmartLabrador, the regional school district, the International Grenfell Association, the Quebec-Labrador Foundation Advisory Board, and on ad hoc committees, such as the provincial Marine Transportation Coalition (*Northern Pen* June 7, 2004b). She has given presentations at...
provincial conferences as well as in places such as New York City and Iceland on challenges and solutions for rural municipalities (Quebec Labrador Foundation 2000; UNESCO 1998).

But volunteer service is not just the mayor's forte in West St. Modeste. Community events such as the annual Partridgeberry Festival in September are executed by locals. A stellar case of volunteerism is that of a 17-year-old from Our Lady of Labrador School in West St. Modeste, one of 20 young Canadians named as recipients of a TD Canada Trust scholarship valued at $50,000 for her outstanding community leadership in the establishment of a youth center in her community (TD Canada Trust 2004, MacDonald March 1, 2004). But the town's leadership was best linked to the initiatives that grew out of the Labrador Straits Social Education Corporation formed in the mid-1990s:

- Partners in Learning, an adult literacy program;
- Family Resource Centers, an early childhood activity program with parental involvement, in five cluster locations;
- Partners in Personal Growth, providing mental health counseling and workshops, also advocacy;
- Community Youth Network, a program designed for the inclusion of youth in the cluster's social fabric, with two drop-in centers and a myriad of activities.

These programs are described in more detail in Appendix K. It is difficult to measure the impact of such social programs on communities. A community leader in the cluster shared a feeling of frustration that the government is not so eager to invest funds in these types of programs: "Social development (is seen as) not as important as economic development. Yet here, folks have built their homes, their boats and provided for their large families and communities." This was all accomplished without government help.

Although primarily geared to strengthening the social well-being of the cluster in the aftermath of the social upheaval experienced with the moratoria, paradoxically all of these initiatives brought with them economic benefits, too. The construction of the town hall and the execution of the annual Partridgeberry Festival gave an economic boost to local businesses in West St. Modeste and other cluster communities. Jobs were created for professional and support staffing of Partners in Literacy, the Family Resource Centres, Partners in Personal Growth, and the Community Youth Network. Finally, there was an influx of tens of thousands of dollars in contributions from multiple sources to get these initiatives up and running.

212
The work of the Labrador Straits local social structures brings out their close relationship to the cluster's civic culture. The *citizen involvement* after the moratorium is evident in the activities of the development groups, like the sub-committees of the zonal board working hard to develop and carry out the strategic planning process. There was more citizen participation in the planning and execution of development projects under the auspices of six voluntary associations. The Labrador IT initiative had volunteers involved in numerous aspects of its operations. The municipality of West St. Modeste is a model of resident participation with its fundraising successes and volunteer labor for constructing the town hall.

*Collaboration* after the cod closure was a *modus operandi*, beginning with the Resource Team of government and development staffers working in concert to utilize government programs to help keep residents afloat. Other institutions carried it further, for example, the partnerships launched by the LSDC to establish a Natural Heritage Center and Rare Plant Project with more than two dozen sponsors within and beyond the cluster and province. The Labrador IT initiative strove to foster extensive collaboration and partnership networks within and beyond the Labrador Straits. The town of West St. Modeste and the Labrador Straits Social Education Corporation showed collaboration and *civic leadership* in forming four new voluntary organizations, which expanded and branched into other cluster communities. The mayor herself demonstrated leadership in a myriad of ways. Her vertical network connections that were used for the benefit of all of the cluster, her persistence in lobbying in the political realm, and her determination in fundraising combined to make these programs a reality in the Labrador Straits.

Other cluster leaders showed their mettle as the crisis evolved, for example, development staffers who instilled confidence in individuals getting new businesses underway. Local communities were leaders in undertaking their own economic development projects, such as the building of a Business Development Centre in L’Anse-au-Loup and the Red Bay walking trails to enhance the tourism infrastructure. The Labrador IT initiative provided a leading example of successful economic diversification. In addition to being a forerunner in the information technology industry – provincially, nationally and beyond – it has contributed to the economic well-being of the cluster and all of Labrador by bringing in literally millions of dollars of investment for jobs and the development of human and technological resources.
Communications and diversity of opinions were free flowing at such gatherings as annual general meetings. These gatherings were augmented with frequent weekly coverage of events of interest provided by the regional newspaper, the Northern Pen. I saw the communications facilitated by the Labrador IT Initiative when it connected the communities of Labrador to the world of information technology as the epitome of accomplishments of the cluster's local social structures and civic culture.

Next I present three cases that explain the way that the local social structures and civic culture relate in the North Shore cluster. The first example shows the interactions of development groups for the entire peninsula and their mixed results in introducing tourism and heritage to the cluster. The second illustrates the cluster's unsuccessful attempt to retain banking services, while the third describes three communities effectively banding together to resolve common environmental problems. Overall in this cluster I encountered a scarcity of data from which to select and present in narrative form. The portrayals I chose to use are representative of my findings and reinforce my earlier assessment that the cluster's modest ACOA results, when compared with the Labrador Straits, can be attributed to fewer local social structures and a less developed civic culture.

Tourism and Heritage Initiative

This narrative sheds light on the way North Shore cluster residents interacted with two peninsula development groups when an economic opportunity in tourism arose. The initiative was slow in reaching its potential as a significant tourism destination within a couple of hours' drive from St. John's. Most efforts ended up as community based, generating support of locals but lacking cluster-wide leadership or collaboration.

In the late 1980s volunteers from different parts of the peninsula came together to promote the Baccalieu Trail, the highway that rims the peninsula, for its sightseeing offerings and historical features. Cognizant of the need to tie tourism to economic development, the Trinity Conception Community Futures (TCCF) organization assisted with the group's expansion to the entire Bay de Verde Peninsula and paved the way for the incorporation in 1990 of the Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association or BTTA (TCCF 1991). TCCF commissioned a consulting agency to prepare a Baccalieu Trail Tourism Strategy with recommendations for marketing the region's offerings. Ideas that emerged for the North Shore cluster included improving tourism infrastructure, especially signage; a marina for pleasure boats in Old Perlican;
and whale/birdwatching tours out of Bay de Verde (Resource Systems Management International 1991). Subsequently the BTTA with the help of the TCCF was chosen for the Heritage Regions Program (HRP) under the auspices of the Heritage Canada Foundation (LeBlanc 1992). A BTTA Heritage Regions Committee oversaw the initial visits from Heritage Canada staffers. As the committee members learned more about the HRP components, they had difficulty with HRP’s emphasis on developing the economic aspect of heritage. A local leader involved in the process acknowledged, “There was a tension at the time. Heritage purists struggled to see the connection with tourism. Nowadays it’s more of a given. There is a link. For government funds to be accessed, we have to stress the economic.” Subsequently the Heritage Regions Committee made plans to establish a separate organization (Brown 1992). (At this point I will set aside the developments of the BTTA, but will return to them later.) The Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation (BTHC) was founded in 1993 and hired its first coordinator. Later that year with Heritage Canada assistance, heritage projects blossomed in the area. From only three or four heritage/museum groups in 1993, the number grew to 20 by 2003. In 1995 the BTHC set up the Baccalieu Trail Heritage Alliance, an umbrella group for the various community-based efforts (The Compass March 25, 2003). In spite of its achievements in heritage since its inception, the BTHC was not able to access funding to retain its executive director, who left in 2000 and was not replaced (The Compass March 25, 2003). As of late 2004 the Baccalieu Trail Heritage Alliance (BTHC’s umbrella organization) had been inactive for over a year. Nonetheless, the group’s volunteer board and its archaeological crew were still at work, supported by an office staff person.

Most of the heritage undertakings in the cluster were of the museum genre, depicting the heydays of the cod fishery. This trend toward museum-like replicas of a bygone era matched what Hamilton, Otterstad and Ögmundardóttir (forth.) found in the former boomtowns of the herring fishery in Norway and Iceland as a predictable means of diversifying the fisheries economy. The longest standing undertaking spawned by the BTHC in the North Shore cluster was the Flambro Head Heritage Society (FHHS). In early 1994 residents of Burnt Point, Job’s Cove, Lower Island Cove, Caplin Cove and Low Point joined to protect and develop aspects of their heritage (The Compass January 11, 1994). The group’s first visible accomplishment was to set up a scenic point in each of their five communities along the main highway.
where travelers could stop, rest and enjoy dramatic coastal views. They also began a sustained effort to raise money for a heritage culture center (Baker 1996). Another FHHS initiative was to raise heritage awareness among youth by sponsoring heritage contests in the schools. In 2002 the group opened their museum and café in Job’s Cove in a building donated by NewTel Communications (Bowman May 7, 2002). In 2004, with help from another peninsula town, they formulated a proposal seeking funding for a one-mile boardwalk from the museum to the berry picking areas behind it, popular with local residents. ACOA contributed $41,000 for the materials, and HRDC allocated money to pay wages for 12 workers building the boardwalk (ACOA 2004). HRDC also provided funds to hire students to operate the café and museum in the summer, which were popular with tourists, the latter providing pleasant amenities for the traveler combined with occasional Newfoundland-style entertainment of music and recitations.24

The investment in heritage was also evident in other cluster communities. In 1996 with assistance from BTHC, the rock walls in the cluster community of Grates Cove were declared a National Historic Site. The following year with the help of an ACOA grant, the community’s Cabot Rock Heritage Committee organized a Cabot Year celebration, marking 500 years since John Cabot sailed to Newfoundland. Another initiative from Grates Cove was to install signage to direct tourists to area points of interest at the tip of the peninsula. A community leader spoke of the frustration with the process:

In 1999 we finally got a signage policy for the province. We asked for $60,000 from ACOA to put up two kiosks in Old Perlican. ACOA decided to send out a consultant to see if it was needed. The consultant’s conclusion was that we needed a plan for the whole Baccalieu Trail. The firm got $80,000 to put a plan together. We ended up with a Signage Committee to develop the plan in 2001-2002. The next step was to get government funding to hire someone to implement the plan. There was supposed to be signage going in in 2003.

Yet in May of 2004 a representative of the provincial department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation told a BTTA Tourism Innovation Forum in Old Perlican, “Signage is something that has to be looked at, since a lot of tourists don’t get to see certain areas” (Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association 2004:6). As of my fieldwork there in October 2004, the vicinity still lacked signage.

The blending of the peninsula’s heritage initiatives with tourism has been more prominent recently in the North Shore cluster, as these examples have illustrated.25 But it is important to examine what happened to the peninsula’s tourism organization in the interim. When the BTHC parted ways with the BTTA in 1992, the latter slipped into a dormant period without consistent funding due to a number of
contributing factors, such as the dominant role of the RDAs in the region, a lack of business orientation, and its focus on make-work projects. In 1999 M-RON exerted considerable effort to revitalize the organization by assembling a steering committee of local tourism businesspersons who revamped the organization’s charter to ensure that the tourism industry would hold the majority of seats, including the chair. The organization was officially revived the next year, the College of the North Atlantic provided in-kind office space, and an executive director was brought on board (Bowman 2000). BTTA still experienced obstacles with funding and staff turnover. In the last couple of years it focused on marketing Baccalieu Island and the surrounding area as a tourist destination.

Baccalieu Island’s prominence as the largest seabird island in the province dated from the 1970s when the International Biological Program deemed it to be a special natural site that was globally important (May August 3, 1993). Because of the island’s importance, the provincial government agreed to locate an exhibit featuring Baccalieu Island in the town of Bay de Verde, if the town provided a building for it. So when the town received a donation of a 1886 merchant’s house, it became a likely place for the Baccalieu Island exhibit. The Blundon Heritage House, named a Registered Heritage Structure in 1997, was restored by means of job creation projects. In 2000 it received the prestigious Southcott Award for excellence in architectural preservation. Two annual fundraisers support the heritage house, the Bay de Verde Heritage Days in July and Christmas in the Harbour, the latter being an evening spotlighting local musical talent. In addition to these events to fund house maintenance, the town secured a $23,000 ACOA contribution for repairing the Blundon House roof in 2003 (ACOA 2004).

Bay de Verde has become a popular destination with the Blundon House drawing about 2,000 visitors annually. “A lot of people want to go to the end (of the peninsula),” said a Blundon House spokesperson, “and almost every day in summer, someone wants to go to Baccalieu Island.” To capitalize on this demand, the BTTA initiated a plan to develop the educational and birdwatching assets of the island while creating jobs in tourism. A Task Force Team of local leaders from Bay de Verde, Red Head Cove, Grates Cove, and Old Perlican together with representatives from peninsula development groups began in late 2003 to formulate a grassroots approach to the initiative (Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association 2003). An involved development person explained, “We’ve asked the team to have meetings at the local level and bring in municipalities and businesses... Local committee (members) will go after the funding. We will
do the groundwork, and they will do the proposal.” So far BTTA received funding for the first phase of a three-phase proposal, with further monies contingent upon support from the communities and local businesses.

By BTTA shifting the responsibility to an *ad hoc* committee without a track record in community development, the anticipated results could be a long time in unfolding. I found cluster residents were still ambivalent about the place of heritage and tourism here. One cluster native was convinced “heritage exists for its own sake, for future generations. Tourism is a more private, entrepreneurial thing…. It exists to attract tourists and make money.” And even promoting tourism was controversial. Said another, “If tourism is like Peggy’s Cove in Nova Scotia with its traffic — no! I don’t want to open my door in the morning and not know who’ll be there. If Newfoundland and Labrador would promote tourism, the rugged beauty and harshness here, if developed properly, no problem.” But the bottom line about economic diversification into tourism and heritage was that it has yet to deliver an economic boost here. Almost all the work that heritage efforts created was funded by government job creation projects. The cluster was considerably underdeveloped in terms of tourism amenities. In addition, there was a lack of consensus about tourism being a viable economic alternative. For some, tourism development was way behind, “in the baby stages,” according to a cluster leader. Yet others remain unconvinced that tourism will make a difference. “People can’t make a living on B&B’s, craft stores or waterfront restaurants,” said another.

**Bank Initiative**

This chronicles an attempt to mount a campaign to save a cluster bank branch which residents, small businesses, and other organizations relied upon for their financial transactions. The collaborative efforts were unable to achieve the desired results. How this endeavor transpired is an example of the way that local social structures and civic culture relate in the North Shore cluster.

During the last half of the 20th century, Old Perlican gradually evolved into the service and retail hub of the northern tip of the Bay de Verde Peninsula. No doubt this distinction was based on its geographical location and the economic activity generated by fish plants within the town and in Bay de Verde, 10 kilometers away. Even though Carbonera was growing into the service center for the entire peninsula, it was still 60 kilometers distant, a one-hour drive from Old Perlican. Hence it made sense for the Bank of Nova Scotia (also known as ScotiaBank) to locate a sub-branch of its Carbonera office in Old
Perlican. The bank had been operational in Old Perlican for a short while about 50 years previously (1917-1924) and returned to open an office in 1965 (Cram 1996).

In 2001, however, ScotiaBank revealed a rationalization plan to consolidate its Old Perlican and Harbour Grace locations into a new Carbonear branch (Baird 2001). Cluster residents and small business owners were alarmed by this news because of their dependence on the Old Perlican office for their banking needs, especially for check cashing and depositing funds. In response to citizen outcry, the Old Perlican town council called a public meeting to discuss the matter and attempt to reverse the decision (Baird 2001). Those present nominated an ad hoc Banking Committee, composed mostly individuals from town councils and a couple of local businesspersons, to continue the search for a solution. Although the Quinlan enterprises were not represented on the committee, a local leader recalled, “Quinlans tried to influence the decision. They owned the bank building.”

An official from ScotiaBank met with the committee and acknowledged that if Quinlans had been customers of the bank, the Old Perlican branch would not be closing. This factor was further emphasized when a peninsula development officer got involved with the effort: the Bank of Montreal was willing to open an office in Old Perlican if the local fish plants were bank clients. Otherwise there was insufficient business to justify the move. Other development groups supplied “the traditional letter of support,” explained a committee member, and the committee was on its own in its quest to reverse the decision. Nonetheless, ScotiaBank remained firm, and the branch closed in May 2002. Bank customers were urged to use the local ATM machine (which would not take deposits), direct deposit of checks, and consider internet and telephone banking options (Simmons May 14, 2002).

Almost three years after the bank closing, local businesses and residents still felt the ramifications. As a participant in the process stated, “(Our) committee approached major charter banks and credit unions, but we never made headway. Our business lost. Now we must drive to Carbonear to make deposits and get change. We lost revenues. People go to Carbonear to do banking, then shop at WalMart and Canadian Tire.” Said another:

It’s been a real inconvenience for organizations like churches, lodges, and town councils. The bank was very callous.... They forgot the feelings of the people, especially the aging (population).... Our committee is still in motion.... We are trying to encourage a credit union to come in and set up a business, but a lot of communities where there never was a bank are ahead of us on the list.
The Local Service District of Burnt Point-Gull Island-Northern Bay

Even though citizen attitudes may not always be inclined to forge a joint venture to solve a community problem, and there might not be a history of such achievements to build confidence that such action works, a recent initiative of three locales proved that it could be done and over a relatively short time span. In spite of many cluster communities’ longstanding resistance to involve government in local affairs, it was a governmental solution that three North Shore locales chose to resolve an environmental crisis. In 2003 when the owner of a cluster-based trash hauling business raised his rates twice within a short period of time, residents of Burnt Point, Gull Island and Northern Bay became suspicious. Their suspicions turned to ire when they began to discover garbage had been dumped on their beaches, along the recently constructed T’Railway that traverses their communities, and even on the side of the main highway.

A small group of citizens got together and called a public meeting to discuss the matter. “People were coming who never came to a meeting before, but they were so fed up,” said one of the organizers. “One hundred and fifty showed up. In addition to the garbage being scattered throughout our area, we learned that the gentleman had been illegally taking our garbage to dumps that belonged to other communities.” The leaders of the initiative followed up with government in St. John’s and learned the options were to form either a waste management committee or a local service district (LSD). At a second open meeting, residents opted for an LSD. “We got petitions on the go, went door to door and contacted everyone we could,” continued the organizer. Ninety-eight percent were in favor of an LSD.28 Petitions and an application were taken to St. John’s, and on November 22, 2003, they were granted LSD status.

Once the LSD committee members were elected at a public meeting, they set in motion plans to clean up their communities. They hired a dump truck to pick up garbage that had accumulated over a two-month period when the original trash hauler stopped servicing them. Next they located a new contractor to handle the regular garbage pick-ups, established a yearly payment assessment scale for households, scheduled a general clean-up for larger items not part of everyday garbage, and applied for a government grant to clean up and permanently close their former dump site in Burnt Point. In spite of the fact that the Burnt Point dump site had been closed for a number of years, people from outside the community were still dumping trash there illegally. In the spring of 2005 a recycling metal company from St. John’s was
contracted to pick up car wrecks. Also the LSD hoped to secure funds from HRDC to hire people over the summer to continue the work of community clean-up.

The LSD decided against property taxes for their newly organized district and would consider tackling problems that some residents had with community wells, but only after their communities were cleaned up. “This cleanup should be a joint effort from the beginning of our shore to the end,” opined an LSD leader. “The government is promoting tourism, but if you clean up the area, you’ll get a lot more people to come.... If everyone worked together, can you imagine how beautiful our communities...would be?”

When analyzing these North Shore case studies, it is important to stress that the government and development organizations as local social structures had responsibilities beyond the North Shore cluster. Yet I will still draw a comparison between their method of working and that of the Labrador Straits development organizations in the context of civic culture. Involvement of cluster citizens at the peninsula level was weak, limited to perhaps a half dozen or more individuals who served on the boards or committees of the peninsula development groups. Participation from the community level was very low, as demonstrated in formulating strategic plans or in the execution of well-functioning sub-zonal committees for M-RON. However, involvement was present in individual community heritage committees, in their fundraisers, and in contributions of local artifacts to the heritage museums and houses. Although they did not take issue with the aftermath of the moratorium per se, the attempt to save the bank and the formation of the LSD dealt with pressing social issues. The citizen involvement in the latter was particularly “grassroots” in origin and effort.

I would characterize collaboration among development groups with peninsula-wide obligations as ineffective and unconvincing as compared with the Labrador Straits. No obvious network was in place between and among them, and the North Shore Regional Development Association was often not seen as part of the “loop.” Strong cooperation within a community, such as in Grates Cove or Bay de Verde, appeared weaker in terms of partnerships with other communities or development organizations, with the exception of the five-community venture of the Flambro Head Heritage Society. Notably absent from the tourism initiatives were the cluster’s RDA, which was promoting its own T’T Railways project as a tourist
attraction, as well as those providing the entertainment events, food service and accommodations linked to Northern Bay Sands Park, a popular destination for many summer visitors to the North Shore. In the bank case citizens from more than a dozen communities united to save the local branch office. However, missing from the effort was a key local social structure, the Quinlan enterprises, which continued to use banks in St. John’s to handle their accounts. With only a few local institutions and citizens struggling to reverse the situation, their results were not surprising. On the other hand, the LSD was a collaboration of three neighboring communities, with some guidance from cluster individuals familiar with governmental requirements. The cooperative accomplishment of the LSD populace is a model for other unorganized cluster communities facing similar challenges.

Each of the cluster initiatives described here demonstrated civic leadership, but mostly at the local rather than cluster level. The development groups serving the cluster appeared to be distant from the few ACOA-funded community and business projects. Initially the BTHC with its Heritage Regions Program ascertained themselves as leaders by raising heritage awareness. However, their influence and involvement lessened, perhaps as their emphasis shifted to other parts of the peninsula, especially to their archaeological projects. M-RON was clearly a leader in reviving the BTTA, which assumed a guiding role in the Baccalieu Island undertaking. Yet in this latest initiative, the BTTA shifted the leadership to a local committee to line up corporate and municipal sponsorship. For the most part leadership was in the realm of community residents, rather than from the social structures, such as, local businesses. The Banking Committee was still trying to achieve its goal, though as the years pass, the members acknowledged that residents have adapted to community life without full banking services. Yet in spite of their lack of experience in community organizing, the LSD committee members (including two fish plant workers, two local businesspersons, and a fisher) were insistent, empowered and successful in getting things done.

Communications between and among development staffers existed, but most were on a one-on-one basis. Some groups missed getting the news, either because of their own inactivity or absence of steady communication networks among agencies. Sporadic news about cluster heritage events and organizations’ anniversaries made The Compass. A diversity of opinion still existed about the intermingling of heritage with tourism. I would also state this caveat. Results such that I measured in this study, for example, ACOA-funded community and commercial projects, may have materialized in other
areas of the Bay de Verde Peninsula, and the outcomes may have been stronger there. However, that was beyond the scope of this research. In the North Shore cluster itself, I was unable to find such results.

These case studies from the two clusters reveal much about the inner workings in each area. The Labrador IT Initiative expanded from a small cluster-backed initiative into the whole of Labrador and brought high tech communication and jobs, along with national and international recognition. The hard work that began in West St. Modeste to build the community’s social infrastructure spread in the form of programs to benefit the total Labrador Straits area.

Even though the region’s tourism and heritage initiative began in the late 1980s, the North Shore cluster did not feel its influence until 1994. Several heritage projects were solidified since then – three under the wing of communities and the fourth as the only collaborative effort incorporating five communities. By contrast, in the Labrador Straits a tourism group had supported the industry since the mid-1980s. When the cluster qualified for the national Heritage Regions Program (HRP) prior to the moratorium, it received an immediate groundswell of support from locals, who adapted the HRP strategy as a means as organizing their development efforts, not just in tourism and heritage, but in other economic sectors, too. By contrast the HRP’s arrival on the Bay de Verde Peninsula in 1992 turned out to be the catalyst for heritage to be pursued separately from tourism. Their respective development groups have struggled to build momentum since then. Even by late 2004, there was still much to be done to expand tourism infrastructure in the cluster.

The loss of the local bank has diminished the quality of life for the cluster and made the climate for small business more tenuous. The achievement of cleaning up the three locales in the new LSD proves that citizens here are able to come together for a cause they believe to be important. Both initiatives pale, however, when compared to what happened in the Labrador Straits. There eight years before the moratorium, the Bank of Montreal announced it was closing its operations. In the space of a couple of months, local leaders and civic institutions collaborated and explored all possibilities. The day after the bank branch closed, the Eagle River Credit Union opened. The dominant employer, the Labrador Shrimp Company, opened an account with a $100,000 deposit, the town donated facilities, and the credit union has grown by leaps and bounds ever since. After the moratoria, the contributions of the town of West St.
Modeste, its mayor, and other civic leaders and institutions resulted in positive impacts to all cluster residents in literacy, family resources, youth centers, counseling services and related programs. All of these examples point to more positive socioeconomic outcomes in the Labrador Straits versus the North Shore cluster.

Now I will examine quantitative indicators of population, including shifts in the total of residents and how the population is aging. I will also look at specific income levels and just how independent the population in the clusters is from government income supports. If my earlier assessment that the Labrador Straits was more favorably positioned to achieve post-moratorium socioeconomic well-being than the North Shore cluster, then the evidence of such should also be in the numbers.

**Population Trends**

Figure 8-4 shows what actually transpired in population changes in both clusters from prior to the 1949 Confederation with Canada until the most recent census. Because population figures were available back this far, it seemed like a logical place to start to analyze them. Population had been steadily growing in the Labrador Straits from 1945 until it peaked in 1986. Then the cluster experienced a drop of 15 percent over the next 15 years, though the percentages of decrease every five years went from 7 percent to 5 percent and finally down to 3 percent in the 2001 census. The actual 8 percent population loss in the Labrador Straits from prior to the moratorium (1991) up to the latest census (2001) is slightly better than the province’s population decline of roughly 10 percent.

In the North Shore cluster during the same period the population has been on a gradual yet steady decline since just before Confederation. The area registered a 3 percent increase in 1981, but then resumed with a more accelerated slide from 1 percent by 1986 to 6 percent in both 1991 and 1996, registering an 8 percent decline by 2001. The overall downturn in the period from just before the moratorium until 2001 has been 14 percent, more than the province-wide 10 percent.

A comparison of the two clusters over this 50 year span points to an obvious, consistent reduction in the North Shore cluster population amounting to a 38 percent downturn overall. In the Labrador Straits, although there has been a dwindling since 1986, the number of residents over the 50 year period has climbed by 92 percent. At first glance the Labrador Straits seems to be in a much more favorable position.
as far as retention of population is concerned. However, the number of residents there is still going down, and it remains to be seen if this direction will continue.

When these trends are matched with the activity in the cod fishery since 1960, as shown in Figure 8-5, the population variations can be better understood. The most noticeable changes occurred up to 1976. In the 1960s factory freezer trawlers were plying the provincial waters within view of the shoreline. Their enormous harvesting capacities were negatively impacting the species in ways obvious to the inshore fishers, whose catches were steadily declining by the 1970s. In 1977 the federal government finally responded with the implementation of a 200-mile limit, and soon thereafter DFO scientists declared the species was no longer in danger. Provincial fishers proceeded to fall into the overharvesting trap. Cod catches increased while the threat to the species grew. In the meantime, population trends in both clusters from 1976 to 1986 tracked similarly. The Northern cod harvest peaked in 1988, then by 1991 had dropped off almost by half and was shutdown the following year.
In the North Shore cluster where fishers depended on the Northern cod, the population decline went on hold when the 200-mile limit was imposed in 1977. Fishers no doubt experienced their catches improving, giving the area an economic stimulus. In fact the number of inhabitants increased by 3 percent by the next census period (1981), the only real increase in the course of this 50-year span. But the size of the populace soon resumed its descent, as recounted above. In the Labrador Straits fishers had access to both the Northern and Gulf cod. The catch of the latter actually peaked in 1983, but three years later had dropped by over one third. After the 1986 census high, the decrease in the residents in this cluster resumed, in tandem with the plunge in Gulf cod catches. These trends underscore the idea that the moratoria of the early 1990s were a policy declarations. They made “official” what the fishing community had been experiencing for years. Residents were already reacting to realities in the water where there was a decline of the resource base (Hamilton, Haedrich and Duncan 2003).

How did the citizenry in the Labrador Straits weather this crisis? “No one (in my large family) lost a home or a vehicle,” recalled one long-time businessperson. “The government chipped right in with programs. People never felt the sting of it.” Even though there were families without a direct loss of
employment, the result was that the moratoria had changed the cluster dramatically. Admitted one community leader about the aftermath:

You can’t say you weren’t affected. Everybody was affected. Young people had to move to other areas of the country (to find employment). The long-term effect was that it set the mentality in young people, the mindset that there’s nothing here. Our own kids moved on. Once they got out to see what was available (in other places), i.e. sports, recreation, etc., there was no urge to come back in.

The urge to return might not always have been present, but other factors were also at play. “The ones who are away, parents are proud of them,” said another. “But they can’t come back if they have a student loan. They need a good job to pay it off. Some have come back, and that’s given a lot of hope.”

According to one cluster leader, “As (the cod moratoria) sunk in and time progressed, we saw a lot of families packing up and leaving. Literally we could see trucks and vehicles with trailers filled with furniture and belongings, heading out.”

Of the 44 Labrador Straits residents I interviewed in depth for this study, there was considerable agreement that the quality of life here deters residents from moving away. Typical reasons given were, “Quaint and peaceful here.” “Beautiful, unspoiled country.” “Great place to raise a family.” “Freedom, peace of mind, close family ties.” Another important factor that discourages outmigration is the value of real estate. As one resident explained, “I own my own home and have a cabin, too. I have no mortgage, no payments. If I want to sell tomorrow, I wouldn’t get a quarter of what it’s worth.” But of course all the reasons for staying are subject to being overturned when one’s livelihood no longer exists, a real possibility after the cod moratoria.

Residents in the North Shore cluster frequently stated that in spite of the availability of seasonal work, predominantly in the fish plants, young people are looking for employment outside of the cluster. If the youth do not go away to the university and move on from there into other employment spheres away from their home communities, then they head for Mainland Canada and more steady employment. “There were an unbelievable number of young people from our community who left in the last month for Ontario or Alberta for seasonal construction or maintenance work,” said a community leader, “and some may find permanent work there.” Yet another twist to out-migration alarms a local business person: “Our younger fishers – 25 years old – are even building homes in St. John’s.”
An added residential current is the steady influx of outsiders purchasing property for retirement or seasonal homes. Newfoundlanders who migrated to other parts of the country for employment have traditionally felt a strong pull to return to the province for retirement. But in recent years many vacationers who have discovered the province have found the cluster to be a desirable place to purchase a seasonal home.30 “Our (hospitality business) closed toward the end of September,” stated a local business person, “and every one of our guests that day was moving back or buying property. Houses are selling like crazy in (a nearby community).” The mayor of a cluster town revealed, “We have 250 year-round residences; 175 to 180 others are summer cottages.” One local business person has accumulated a list of names and phone numbers of those who are interested in purchasing a house, most of which become available at rock-bottom prices. Some of the new homeowners are the more affluent from St. John’s, such as, doctors, lawyers and professional people. “Renovations are pumping money into the local economy,” said a cluster native, and some locals find employment caring for the properties when owners are absent. But at times the newcomers provoke a slight bit of resentment, since some bring along “townie arrogance,” said another cluster resident. “You overhear them saying, ‘Oh, what a place. You can’t get a decent cappuccino!’ or ‘We have to go all the way to Carbonear for a newspaper or a lotto ticket!'”

Shifts in population have multiple causes, but outmigration of youth and declining birth rates are particularly prevalent in the province as its natural resource base declined (Hamilton and Butler 2001; Hamilton et al 2004). When women started to work in the fish plants, in the 1960s and 1970s, family sizes decreased. Figures 8-6 and 8-7 portray the aging patterns of the population in the clusters over a span of four census periods. The broad picture is fairly similar in both clusters. There has been a drop in those residents under 25 years of age, while the number of those in the 25 to 59 year group are growing, and the ranks of those 60 and older are steadily increasing. The Labrador Straits appears to be losing youth at a more rapid rate (18 percent versus 13 percent in the North Shore cluster) over the span of the four census periods. This is despite the fact that the Labrador Straits had at least 10 percent more residents under 25 as of the 1986 census.

With the exodus of youth, there is a looming labor crisis. In the Labrador Straits, for example, a development group is experiencing difficulty in finding a student candidate for summer employment
Figure 8-6. Aging of Population – Labrador Straits. Data source: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency (2004).

(Northern Pen, April 18, 2005). Employers in the hospitality industry here have also been challenged to fill summer season slots. In the fish plants of the North Shore cluster, the workforce is graying, and concern is growing about a shrinking labor pool.

Also striking are the fluctuations in the 60 years and older group. In the North Shore cluster the elderly population has made up at least 20 percent of the populace there throughout this timeframe. The increases in this group have been just 1 percent per each five-year census period, from 21 to 24 percent of the population. However, in the Labrador Straits, the rise in this segment of the population has been more dramatic, from 9 to 17 percent during the 15-year time frame. In both clusters, this trend points out the need to address specific support systems for the elderly.

**Household and Family Incomes and the Degree of Government Support**

To assess the economic well-being of the cluster, census figures dealing with income play an essential role. Figures 8-8 and 8-9 depict the shifts in household income over the last two census periods. In the Labrador Straits shifts in household income from 1996 to 2001 indicate a rising middle class and a diminishing lower class. Development initiatives and small business expansion with funding from ACOA and other sources funneled more money into the local economy, and as a consequence household income levels have risen.

In the North Shore cluster the distribution of income is becoming more stratified. Some residents here have struck it rich because of diversification into more lucrative fisheries. For these individuals, this shift has meant prosperity never before seen here. Said one cluster observer, “There are new homes, renovated homes, late model vehicles. Fishers used to drive wrecks. A few had pick-up trucks.” A career fisher confirmed the change: “This year 21 new vehicles came into the community.” According to another resident, the boom from the fishery is evident within their families: “In a fisher family, every kid has an ATV...also kids have their own TV, DVD player, phone, PC, mini-fridge.” The rise in the incomes of some is attributed to “the snow crab fishers who are millionaires,” said a cluster native. “They own their own boats or have bigger quotas. They were catching one million pounds in 1989, 1990, 1991. Even those who got into snow crab in 1999 are now millionaires.”

230
Figure 8-8. Private Household Incomes ($000) - Labrador Straits. Data source: Statistics Canada (2004).

Figure 8-9: Private Household Incomes ($000) – North Shore. Data source: Statistics Canada (2004).
Another indicator that addresses the changes in household financial circumstances is the median family income level. Although both clusters were affected by the cod shutdown, Figure 8-10 shows that there was no continuous decline in family income, as one might anticipate or predict. In the Labrador Straits prior to the second moratorium, family incomes were climbing regularly. For the year 1993, half the families had an annual income of over $29,000. As the Gulf cod moratorium hit in 1994, earnings growth slowed ever so slightly, and by 1997 had dipped by 8 percent from the 1993 figure. Nonetheless, in 1998 the economy was rebounding. In the 2001 census figures, 50 percent of families had incomes of $35,600 or more.

In the North Shore cluster the prosperity that exists for some has not extended to many others, as the charting of its median income levels shows. The pattern of median income figures over the 12-year course depicted here is one of a gradual rise, then a fallback for three successive years (1995 to 1997). This period was described by inshore fishers as a low point in their economic condition because of their inability to access the snow crab fishery. The median income did not climb again until 1998. A slight decrease in 2000 was rectified the next year with a $3,200 jump, by which time half of cluster families had an income of $27,600 or more. This could easily be linked to the cluster’s rise in the number of households with incomes greater than $100,000, evident in 2001 census figures shown in Figure 8-9.

The growth of the 60 and over age group here (in 2001 this group was 24 percent of the total population per Figure 8-7) could mean an increase in the number of families on fixed incomes. However, another 26 percent of the cluster families also register incomes at or below $27,600. This is still 30 percent below the $40,000 maximum in the lower income bracket shown in Figure 8-9. One local leader acknowledged, “The workingman is the hard hit man. There are some people having a hard time just heating their homes, putting food on the table. The fishers are not having a hard time.”

Overall, median family income in the Labrador Straits has risen regularly and, in all the years presented, has been consistently at least 15 percent ahead of the North Shore. Just before the first moratorium there was a 26 percent difference between the two clusters. In 2001 this reached 22 percent, hitting a peak spread between the two medians of $8,000.
Figure 8-10. Median Family Income. Data source: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency (2004).

During a time when government programs were instituted to cushion the economic blow of the cod closure, it is important to look at what proportion of these family incomes is attributed to government subsidy. The self-reliance ratio (Figure 8-11) is a percentage that measures a community’s dependence on government transfers such as Old Age Security, Canada Pension Plan, Employment Insurance, social assistance, and the like.32 The higher the percentage of income that comes from transfers, the lower the self-reliance ratio is. In 1992, Labrador Straits cluster residents received 42.3 percent of their income from such government transfers. Two years later, as their economic situation worsened, government transfers climbed to 48.2 percent of total income. But then the dependence on such sources diminished, and by 1999 the percentage of government transfers was down to 29.8 percent, where it remained through 2001.

In the North Shore cluster, dependence on government supports has been consistently higher than in the Labrador Straits, although in 1990 the clusters were 2.8 percent apart. In 1993 the impact of the previous year’s cod closure brought the percentage of dependence to its highest in this 12-year period, with 59.3 percent of income coming from government sources. Subsequently the cluster’s reliance on government monies diminished, gradually reaching a low of 38.8 percent dependency by 2000. In 2001 the dependency percentage climbed slightly to 42.9 percent. In comparison with the Labrador Straits, the North Shore cluster has regularly had to rely more on various forms of government assistance. The average reliance on government monies in the Labrador Straits in this time span has been 38.5 percent versus 48.5 percent in the North Shore. Since 1995 the Labrador Straits has shown at least 11 percent less dependency. The 2001 spread between clusters was 13.3 percent.
A deeper look into what has transpired in employment opportunities in each of these clusters provides some clarification into their degree of government dependence. In the Labrador Straits interviewees in this study often stated that their economic diversification had been essential to their survival during these trying times. Even though the fishery has downsized significantly in the cluster, it is still the dominant employment sector. In addition to the harvesting of different species, the boom in small business development, and the expansion of the tourism and information technology sectors, there was another infusion into the local economy. Per one civic leader, “The Trans Labrador Highway…brought on quite a bit of work, plus the money being spent in the region. It was a $300 million investment.” As the construction on the new highway shifted from Red Bay north to Cartwright, and now west to Goose Bay, some Straits residents still find employment on the project. The increase in travel and tourism on this newly opened route has indeed benefited local businesses.

Another major Labradorian project has also been employing cluster workers since 2002 – the construction of Voisey’s Bay nickel mining operation. Discovered in 1993, the site is considered to be one of the world’s richest deposits of nickel ore (Rompkey 2003). Located nearly 500 kilometers due north of the Straits, the construction site offers well-paying jobs, many from March to mid-December, often on a turnaround schedule of six weeks in Voisey’s Bay and two weeks back home. Local sources estimate that from 20 to 25 cluster residents had employment here in 2004, including summer operations. As the construction of the site draws near completion and mining operations begin in 2005, this contingent will be reduced (McLean 2004).

Seasonal employment opportunities in the region are still common, whether tied to the fisheries, construction, or connected to the growing tourism industry. Those who hold these seasonal jobs are generally entitled to employment insurance (EI). EI is seen by a number of employers whom I interviewed in both clusters as a double-edged sword. Its availability makes it possible for workers to maintain a decent standard of living when seasonal work is all that is available. However, once a worker reaches the threshold of enough hours to qualify for EI, there is little incentive to work at another job, especially at a lower hourly wage that is on a par with EI benefits.

Per one Labrador Straits leader, the shift from seasonal to year-round employment “…is changing – it has to – but slowly.” At times this leaves year-round employers scrambling to fill job openings. A
development staffer admitted, "I didn’t think that 10 years after the moratorium, we’d be facing a labor shortage. Now employers call, especially in the summer time, looking for welders, nurses, chambermaids, waitresses, hair stylists and carpenters." The tourism industry appears to be most affected. Because of improved accessibility to the region in recent years, there has been a steady increase in travelers. I learned from several employers that this has resulted in a scarcity of service workers, a dilemma which required local employers to hire personnel from the Great Northern Peninsula, and in some instances even provide housing for them, in order to meet the labor demands of the tourist season.

Prior to the year 2000, the standard practice for fishers’ filing for EI was to initiate a claim in October, which would allow benefits until the following April. This eligibility was based upon the EI Act of 1996. Several years later, the legislation was revised. According to a provincial employment staffer, “The intent and wording around eligibility for benefits changed (with this revision), and now fishers could establish two benefits periods versus only one per year. This meant they could file winter and summer claims.” This became especially relevant to fishers in the North Shore cluster. The peculiarities of harvesting snow crab are such that the harvesting season begins in April, then ceases in June or later, depending upon the fishers’ earnings. As another staffer involved with employment explained:

Now you file a claim on December 15th, put in a two-week waiting period, and draw EI until June 15th. If you work during the premium crab harvest period, you declare your fishing income in the week(s) you earned it. You lose your EI but on June 16th, you file another claim that goes until the middle of December.

This “double-dipping” into the EI funds has created tension between fishers and other residents. To exacerbate the situation, the two claims-per-year eligibility was not immediately recognized. According to a knowledgeable employment source, “Someone in Quebec read the fine print of the EI (Act) and discovered this (loophole).” As a result, when it became known in the province, the government agencies had to inform fishers, who in turn received retroactive EI compensation, if they qualified. This was done since the legislation had been administered in such fashion in other provinces, and the Newfoundland and Labrador fishers could not be denied the same treatment. “The vast majority of fishers are now establishing two claims,” an employment staffer admitted.

Another post-moratorium development has been the professionalization of fish harvesters with clear requirements for qualifying for fishing licenses. A stipulation of this policy is that once fishers reach
“core” status, 75 percent of their annual income must be from the fisheries, putting restrictions on other employment opportunities to supplement their short work period (Clarke in Byron 2003:151). This combined with the twice-yearly filing for unemployment had affected the North Shore’s dependency on government income supports.

Although seasonal work in the fisheries accounts for most EI claims, a local employment source acknowledged that a substantial contingent of North Shore cluster workers qualify through Mainland employment. Another resident who has worked in the cluster schools substantiated this: “A lot of...students leave with their families at the end of May to go to Toronto for seasonal work, just enough to get their stamps. They come back at the end of September.”34

The numbers indeed are clear. The Labrador Straits scores more favorably in almost every category examined. Population over the long term has consistently increased until the cod collapse. However, the percentage of youth is decreasing while other age groupings are growing at a faster rate than in the North Shore cluster. Private household income here is rising as reflected in an expanding middle class. The median family income is also increasing at an obviously better pace. Finally, the populace is relying less on government supports and becoming more independent in their earning capacity.

In the years since the first closure of the cod fishery was announced, the Labrador Straits residents made significant strides in shoring up and enhancing their region’s socio-economic well-being. I have examined the initiatives of the various development agencies, municipalities and other voluntary organizations that received ACOA funding and found that cluster efforts injected significant monies into the local economy, totaling more than $12,500,000. The 41 percent of ACOA funds for these initiatives versus 59 percent from other sources is an indicator of the resourcefulness and determination of cluster leaders and local social structures. Forty-two business projects in the cluster were recipients of monies totaling more than $1,000,000 and generating 52 jobs (ACOA 2005).

In the North Shore cluster from the time of the 1992 moratorium until the present, the efforts of area development groups, cluster towns and voluntary organizations to bolster cluster economy resulted in slightly under $1,200,000 in ACOA funding. Almost two thirds of the total cost of these initiatives came
from ACOA, compared with one third from other sources. Seven business projects here were awarded a total of $136,000, which created three jobs (ACOA 2005).

Flora et al. (1997) attributed community success in the implementation of economic development projects to the community’s entrepreneurial social infrastructure, referenced as civic culture in this study. Although these researchers did not specify their belief of what dollar amounts of funding make for a success, I contend that the results of the Labrador Straits cluster in the funding of 37 community projects in a 12-year time span are convincing to that end. The North Shore cluster’s five projects brought in just one tenth of the funding that the Labrador Straits secured. Initiatives benefiting Labrador Straits businesses attracted seven and a half times the amount of ACOA monies and created 17 times the number of jobs when compared with North Shore results.

In addition to its economic development efforts, the Labrador Straits cluster also made a imprint on the social development landscape. The creation of local social structures to meet the needs of all, particularly for children, families, youth, and seniors, and in areas of literacy and mental health, results from its civic culture. As Morton (2003) found, when residents participate in community organizations and strive for the common good of community, such as addressing the social organization of these kinds of services, residents tend to perceive a higher quality of life there. In the cluster, local social structures exhibited all characteristics of a rich and developed civic culture (citizen involvement, collaboration, civic leadership, and diversity of communications and opinions) in launching these economic and social development initiatives.

In the North Shore cluster, other than the replacement of the local hospital and the construction of a new consolidated high school, both under the auspices of provincial departments, there was a paucity of cluster-generated effort to enhance the social development of the communities. The initiative to save the local bank still has not produced the desired result. The cluster is woefully lacking in youth activities, a literacy program, and mental health services. It has just one cluster-based Family Resource Center (compared with five in the Labrador Straits). The lack of these services impact residents’ perception of their quality of life which is seen as diminished.

Population trends in the Labrador Straits over a 50 year period document a doubling of the populace until the fisheries crisis hit the Maritimes. Though showing a loss in residents from 1986 to 2001,
the reduction is not so drastic as the trends in the province as a whole. The aging of the population, reduction in family size, and out-migration of youth are realities faced by rural communities everywhere and drive population decline. Yet what the cluster has in its favor that anchors its citizens to the area are numerous local social structures that are very dynamic in civic life. Irwin et al. (1999) contended that vigorous religious organizations can contain the outflow of population and also promote that civic engagement (in this research, civic culture), built by the presence of residential support for small manufacturing establishments, associations, churches and small retail gathering places, brings about a secure population of nonmigrants. Putnam (1995) underscored that local churches and voluntary groups cultivate civic participation, a factor which curtails population exodus. In contrast the North Shore cluster population has declined by more than one third since just prior to Confederation with Canada in 1949. Other than a slight temporary increase in the early 1980s, the population descent has been steady. Interestingly, in both clusters the broad pattern of the aging of the population is similar.

Tolbert et al. (1998) ascertained that the same conditions created by multiple local social structures and civic engagement are connected with higher levels of median income and lower levels of poverty. The measures used in this study show that, in the Labrador Straits, Tolbert’s prediction holds true. There was a climb in the median family income level from pre- to post-moratoria times that consistently outpaced the climb in the North Shore cluster. In the latter cluster, evidence of a stratification of income was manifest in census figures from 1996 until 2001. In the same period, the Labrador Straits experienced a growth in its middle class. By 2001 half of the families in the Labrador Straits were enjoying a median income standard that was $8,000 above families in the North Shore cluster. The level of government income support as calculated in the self-reliance ratio shows a rise in dependence on support programs in both clusters when the full brunt of the moratoria hit home. However, this dependence did not last. Yet the self-reliance in the Labrador Straits cluster has continually exceeded the North Shore cluster, and in recent years by at least 11 percent.

It is important to acknowledge that prior to the moratoria, the Labrador Straits had many solidly established local social structures. The major employer, the Labrador Shrimp Company, was operating for almost 15 years on a participative basis, co-operatively owned. In addition, the organization’s founders — local fishers – stipulated that all profits would be reinvested into community infrastructure. The locally

239
established Eagle River Credit Union had eight years of accomplishments in providing financial resources and stability. Small businesses, an involved labour union, churches and voluntary associations were active in promoting community causes. And development groups like the Southern Labrador Development Association and the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation were making progress with economic development thrusts. The cluster’s civic culture had been formed. There was no shortage of citizen involvement and civic leadership. Collaboration was understood to be the way to survive there, and horizontal and vertical networks were well entrenched, enabling an enrichment of the resources the cluster already possessed. The diversity of communications and opinion existed, albeit without the more formal media channels available nowadays. In effect, the civic culture was a mirror to the local social structures.

The Labrador Straits was on a solid course of community innovativeness, initiative, and progress. Based on that scenario, it was possible to presume that when the drastic downturn in the fisheries arrived, the citizens were well positioned to take on the challenges that came with it. Certainly the results uncovered in this chapter validate that the cluster communities rose to the occasion and for the most part maintained and enhanced the status quo in economic and social well-being.

In the North Shore cluster before the cod closure, local social structures that made a significant imprint on the civic culture were led by the dominant employer, the Quinlan Group, which had three seafood processing plants in operation. The Quinlan family, as owners and operators, had fish plants there for almost 30 years. The ScotiaBank had a branch in Old Perlican that met the needs of many cluster residents, small businesses, towns, and voluntary groups. Small businesses were not plentiful, with many communities having just a handful. Voluntary associations that incorporated members from more than one community were the exception rather than the rule. There were many churches, but religion-affiliated schools served to build a wedge between some religious groups, fostering distrust rather than harmony. The North Shore Regional Development Association had just been formed and was only development group located within the cluster, serving about half of its communities.

As discussed in Chapter VII, the civic culture in the North Shore cluster prior to the moratorium was weak in collaboration, civic leadership, and communications. Citizen involvement was high though generally centered in one’s home community. These characteristics were a reflection of the attributes of the local social structures. Applying my theoretical model, together the local social structures and the civic
culture foretold a less optimistic picture for community socioeconomic well-being when the cod shutdown took place.

As this chapter has shown, the predictions of the model were accurate. The Labrador Straits outperformed the North Shore cluster in nearly every measurement category. From ACOA funding for development and business initiatives to projects enhancing the cluster’s social well-being to census figures in population, income distribution, and self-reliance, the Labrador Straits was head and shoulders above the North Shore. What was intrinsically different about these clusters that brought about such results? I attempt to grapple with this question and the study’s conclusions in the next chapter.

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1 Qualifications for EI are determined by a combination of factors, such as an individual’s hours worked that are considered “insurable” during the previous 52 week period, the unemployment rate in the region, and the number of hours of insurable employment required during the same period. There is a separate method for calculating EI Fishing Benefits for self-employed fishers that factors in the unemployment rate in the region and the amount of insurable earnings required. If an individual accumulates earnings in both self-employment fishing and in another job, yet another formula is used. At this writing on June 2, 2004, a worker in the province (outside the St. John’s area) qualifies for EI after accumulating 420 hours that meet the insurable criteria. This is equivalent to 12 weeks at 35 hours a week. This is based upon the 20.4% unemployment rate in the region. An individual entering the workforce for the first time or has been away from the workforce for a year or more is held to a qualification guideline of a higher number of hours or earnings. For a more detailed explanation of EI benefits, see the website for the Canada Employment Insurance Commission (http://www.ei-ae.gc.ca/).

2 Because the region is not adjacent to a snow crab resource, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans will not issue licenses for such.

3 The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) initiative was introduced in 1994 with the intent of providing for income adjustment and a 50 percent reduction in industry capacity. It was also aimed at assisting those in the fishery to obtain training for new career and work opportunities in other fields. For a more detailed description of these programs, see the website for Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO 2004).

4 DFO responded in 1995 by issuing 400 temporary snow crab permits for the season, available through a random draw. In 1996 DFO started to increase participation annually until 2003, when the temporary permits were converted to inshore snow crab licenses, per draft information from DFO sources.

5 In the cod fishery, boats were in the 30 foot range and typically fished within a mile or two from shore, relying on a compass. Now fishers needed technological gear, such as GPS (global positioning system), VHF radio, fish finder, and depth sounder. Boats were modified to 34 feet, 11 inches, fiberglassed, and a cabin was added. Such a larger, more secure vessel allowed fishers to travel the distances needed to set out crab pots in the bays or within 20 miles of the shore.

6 The provincial government’s Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development still offers a Fisheries Loan Guarantee Program. However, according to an industry source, this loan program is used mainly for smaller loans.
In spite of the fact that the DFO disapproves of these so-called under-the-table arrangements and has warned fishers who are party to trust agreements that they risk the loss of their fishing licenses if they do not terminate them, the trust agreements are widespread (Campbell 2004). Nonetheless, fishers have few viable alternatives because of the amount of capital needed to navigate in the snow crab and/or shrimp fisheries. Not only is the vessel, gear and various harvesting equipment costly, licenses are expensive as well. As one fisher stated, “I know a fisher who bought a snow crab license in '92 for $7,000, and today it’s worth $700,000.” So for example, the common route for a fisher who wants to take over the enterprise of his boss who is retiring is to enter a trust agreement. This entails a seafood processor putting up the required funds to cover the purchases of the vessel, gear and license, together with hiring the fisher and paying him well to skipper the vessel. Because government policy permits only fishers to hold licenses, the fishing license belongs to the skipper, yet it is his in name only due to the terms of the trust agreement (Beaton 2004).

Because fishing licenses cannot legally be owned by processors, harvesters fear a move toward Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs). The implementation of ITQs would allow fishers to sell or assign their licenses to other fishers, who could accumulate as many licenses as they could afford or finance. The threat in an ITQ system is that licenses would gravitate to the jurisdiction of big processors or owners of large fishing enterprises, increasing their control over the resources and resulting in small boat fishers being squeezed out of the fishery over time (Clarke in Byron 2003). The institution of an ITQ system in British Columbia has meant an increase in “corporate” control of licenses and quotas (Copes 1999). In Prince Rupert, British Columbia, according to a spokesperson from the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union there, over a ten year period the Prince Rupert fisheries have experienced a 65 percent decrease in the number of fishers. In plants owned by companies that control most of the quotas and licenses of the catches being processed, plant workers have less work and the majority no longer work enough weeks to qualify for EI (Thorkelson 2003). Therefore, in Newfoundland and Labrador the fishers’ union (FFAWU) has taken a proactive approach to reducing the number of license holders and quotas. They fashioned a proposal for DFO to institute a policy change that would permit those retiring from the fishery the option of selling back their crab licenses to those in their own area, for example, in the Conception Bay crab fleet (Northern Pen, February 21, 2005; CBC January 24, 2005).

Some Northern Peninsula locales with adjacency to a snow crab resource have inactive fish plants, but crab is still being landed there and trucked to plants on the Avalon Peninsula for processing (Byrne 2004). This refers to the Quinlan plants among others. To address these and other concerns about “declining prices, unfavourable exchange rates, excess inventory, fish plant overcapacity, and the possibility of the federal government cutting quotas,” the provincial Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture, which licenses these plants, announced a two-year pilot of a raw material shares (RMS) system for the crab fishery (NL Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture March 2, 2005). The department will institute caps on how much production of crab will be permitted at plants throughout the province. Potential outcomes for the North Shore cluster are still unknown, but crab harvesters and plant workers from different parts of the province have been vocal in their opposition (CBC March 9, 2005a). The FFAWU took the steps to call for a boycott of the pilot plan, voicing concerns that under the program fishers lose their bargaining power to sell their harvests to the highest bidder. In spite of the opening of the crab season designated for early April, fishers for the most part decided to not go out on the water (CBC April 15, 2005).

In 1987 the Canadian government established ACOA in recognition of the need to find ways to encourage the Atlantic provinces toward economic sustainability. Its strategic approach to its mandate emphasized the development of small to medium-sized businesses, with special attention to enhancing the business climate in existing as well as in emerging fields, such as tourism, investment and trade (ACOA 2004).

Because the awards for core administration and technology development were available to all 20 provincial zonal boards, I have omitted this from the table of ACOA-funded projects. Initial funding came from ACOA’s Strategic Regional Diversification Agreement (SRDA), followed by financial support from the Canada/Newfoundland Comprehensive Economic Development Program (ACOA 1997).
The towns of Old Perlican and Bay de Verde each had a project that dealt with a water supply system for industrial use. In Old Perlican, for example, the processing of shrimp and crab requires nearly 900 gallons of water per minute. The need for fresh water increased sharply when shrimp processing began here in the late 1990s (Bowman June 1, 1999; Simmons October 11, 2000).

At the 2003 Change Islands Conference on Vulnerability in Coastal Communities, I heard a consistent message from presenters from government organizations promoting community economic development. These various specialists had accumulated years of experience since the moratorium in reviewing such projects. They reinforced the fact that they were still allocating funds, but they were waiting for communities to take the lead and approach them for assistance. In order to receive funding from a government source or even private donor, applicants normally are required to prepare a formal proposal. Even when a proposal is submitted, there is no guarantee it will be approved. A civic leader offered this tongue-in-cheek observation at the conference: “Don’t mind (the agency) telling you there’s no money. There’s a policy: you’ve got to come three times and be turned down before they give you some.” Another leader added, “Lots of time and expertise (are) needed to put together a proposal for funds.... Individuals who are tenacious and don’t give up will succeed.”

Shortly after the Northern cod moratorium was implemented in 1992, the government allocated funds through its Northern Cod Compensation Adjustment and Recovery Program (NCARP) to financially assist those affected by the crisis. In 1993 the Atlantic Groundfish Adjustment Program (AGAP) provided monies that went beyond individuals and into such areas as job and community development as well as economic diversification. These programs were replaced by The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) initiative in 1994 to be administered by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). CFAR (Canadian Fisheries Adjustment and Recovery Plan) followed in 1998, again with ACOA responsible for administration; a portion was allocated to community economic development initiatives (DFO 2004).

The Labour Market Development Agreement between the federal and provincial government promotes collaboration in crafting employment programs to match the needs of communities, employers and the unemployed (NL Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development 2004).

The plant was temporarily shut down as the owners awaited a provincial government decision on the allocation of Crown land (government-owned land) to use for disposing of the seal blubber. The disposal site initially caused local residents to raise concerns about possible contamination of groundwater resources (MacDonald November 15, 2004; Petrie January 12, 2004; Petrie December 15, 2003.)

The International Development Research Centre is “a Canadian public corporation that works in close collaboration with researchers from the developing world in their search for the means to build healthier, more equitable, and more prosperous societies” (IRDC 2005).

In 2003 West St. Modeste was hailed in the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Municipalities’ Tidy Towns competition as the best in the province in community involvement, citing citizen participation in projects such as constructing the town hall complex and reshingling of the local church (Northern Pen October 20, 2003b).

In 2002 the celebration of Queen Elizabeth II’s 50th anniversary of her ascension to the throne included a trip to Canada. The Canadian government acknowledged this event by awarding medals to Canadians in each federal riding (district) who had distinguished themselves through outstanding volunteer service to their communities (WesternWheel 2004).

The partridgeberry (known also as lingonberry or cowberry) is a small, tart red berry. It is a member of the cranberry family and grows wild in the province.
The plan put forth a three-phased approach for consideration. The following aspects related directly to the North Shore cluster. In the first phase were the improvement of tourism support services, including signage and the articulation of a tourism theme; a marina in Old Perlican with potential for a retail development and boat tours; and the establishment of an adventure tourism center in Spout Cove near Kingston for activities such as sea kayaking, whale watching, camping and hiking. The recommendations for the second phase included a crafts outlet and an ATM in Old Perlican. Third phase suggestions involved the development of whale/birdwatching tours incorporating Baccalieu Island and based out of Bay de Verde, as well as a campground and restaurant for Old Perlican (Resource Systems Management International 1991).

The Heritage Regions Program is the same undertaking that the Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation launched for their region in 1991.

Undoubtedly the BTHC’s most notable accomplishment was in the area of archaeology. Since 1993 the organization’s archaeological crew located and/or excavated six prominent sites on the Baccalieu Trail that range from the oldest European plantations in North America to an aboriginal settlement more than 4,000 years old (Gilbert 2003). All of these were located outside of the North Shore cluster.

The community fundraising events also revived residents’ interest in heritage. According to an FHHS leader, local residents needed to be reminded of their past: “They’ve forgotten it and let things bother them. They’re bored, have nothing to do, especially since the moratorium. But because of heritage, we’ve allowed them to see themselves better than they ever did.... They’re beginning to realize everything is not so gloomy. There’s something else to look forward to.”

Another cluster heritage undertaking was in Old Perlican. In 2004 the town’s Heritage Committee opened its Beckett Archaeological House, an officially designated Registered Heritage Structure. Formerly the property of a fisherman’s family, the house was restored with local contributions and a grant from the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador. HRDC Job Creation Programs provided financial assistance for the reconditioning (Duggan July 13, 2004). A boardwalk connecting the house to an outdoor fisherman’s museum was also part of the heritage complex (Simmons October 10, 2001).

In 1991 the Wilderness and Ecological Reserves Act designated Baccalieu Island as a provisional ecological reserve. This positioned the island for classification as a full-fledged permanent reserve. However, such a step meant restricting access to the island, something area residents saw as interfering with their traditional rights to visit there for hunting and boil-ups (Bowman October 25, 1994; Flynn November 13, 1994). The term “boil-up” signifies a meal in the woods, generally when one has been berry-picking or hunting for any period of time (Dictionary of Newfoundland English 2005). This reaction to what was seen as the government imposing on how residents used the outdoors confirmed what McGrath (1998) uncovered in his research into the potential of economic recovery triggering social conflict. Here the conflict was resolved when suggestions from area residents to allow for two landing sites on the island for locals were incorporated into the legislation that made Baccalieu Island an official ecological reserve (The Compass January 9, 1996).

The Newfoundland Historic Trust originated the Southcott Awards program in 1984 to acknowledge quality preservation of the province’s architectural heritage (Newfoundland Historic Trust 2005).

The Burnt Point-Gull Island-Northern Bay LSD has 280 full-time households and approximately 100 summer homes. Committee members were challenged to locate the many seasonal homeowners, but gradually they were contacted and absorbed into the new scheme.

The average amount owed in student loans for graduates of the province’s Memorial University in St. John’s is $30,000. (NTV News December 7, 2003).
30 As a result of the September 11th, 2001 tragedy in the U.S., overseas air traffic was forced to land at
many airports in Atlantic Canada, including St. John’s. A Gander International Airport official recounted
that 37 aircraft from overseas made unscheduled landings there, and 8,000 travelers were housed for one
week within a 50 kilometer radius of Gander. For many, this was their first exposure to the province and to
Newfoundland hospitality.

31 Figures for the Labrador Straits contain data for Forteau, L’Anse-au-Loup, and Red Bay for both census
years and L’Anse-au-Clair for 1996 only. When a community’s population is less than 250, the data on
income are not available for confidentiality reasons (Statistics Canada 2004).

32 Retirement income for Canadians comes from three sources. First, Old Age Security allows for a modest
monthly amount for those 65 or older, who meet residence eligibility requirements. Low-income
individuals between 60 and 64 may also benefit. Second, the Canada Pension Plan entitles one to a
monthly retirement payment if you have contributed to the system. Eligibility is as early as age 60. Third,
income from private savings and pension plans. For details, see Social Development Canada (2004).
Social Assistance (welfare) is administered by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Department

33 The Trans-Labrador Highway is still under construction and will be ongoing in various phases for six
years (Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency 2004).

34 “Stamps” refers to the qualifications for EI (Employment Insurance), which is based on the number of
weeks worked.
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Only after the last tree has been cut down,
Only after the last river has been poisoned,
Only after the last fish has been caught,
Only then will you find that money cannot be eaten.
Cree Indian Prophecy

This has been an account of two resource-dependent areas in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in the years preceding and following the great cod collapse of the late 20th century. The overarching goal of this research has been to examine how selected community clusters were positioned to handle the major transitions that confronted them with the depletion of their adjacent natural resources, in particular when the federal government pronounced a moratorium on cod fishing in 1992. By studying the clusters through historical, political and social lenses, in particular the roles taken by their local social structures and the evolution of the clusters' respective civic cultures, I have analyzed their community life. I have learned about the relationship between a cluster's local institutions and its civic culture and how this relationship affected the cluster's socioeconomic well-being that exists in the early years of the 21st century. From looking closely at specific indicators of social and economic welfare, I determined that one of these clusters far out-performed the other. Further, these results were predictable, given my analysis of the characteristics of the local social structures and civic culture. But the basic questions remain. Why did these two clusters take the paths that they did? What accounts for their differences?

History and geography do matter here. Historically, there are stark contrasts between the two regions. Settlements in the North Shore cluster go back about 400 years, settled initially by the English with their Irish servants. In the Labrador Straits, settlements have about 175 years of history. Some of the early settlers were French, but most were from the British Isles, as well as some from Conception Bay, Newfoundland. Roads came to the communities along the North Shore in the 1840s and connected Old Perlican and Bay de Verde and their neighboring communities by 1872. Community isolation on the
Labrador Straits was ended with roads being built from 1955 to 1966, about 100 years later. Electricity in the North Shore cluster was installed in all locales by 1929, in the Labrador Straits by 1973. The first high school curriculum in the North Shore cluster was offered in 1895, whereas it was 1964 before a high school was established in the Labrador Straits.

Economically, in the North Shore cluster, there was always a "merchant" to provide for the citizenry. Merchants had strong connections to St. John’s, a relatively short trip away. I found resentment toward the merchants to be still strong, even within memory of some, perhaps because the present system does not give the fishers control over their destiny either. In the Labrador Straits, the merchants were more transitory, pulling up stakes when cod catches were down. Initially the populace here was discriminated against by St. John’s merchants who assigned higher prices to basic goods, compared with what their neighbors in the Northern Peninsula communities had to pay (Letto 2000). But I found the resentment towards merchants here had dissipated. People had “moved on.” Perhaps the cooperatively-operated Labrador Shrimp Company helped with this transition.

Geographically, part of the heavily populated Avalon Peninsula, the North Shore cluster has proximity to the mainstream of provincial economic activity in St. John’s. As Cadigan (1995) revealed in his research into economic development in the Conception Bay area in the 1800s, he selected the Conception Bay area for his study because of the likelihood of the area’s success due to its geographical location. By comparison the Labrador Straits is nearly 1,000 kilometers distant from the capital. Yet its isolation is somewhat modified by its adjacency to several Quebec communities on what is referred to as the Quebec North Shore. Although not a part of this study and certainly a possible subject for further research, these Quebec locales provide extended economic potential for Labrador Straits enterprises. Blanc Sablon, its immediate neighbor, was originally considered part of Labrador until the Quebec/Labrador border was established in 1927 (Rompkey 2003). Hence strong ties have existed for generations, and intermarriage is common.

In spite of Newfoundland’s sovereignty over Labrador since 1809, Labradorians were not allowed to vote until 1946 (Kennedy 1995). The Labrador Straits populace had stronger links to Quebec and Canada than to St. John’s. When Confederation with Canada did happen in 1949, the area tended to be
ignored by unresponsive politicians and government agencies. According to a cluster leader, “We were too small for political influence because of our numbers. We had no First Nation people to benefit from federal government help. There was no easy money. We were sort of left as a forgotten people.” Yet six out of seven communities organized into towns and accepted government functions to administer and streamline services and to centralize finances. Their absence of political clout was gradually replaced with political savvy. In the North Shore cluster only 5 out of 12 communities had some type of local government. Suspicion toward government has not diminished but in some cases has grown stronger. As Putnam (1993) concluded from his research of Italian civic society,

...citizens in civic communities expect better government and (in part through their own efforts), they get it. They demand more effective public service, and they are prepared to act collectively to achieve their shared goals. Their counterparts in less civic regions more commonly assume the role of alienated and cynical supplicants (P.182).

**Revised Analytical Model**

For this study, I devised an analytical model to determine what impact the characteristics of local social structures and civic culture have on a community’s social and economic well-being. My model was formulated mostly from the work of two research teams. The quantitative study of Tolbert et al. (1998) examined what was termed as “local capitalism,” utilizing data from more than 3,000 U.S. counties to assess positive socioeconomic results. Flora et al. (1997) solicited input from over 1,000 nonmetropolitan U.S. communities (towns or counties) related to variables describing what they named “entrepreneurial social infrastructure,” along with information about successful economic development initiatives.

My research approach was to put my theory to use in focused settings. The model was effective in that it led me to predict the results which I ultimately found. At this point in my research, however, I have reflected on the model itself and propose that a modification of it could provide similar results. (See Figure 9-1.) In this revision the number of variables are reduced to emphasize those remaining that appeared to be most critical for the analysis. The original model (Figure 3-1) had six categories of local social structures that were examined for their characteristics. The revised model has only two—local businesses and government and development organizations. Civic culture in the initial model consisted of four variables,
and again I reduced it to two—collaboration and civic leadership. These independent variables are both aspects of social capital, which depend upon one another. Changes in one mean changes in the other. This dependence implies correlation, as indicated by the curved, double-headed arrow. Finally, to determine community social and economic well-being, the altered model is basically the same as the original.

From my inquiry into local social structures in the clusters I determined that the local businesses and the development organizations were the primary institutions which impacted on a cluster’s socioeconomic well-being. How many businesses and the type of ownership made a difference. A proliferation of small businesses indeed provided a pool of local entrepreneurs with a keen interest in maintaining the viability of the area. As observed by Gittell and Thompson in their community development research, “Once entrepreneurs live in (a rural community), they have pecuniary incentives to build social capital, that is, to establish good relations with local residents and other businesses” (in Saegert et al. 2001:126). In the Labrador Straits, these businesspersons were involved in multiple civic undertakings and belonged to the core of leadership talent there.

As Keller (2003) found in her years of research into community life, the toughest work for a community was to put the emphasis on what benefits the community as a whole versus what is best for individuals and their families. A similar question arises as to whether business leaders act in their own self-
interests or for broader and longer term public good. In my study I spoke with some prominent community leaders, who were also business owners. They shared with me what motivated them to act on behalf of their communities. One confided, “If I try to do something to better the community, my kids can then say they have the chance to come back.” Another spoke of job opportunities passed up because they involved relocation and said, “If everyone moved away, there’d be no one left here…. We have a responsibility here, if we want life to be better for our children, our community.” In the Labrador Straits businesspersons appeared to be keeping an eye on what was best for the community as opposed to what was best for the business. In the long run, it turned out to be what was best for business, as community economic well-being results showed. This is an example of how the arrows in the theoretical diagram point to the local social structures having an effect on socioeconomic well-being and vice versa.

The dominant employer, the cooperatively-run Labrador Fishermen’s Union Shrimp Company, or Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC), assumed a leading role in community economic development by encouraging its management to participate in civic affairs. In addition, its shareholders mandated that all profits would go into the company’s upgrading of its facilities (to provide jobs for locals) and into community infrastructure. A significant business entity that provided the financial lubricant for community well-being was the locally-established Eagle River Credit Union, in operation there for more than 20 years. These businesses were very instrumental in the cluster’s accomplishment of positive socioeconomic well-being results.

I also observed that even cluster residents reflected a practical understanding about businesses there and were well informed about business conditions. I attributed this to the LSC and the Eagle River Credit Union and their cooperative foundations, as well as to the profusion of small businesses. Local fishers experienced a learning curve during the time that the LSC was getting underway, and over the years they became more astute in running a globally-oriented firm. In the North Shore cluster, however, residents appeared to be less familiar with the intricacies and challenges of running a business that had to compete in a global marketplace. For example, new technology implementation at the local fish plants was seen as taking out jobs, yet plant owners used new technology to cope with a labor shortage exacerbated by an aging workforce. In spite of the long-term business relationships between fishers and processors here,
there were still existing divisions. They tried to resolve these through more formal channels, that is, the
union and the trade group for processors, but at times, this arrangement pitted them against one another and
even against the government.

In the North Shore cluster, there were about half the number of businesses relative to the populace in comparison with the Labrador Straits. In general, local entrepreneurs were not at the forefront in committing to take part in civic affairs. However, there were fishers who operated their own enterprises and got involved in the community. The major employer here, the privately-owned Quinlan Group, saw its role to include buying local catches, arranging financing for fishing enterprises, and providing processing jobs for local residents. With processing plants here and in other parts of the province and the Maritimes, coupled with the competitive nature of the business, its focus was on the global marketplace. Only a few of its management took part in local organizations. In 2002 the area’s branch of the ScotiaBank closed, forcing businesses and residents to do their banking outside the cluster. I found that the weaker small business contingent and the reduced involvement of businesspersons in civic affairs bore a relationship to the less favorable socioeconomic results in the cluster.

When local businesspeople minimize or abstain from personal involvement in civic activities, they deprive the populace of the sharing of their entrepreneurial skills, experience, and leadership abilities, all of which are essential for communities to move forward. I have concluded from this study that the presence of a financial institution and a significant number of businesses, small and large, whose management is active in their communities, have indeed strengthened the socioeconomic climate.

The other category of local social structures that I include in my revised model is those government/development organizations with missions to mobilize the population for community economic development. Characteristics of these development groups which I examined were their geographical scope of operations, where their offices were located in relationship to the cluster, and the continuity of their operations since they were founded. In the Labrador Straits, these development groups were based in the cluster, strictly serve that vicinity, and staffed with local talent or at least staff who resided there. I believe this is important, as area needs differ. By being situated in the cluster, the groups were more in touch with the local communities and had successfully built up a grassroots network. Here they sparked
entrepreneurial behavior, "creating a favorable environment for local development" (Bryant 1989:341). These organizations enjoyed strong endorsement from the citizenry who took part in their strategic planning, served on their boards, and supported their activities. They clearly exhibited organizational competency, built political capital, and garnered sufficient funds from various sources to permit continuity of operations since their inception, all factors that point to success in community development organizations per Gittell and Wilder (1999).

There was only one development group located in the North Shore cluster that represented about half of its communities, while the remaining government/development organizations were situated in towns beyond the cluster, serving a much larger geographical area. Work plans and initiatives substituted for strategic planning, but when the latter occurred, it was generally done by committees and/or consultants. Residents had a jaundiced view towards development efforts, in sync with a strain of public opinion in the province, which scoffed at a new round of consultants getting stakeholder opinions about the newly announced provincial government's Rural Secretariat (Westcott 2005; CBC March 9, 2005b). Two of the development groups have not had continuity of funding, impacting their ability to employ permanent staff. A third operated for about ten years with volunteer staff before funding was located for a part-time director. Therefore, I have concluded that development groups located within a cluster and with continuity in funding and staffing are more likely to achieve grassroots involvement and accomplish positive socioeconomic results.

I do not want to downplay the important influences that other local social structures had on their respective clusters. However, I found that the presence and activities on the cluster scene of the voluntary associations, labor unions, churches, schools and social services tended to reinforce what the local businesses and government/development groups were already doing to contribute to the socioeconomic welfare. Yet by examining the historical background of all of these institutions, I was able to build a more complete mosaic of the cluster. In the Labrador Straits for instance, by researching the voluntary organizations, I discovered evidence of the vitality and accomplishments of the Women's Institute that made an indelible mark on the cluster over a 30 year period. In the North Shore, awareness of the
centuries-long tensions that existed among religious congregations coupled with the churches’ grasp on the educational system enabled me to better comprehend the cluster’s position today.

In reviewing the four variables I used to describe the civic culture of the clusters, I have concluded that two of them really form the backbone of the civic tradition, namely collaboration and civic leadership. In the revised model, I have placed less emphasis on citizen involvement. However, my definition of collaboration for this model implies a great deal of citizen involvement in local civic and voluntary organizations. I do not believe that collaboration can exist without residents participating in community activities. Further, to attain effective civic leadership as described in this study, a leader must use participative decision making, consulting on a regular basis with community members and where possible, allowing decisions to be made with consensus at the grassroots level. Just as vital is for a civic leader to use an inclusive and appreciative way to encourage others to be involved and take part in the action. I did learn of considerable volunteer participation in causes that benefited residents’ home communities, which served to support collaboration and civic leadership. In addition, how the clusters were influenced by diversity of communications and opinions seemed to me to be an image of the modus operandi of their collaboration and civic leadership.

In the Labrador Straits, everywhere I turned, I encountered examples of institutions reaching out to other groups or to nearby communities, seeking ways to build alliances and partnerships. This bridge building with others extended beyond the cluster to incorporate neighbors in such significant undertakings as the operations of its dominant employer and the area’s credit union, along with joint participation in tourism and information technology initiatives. Further, individual leaders served in multiple roles close to home as well as far beyond the confines of the cluster, a practice that opened up contacts and accessed resources heretofore unimaginable. As Gittell and Thompson found, “Successful…entrepreneurs…can use their social relations to garner outside resources for broader community benefit. They can also mentor others, including their employees, and serve as role models…” (in Saegert et al. 2001:126).

Here collaboration was second nature. The residents discovered that they needed one another to make things happen. If it was for the good of the Straits, they were able to put aside their personal differences, reach consensus, and move ahead. A longtime cluster leader observed:
Because we stuck together is now the reason why we look stronger than areas around us. This didn’t come without a lot of struggle between the organizers and the leaders of the day. We had meetings, we disagreed, we heard everyone’s views. But now we come together at the end of the meetings and say, “What are we gonna do?” We learned a great lesson. We can be independent, but we must stick together. The minute we break apart, we become insignificant and we lose.

Those leading the way in civic matters in the Labrador Straits had an inclusive approach, reaching out and drawing as many residents as they could into the process, combining collaboration with participation. The business community set the example. Their norm was to participate, to take on leadership duties. As Bryant confirmed, “Both the entrepreneur and the quasi-entrepreneur in local government are critical leaders in... rural areas.... (1989:337). The development groups groomed citizens for these roles by providing training in leadership skills. Academic credentials were not plentiful, and in fact some leaders with formal education ending with Grade 9 or even lower were among the high achievers. Most leaders here earned their stripes from their common sense, ingenuity, and practical, can-do approaches. Development staffers themselves were leaders, who modeled collaboration with their Resource Team approach and were involved in volunteer activities far beyond the call of their professional duties.

The leadership contingent here was diverse, with men and women of varying ages, education, occupational and professional backgrounds and experience. This blend of qualifications allowed citizens to readily identify with more than a few local leaders. This diversity paid off as leaders could muster considerable resident participation in initiatives. The heterogeneity of this contingent also facilitated creativity, with ideas being drawn from a variety of backgrounds and experiences. Ultimately, this mix of perspectives impacted the cluster’s social and economic well-being in many constructive ways. Leadership and collaboration in this cluster reflected the actions of its local businesses and government/development groups, resulting in economic and social prosperity for a broad portion of the population.

In the North Shore cluster, the collaboration I found occurred predominantly at the community level. However, I did locate some examples of multiple communities coming together successfully for a cause that contributed to the vicinity’s social well-being, such as the North Shore Regional Ambulance Service, the Association for Youth and Leisure, and the recently formed Local Service District of Burnt Point-Gull Island-Northern Bay. I concluded that some collaboration exists here but not very much.
attribute this scarcity to the existence of fewer institutions, hence less possibilities for collaboration. In addition, perhaps this lack of collaboration is due to the fact that residents and institutions did not see the potential benefits that might accrue if they came together. For the most part they appeared to be disconnected from the obvious economic, geographical, and educational ties they had to one another that could propel them into collaboration for social and economic well-being. Linkages outside of the cluster were mainly vertical or confined to connections with regional government/development groups.

Collaboration with the latter was infrequent and produced lackluster results, as the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) figures indicated. I also observed that the regional government/development groups displayed a spiritless cooperation among themselves, a condition that did not enhance collaboration among other local social structures.

From my probing into leadership in the North Shore cluster, I determined that the leadership contingent lacked diversity. Incumbents often held onto key positions for multiple terms, giving the impression of maintaining an exclusive club, rather than recruiting and fostering a rotation of new candidates. Discussing leadership in community development, Cohen warns, “Concentrating power…in the hands of what often turns out to be the few and relatively familiar can be both beneficial and potentially problematic…. We do not want to build power…at the expense of an inclusive participatory process” (in Saegert et al. 2001:227-8). There were isolated instances of leaders with remarkable individual accomplishments, though their horizontal and vertical ties outside their home communities did not necessarily materialize into resources for fellow residents and institutions to utilize and expand upon. I did see that new leaders were blossoming in some areas and that their achievements were full of promise. Yet there was neither a pipeline of potential candidates nor a commitment to ongoing leadership training once someone stepped into a leadership role. I uncovered strains of disparaging attitudes towards those taking on leadership posts, making it less inviting for anyone so inclined to step forward and assume responsibilities as well as unproductive for the cluster as a whole.

I observed that the manner in which the traits of collaboration and leadership here persisted replicated the way that cluster businesses and government/development groups functioned. In addition, I detected that the presence of diversity of communications and opinions, the third aspect of civic culture in
this study, manifested itself within the cluster in a way that reflected the approach of local businesses and development/government groups. In the Labrador Straits, with the cooperatively run major employer and credit union, communications were open, free-flowing and at times conflicting, though the major issues were resolved by achieving consensus. In the North Shore cluster, communications were more happenstance and somewhat clouded with secrecy, as there were neither relied-upon channels for local news nor established traditions of resolving public controversy with civic dialogue.

To assess the effect of the clusters’ local social structures and civic culture on community social and economic well-being, I believe that qualitative and quantitative measures are needed. Though I modified the independent variables in this model revision, I would make no changes in the indicators for my dependent variable. In the arena of quantifiable data, much depends on the researcher’s access to sources as well as the way that a location’s census data is assembled. For my study, I was fortunate to locate census data already broken down by cluster. Certainly population trends including aging patterns provide a portrait over time of what is happening in a community. For instance, in this study it was striking to see the 50-year account of population and the more than doubling of residents in the Labrador Straits compared with the steady decline in the North Shore cluster. Data on both clusters illustrated the number of young people diminishing while the contingents of seniors were growing. Income data were telling in that they revealed more income equality in the Labrador Straits and the opposite trend in the North Shore cluster. The clusters’ ability to access government monies for development provided more insight into economic well-being. Figures from ACOA about funds issued for cluster-based projects and businesses disclosed the specific results reaped by local social structures.

For determining social and economic well-being, I am convinced that the qualitative case studies I offered complement the quantitative data. They go deep into the inner workings and relationships of local institutions as well as highlight aspects of civic culture that make for a richer assessment of cluster socioeconomic welfare.

**Contributions to the Literature**

This study is a validation of two large-scale U.S. studies (Tolbert et al. 1998; Flora et al. 1997), applied here in actual community venues in an international setting. It sheds light on various aspects of
community life that have not previously been researched in such detail, such as, the local institutions which are the backbone of a community, how they directly relate to the community's culture that has developed there, and the resultant socioeconomic well-being. Further my work provides insight into resource-dependent regions in Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as in the Maritime provinces, after the 1992 cod shutdown. It offers a glimpse into rural communities that have survived the cod collapse and even managed to attain a higher level of prosperity when compared with most provincial outports. The geographical areas central to this work had received scant previous attention from researchers.

With my study I also corroborated findings of other researchers of provincial communities. For example, Sinclair’s discovery of the tensions between the inshore and off-shore fishers as the fisheries expanded into more lucrative species requiring expensive technology paralleled what I discovered in the North Shore cluster (1985). Cooperatives in Newfoundland and Labrador emerged in many regions of the province, and to date, the Fogo Island Cooperative was recorded most frequently in the literature, having survived for over 30 years despite the uncertainties within the fisheries (McCay 2003a; 1988; Carter in Sinclair 1988). To add to this literature, my study documents the founding of the Labrador Shrimp Company, established in 1978 with support from the provincial Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAWU). The LSC became a successfully operated enterprise which had a profound impact on Labrador community life. The FFAWU points to the founding of the LSC as one of its success stories.

Aside from the FFAWU’s involvement in the LSC, the community development efforts in the Labrador Straits were almost entirely grassroots, especially the accomplishments since the moratoria. My work begins to fill a gap in the literature on how residents have taken the future of their communities into their own hands. Chronicles of provincial grassroots efforts so far have predominantly dealt with the Fogo Island venture. Underscoring the contention of Bowles and Ginteres (2000), I concluded that the Labrador Straits communities accomplished what they did because the residents (as opposed to outsiders) knew and understood the actions, capabilities and the needs of fellow residents. On the other hand, where the residents are hierarchically divided and economically unequal – conditions I found in the North Shore cluster - the same researchers contend that what a community can achieve may be jeopardized.
My analytical model for this study encompassed the two essential components that Coleman defined as essential for social capital, - “some aspect of social structures, and (how) they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure” (1988:S98). Granovetter (1985) argued that the relationship between these structures and their behavior – what I contend constitutes the civic culture - is embedded in the community’s fabric. I found evidence for this relationship deeply embedded in the clusters I studied.

In terms of the social capital literature, I found that the social capital built in the Labrador Straits was accumulated through involvement in a wide variety of associations—municipal government, development associations, church and women’s groups, dart leagues, snowmobile and cross country skiing clubs. There membership in such organizations was frequently overlapping, bearing fruit in forming extensive horizontal and vertical networks. Even though Foley and Edwards (1996) found fault with the more frivolous organizations in building social capital and stressed the need for groups which emphasized social movements or with grassroots political and interest affiliations, my research found the opposite.

The literature on social capital includes a distinction between bonding and bridging. Bonding consists of sturdy social connections between and among institutions within a community, or as in this study, within a cluster of communities. These institutional bonds allow for a framework within which residents build trust and experience social support and inclusiveness, an ideal climate for fostering leaders. The second condition of “bridging” complements the first by extending and connecting the bonds within a community or cluster to resources and opportunities outside of that geographical area, thereby considerably enhancing the resources available to it. As Mark Warren and his fellow researchers maintained, without the building of such bonds and bridges, social capital does not flourish (Warren et al. in Saegert et al. 2001).

This study confirms that social capital was working in the Labrador Straits because of the bonds established among institutions within the cluster that were coupled with the bridges constructed by cluster and community organizations and individuals linked to other communities and organizations external to the cluster. These vital connections tied the poor to the more prosperous within the cluster and far beyond. Despite its geographic isolation, where possible, Labrador Straits institutions built bridges to other organizations, such as the establishment of the Labrador Shrimp Company and the Eagle River Credit
Union in more northern Labrador communities, the information technology initiative that spread to all of Labrador, and the Labrador Straits Coastal Drive project which tied cluster tourism efforts to the Battle Harbour tourist site further north.

It is ironic that the North Shore cluster, which did not need to overcome the geographic isolation the Labrador Straits faced, did not develop bridging ties external to its local communities. To the contrary, bonds between community institutions and between communities within the cluster were scarce, and bridges with communities or organizations outside the cluster were not commonplace. Instead an apparent dependency on Carbonar and St. John’s contributed to a comparative lack of development of such bridges. Hence the absence of strong bonds and bridges accounts for the lower level of social capital there.

The Labrador Straits offers an example of Schumacher’s “small is beautiful” premise, with its economy practically self-contained, in large measure due to its geographical isolation but augmented by the proliferation of small businesses (1973). As Shuman (1998) reported, the economy in a community works best when the establishment of businesses goes hand in hand with training and financing. In the Labrador Straits, as small businesses sprung up, the development groups provided training. What government programs did not offer in financing was augmented by the resources of the Eagle River Credit Union, helping local enterprises get their footing. Bryant (1989) put stock in the contributions of entrepreneurs, who demonstrated initiative and risktaking in the face of an economic downturn, a deciding factor in a community’s economic betterment. The Labrador Straits’ small businesspersons supplied these characteristics to positively impact the cluster’s economic situation.

I was not able to find grassroots economic development in the North Shore cluster. Rather the economic development undertaken there under the auspices of the Bay de Verde Peninsula development groups could be seen as akin to outside change agents attempting economic renewal. The development groups strived for citizen involvement, but they were unable to move relevant expertise, capability, and authority to the citizens to spark grassroots participation, critical for the success of a top-down process (Gittell and Vidal 1998; Potapchuk et al. 1997). Also because of the smaller number of businesses in the North Shore cluster and in general the minimal involvement from this sector, economic development was lackluster. The Quinlans were very loyal to their home base, seeing their role as providing economic
security there. Yet as Flora cautions, "When the elite separates itself socially and politically from the rest of the community and does things 'on behalf' of others, rather than encouraging their direct involvement, the community's interests may not be served" (1998:26-7). Further the Quinlan Group has interests far beyond their home communities. According to Tolbert et al., “History suggests that large corporations rarely, if ever, make good neighbors... (because) the social and economic fate of the community is integrally tied to the competitive position of the corporation in the global economy” (1998:402). The researchers cited examples in the coal, textile, automobile, steel and high-tech industries to substantiate their claim. In such situations then, the challenge to keep economically and socially sound falls to the communities themselves. These circumstances make the case for re-examining the local situation and exploring alternative strategies for community development with Quinlans as a key stakeholder. Sharp (2002) observed when business leaders who are keen on development reach out to include those from other groups to join them in the process, the results could benefit the entire community, in spite of the fact that leadership comes from the elite.

My study has resulted in a revised model for community economic development/rural development research. The model helps identify community strengths and vulnerabilities and can be applied in other communities that are struggling to get a toehold in economic renewal. For the development practitioner, it can be used as a tool to assess a community’s progress. It can also be a tool for governments seeking to evaluate their approach to economic development.

**Limitations and Implications for Future Research**

This study attempts to explain the reasons why the socioeconomic well-being in the selected clusters occurred by examining the characteristics of the clusters' local social structures along with the civic culture. However, there could be competing explanations for why the clusters exhibited the results that they did. Some of these were addressed earlier in the chapter when historical, economic, geographical and political comparisons were made between the two.

Cultural differences between the clusters could account for variations in organizations, civic culture and well-being. For instance, the two clusters have different religious traditions. The North Shore communities were bastions of sectarian cultures until some easing in the last decade or so. Historically,
divisions between Protestants and Catholics were strong and even hostile, and religiosity frequently predominated. By keeping large segments of the cluster population arbitrarily separated by religion, collaboration among all residents would be more difficult to attain. On the other hand, the Labrador Straits locales leaned more toward the ecumenical. Various religious denominations cooperated with one another. In fact, because of their remoteness, visits by clergy in earlier days were rare, and whenever one did manage to call and conduct a religious service, residents of all denominations eagerly attended (Whalen 1990). This tendency to come together, even in religious settings, would bode well for their ability to collaborate on other matters as the years passed.

Communities in the province have been known to survive hard times by utilizing the informal economy (Felt and Sinclair 1995; Omohundro 1994; House et al. 1989). In the course of my fieldwork in the North Shore cluster especially, residents made references to a thriving underground economy. Because these informal earnings do not appear in government census data, the overall economic well being results might be underreported. However, this phenomenon applied to only a small percentage of residents, and my prediction would be that the differences were likely not so stark. Although I accumulated no systematic data to support this in either cluster, it could be a potential factor for future research.

The changes in the natural resource base could also account for the present day socioeconomic welfare in the studied clusters. In the Labrador Straits, the harvesting of northern shrimp began when the Labrador Shrimp Company (LSC) was established in 1978. Because the shrimp was caught off Baffin Island, it was mainly processed on board ship. Yet the profits from the cooperatively-run enterprise were invested in both the Labrador Straits communities and those to the north where other LSC plants were located. In the North Shore cluster, snow crab was initially harvested there by large vessels in the 1970s. In 1987 access was expanded as licenses were issued to boats 34’ and greater. Yet in both clusters, there were still contingents of inshore fishers with incomes dependent on cod. Hence, the fisheries crisis was filtered differently in the two places due to other factors.

As with any study, it is not possible to be all-encompassing. This was a cross-sectional look at life in the two clusters, rather than a longitudinal one. A potential future research project would be to reevaluate the clusters after five years. Also, the focus here was on leaders, businesspersons, and fishers. A
future study could include ordinary citizens, perhaps by administering the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey or a similar systematic study to see how this group would assess their communities (John F. Kennedy School of Government 2005). In addition, the emphasis here was measuring development projects funded by ACOA, yet other sources of funding, both government and private, were not systematically inventoried. This, too, could be an avenue for further research. If I were to conduct such a study again, I would not use a defining time line such as the 1992 moratorium for measuring effects of the cod collapse. Such an event was not essential to accomplish what was done. Instead socioeconomic well-being could merely be measured as it existed at the time of the study. Other prospects for future study include applying the revised theoretical model in other settings; utilizing a quantitative approach with this analytical model; and exploring the socioeconomic impact of the relationship between the Labrador Straits cluster and the adjacent communities on Quebec’s North Shore. Another avenue of study would be to try to identify communities that had different levels of civic culture and local social structures. Yet such a scenario may be less likely to exist—a well advanced civic culture that does not correlate with less developed local institutions or vice versa.

When social and economic well-being in the clusters is compared, it is striking that such a gap exists between the two locations. This contradicts my earlier assessment formulated during my scouting trip to the province. At that time I did a cursory examination of the areas and of population and income indicators. I concluded then that both clusters appeared to be more prosperous than communities in other parts of the province. In retrospect my initial assessment of the North Shore cluster was superficial. Certainly there was prosperity evident in some North Shore communities, but my findings about the cluster as a whole were in fact inconsistent with my first impression. Nonetheless, when compared to other communities hit hard by the cod shutdown, the North Shore cluster is still better off.

This study offers a new theoretical model for researchers and practitioners of community economic development. Another contribution to the field is the reformatting and application of two, mostly quantitative studies conducted on a grand scale (Tolbert et. al. 1998; Flora et al. 1997) to a real world, qualitative application in two case studies. It also shifts the focus from one community to a cluster of communities. In this sense it is pathbreaking. This is of particular importance as municipal, provincial/
state, and federal governments are strapped for funds, and consolidation of community resources into regions gains attention.

**Concluding Remarks**

This research is not intended to be an endorsement or an indictment of an approach to community social and economic well-being. Ultimately, only residents themselves can determine what that should be.

In the view of Bryant,

... success must be measured in terms of the achievement of community goals and objectives.... Development -- however a community defines it -- means change, and this means being ready to do things differently. Hence attitudes within the community are critical (such as, the degree of determination to turn things around). It also means that there must be key individuals to assume leadership roles within the community (such as, Economic Development Officers... and local political and business leaders). Without these people and a generally favorable attitude in the community to considering change, 'entrepreneurial communities' cannot exist because communities are but a reflection of the individuals that comprise them (1989:pp.344-5).

This study focuses on rural communities experiencing population declines and a tentative resource base. Both conditions are a universal scenario of resource-dependent communities and have the potential of negative reverberations on social and economic well-being.

The tentativeness of the resource base is hitting home in the North Shore cluster. As I conclude this study, as the fishers and plant owners struggle to cope with the government's trial plan to cap how much crab a plant can process. Also in the North Shore cluster, the economy is inextricably tied to the Quinlan enterprises and how that firm can remain healthy. The Quinlans are outspokenly and unswervingly loyal to their home base, yet they are subject to the global marketplace and even more importantly in this setting, to the resource base.

If, for example, the North Shore cluster residents determine to pursue economic diversity and that diversity could come from tourism, then they might consider exploring the model of Bouctouche, New Brunswick. There the citizenry with guidance from a university researcher created an ecotourism project to combine the importance of culture and natural resources. Underpinning the community's initiative was J. K. Irving, whose father, a Bouctouche native, founded one of the wealthiest privately owned business domains in the country. In addition to providing financial support, Irving guided the populace in decision
making and consistently sought their assurance that he was representing them, as long as they were willing to carry out the initiative (LeBlanc 2001; Morris 1999).

In spite of the commendable track record of the Labrador Straits to access government funds for development, there is a realization that government funds will not last indefinitely. This scenario has already impacted SmartLabrador, which has been forced to downsize its video conferencing and internet services as funding drops (Northern Pen March 21, 2005). By sharing their skills and know-how in community development with neighboring parts of the province and even with other provinces, they could capitalize on their strengths. Provincial economic renewal champion and sociologist Doug House issued a challenge to communities that I believe the Labrador Straits is well positioned to assume, “… to carve out its niche within the global economy on the leading edge of environmental and cultural sustainability and community stewardship of its natural and historic resources. This would provide the central theme for building a dynamic, diversified economy for the future” (1999:247-8).

The Labrador Straits’ economy is on a solid track to sustainability. Their leadership, collaboration and entrepreneurialism seem to reinforce that they are doing something right. Government programs are effective because they are linked closely to a grassroots community approach. The North Shore cluster’s prosperity is fragile and totally resource-dependent. But as Palmer and Sinclair remind us, “rural people are...incredibly inventive in creating adaptive strategies that allow space for local action within the structured environment of international commodity production” (1997:9). How the future in the North Shore cluster unfolds may indeed be within the residents’ influence, as long as the institutional framework that fosters it is also present.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Dear Community Resident,

You are invited to take part in a research study that will ask you to share your opinion about how you and your community reacted to the cod moratoria that have hurt your local economy.

I would like to ask you some questions about yourself and your personal experience during this time. I am also interested in your thoughts about your community. The questions should take about an hour to an hour and a half, and your responses will be tape recorded so that they can be combined with other responses in a written report. Only the researchers will hear the tapes, and they will be destroyed after the comments have been transcribed. About 70 to 80 people will be included in this study.

I will take all necessary precautions to keep interview and other personal data confidential. In this way it will not be possible for anyone connected with or outside your community to determine who provided what responses to interview questions. There are no anticipated risks to you. You can refuse to answer any question, and you are free to end the discussion at any time.

If you have any questions about the research and the rights of research subjects, feel free to contact Julie Simpson in the Office of Sponsored Research at the University of New Hampshire, 603/862-2003. You may contact me if you have any further questions or comments about the study (Barbara Snowadzky 207/377-8850, bas2@hopper.unh.edu).

By signing below, you acknowledge that you have read the above information and that you agree to be interviewed for research purposes. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Snowadzky
Ph.D. Candidate, Sociology

I AGREE to participate in this research project.

I AGREE to participate in this research project and to be tape recorded.

Name of Subject (Please print)

Signature of Subject ___________________________ Date ________________

287
APPENDIX B

IRB APPROVAL

University of New Hampshire

June 9, 2005

Barbara Snowadzky
96 Pamela Drive
Winthrop, ME 04364

IRB #: 2679
Study: Coming Together or Going It Alone: How Resource-Dependent Communities Survive in Newfoundland and Labrador
Study Approval Date: 06/24/2003 Modification Approval Date: 06/06/2005
Modification: Change in Study Title

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research (IRB) has reviewed and approved your modification to this study, as indicated above. Further changes in your study must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to implementation.

Researchers who conduct studies involving human subjects have responsibilities as outlined in the document, Responsibilities of Directors of Research Studies Involving Human Subjects. This document is available at http://www.unh.edu/csr/compliance/IRB.html or from me.

If you have questions or concerns about your study or this approval, please feel free to contact me at 603-862-2003 or julie.simpson@unh.edu. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this study. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,
Julie F. Simpson
Manager

c: File
Sally Ward

Research Conduct and Compliance Services, Office of Sponsored Research, Service Building,
51 College Road, Durham, NH 03824-3585 * Fax: 603-862-3564

288
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview of Community Leaders

(Introduce INFORMED CONSENT LETTER)

INTERVIEW

1. Could we begin by your telling me a little about yourself?
   a. What did your parents do for a living?
   b. How was it growing up?
   c. What kind of education or training did you get?
   d. What have you done for a living?

2. Could you tell me about your family?

3. We know the 1992 moratorium has had an impact on many fisheries-dependent communities. How has the moratorium affected you and/or your family?

4. As a result of the moratorium, has anyone in your family relocated? Have you ever thought about relocating?

5. Tell me something about your community.
   a. What is life like here?
   b. How do things work here?
   c. Are different points of view welcome? Is there open discussion of issues among residents and leaders? How are these opinions communicated (newspaper, radio, TV)?
   d. Who are the important leaders in this community?
   e. Who can get things done?
   f. How would you describe citizen participation in community affairs, i.e. chances for input into town decisions, participation in development groups, support of local schools, volunteering for community causes?
   g. Do you think any of this has changed since the moratorium in 1992?

For those who moved here to assist the community with the moratorium:
Replace Question 5 (g) with:
- How would you describe the situation you encountered when you moved here?
- How were you received by the community?

6. In your opinion, what did the community have to do to move forward? Did that happen?

7. Nowadays are there places in town where people congregate, where everybody knows your name? Places that provide opportunities to interact informally? (List what they are.)

8. How would you describe the community’s social well-being today, in terms of:
   a. presence of substance abuse
   b. crime
   c. conflicts requiring legal resolution?

9. What is your relationship to the fisheries?
10. Would you please describe your organization:
   a. Its purpose or mission
   b. Number of employees or members
   c. How long it has been in existence
   d. Is the ownership or affiliation local or external to the community?

For Representatives of Development Agencies:

11. What specific local economic development projects that created jobs and/or income for local residents were initiated and completed since the 1992 cod moratorium? These projects would be characterized by:
   a. Investment of substantial local resources (even combined with outside resources)
   b. Active engagement of local organizations/government in initiation and implementation
   c. Community-based, region-wide, or multicomunity/multiregion, but always locally owned/controlled.

12. Since the 1992 cod moratorium, what specific economic development projects recruited outside firms to the community/community cluster? Samples of outside firms would be
   a. Absentee-owned but offered jobs to locals.
   b. Attracted due to locally initiated effort usually involving government and private sectors.
   c. Service, retail, financial or government institutions.

13. How would you describe your organization’s connections with:
   a. Other regional planning agencies?
   b. Regional post-secondary educational consortium?
   c. Multiregion development corporation?
   d. Regional tourism or marketing groups?

Skip to Question 17.

14. How would you describe your organization’s contributions to helping the community weather the moratorium? Specifically, were there:
   a. Loans, grants, awards, scholarships, donations or other in-kind contributions
   b. Contributions of personnel to project administration or to serve on a board or committee
   c. Offerings of technical or marketing assistance

15. Has your organization been involved with other community groups in this community on joint projects? If yes, please describe.

16. Does your organization:
   a. Share facilities with another community?
   b. Mount joint efforts with another community on lobbying government?
   c. Conduct leadership/skills training with another community?
   d. Acquire technical assistance together with another community?
   e. Work with another community on environmental issues?
   f. Belong to any provincial, national and/or international organizations?
   g. Participate in any provincial and/or national competitions?

17. Are you personally involved in any other community institutions/organizations? If so, could you please describe your affiliation.
18. Are there individuals among community residents who have shown leadership here who are not directly affiliated with an organization? (If possible, get specific names in order to interview these people.)

19. Are there any other comments you would like to make?

**Interview of Fishers**

*(Introduce INFORMED CONSENT LETTER.)*

**INTERVIEW**

1. Could we begin by your telling me a little about yourself?
   a. What did your parents do for a living?
   b. How was it growing up?
   c. What kind of education or training did you get?
   d. What have you done for a living?

2. Could you tell me about your family?

3. We know the 1992 moratorium has had an impact on many fisheries-dependent communities. How has the moratorium affected you and/or your family?

4. As a result of the moratorium, has anyone in your family relocated? Have you ever thought about relocating?

5. Tell me something about your community.
   a. What is life like here?
   b. How do things work here?
   c. Are different points of view welcome? Is there open discussion of issues among residents and leaders? How are these opinions communicated (newspaper, radio, TV)?

6. How do ordinary folks around here see the community?

7. In your opinion, who are the community leaders? Who runs things here?

8. How would you describe your relationships with community leaders?

9. Have you gotten involved in any community activities? If so, could you please describe what you do?
   a. Do you and other citizens have a chance to have input into town decisions?
   b. Have you observed citizens taking part in development groups?
   c. How is citizen support for the local schools?
   d. Are you volunteering for community causes?
   e. How would you describe citizen participation in important local decisions?
   f. How about decisions regarding the fisheries moratorium and its effects? Were citizens such as yourself involved in these decisions?
   g. Whom do you see as the most active citizens?

10. Do you think any of this has changed since the moratorium in 1992?

11. In your opinion, what did the community have to do to move forward? Did that happen?
12. Are there places in town where people congregate, where everybody knows your name? Places that provide opportunities to interact informally? (List what they are.)

13. How would you describe the community's social well-being today as a place to live, in terms of:
   a. presence of substance abuse
   b. crime
   c. conflicts requiring legal resolution
   d. the economy and jobs

14. What is your relationship to the fisheries?

15. Please explain your association with the fisheries. How long have you been fishing?

16. Could you describe your contacts with fisherpersons inside and/or outside the community, such as:
   a. Share facilities with other fisherpersons?
   b. Mount joint efforts with other fisherpersons on lobbying government?
   c. Acquire technical assistance together with other fisherpersons?
   d. Belong to any provincial, national and/or international organizations?

17. Are there any other comments you would like to make?
**APPENDIX E**

**LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN THE LABRADOR STRAITS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Businesses</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Large</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Other Non-Profit and Voluntary Associations</th>
<th>Government and Development Groups</th>
<th>TOTAL By Community</th>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Cluster-wide</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes 13 from other unincorporated areas in the census district.
Sources: Statistics Canada (2001); Labrador Straits Chamber of Commerce; enVision (2004); Local Residents; and Personal Observation.
APPENDIX F

MOUNTAIN FEILD ACADEMY

From 1959 to 1964 Rev. Carl Major was the clergyman at the Anglican mission headquartered at Battle Harbour, an island off the Labrador coast, roughly 74 kilometers north of the Straits. Because of the vastness of the territory and the scattered population that the mission priest was expected to serve, Major proposed to his bishop that the church purchase an airplane for his transportation. After much persuasion, the Executive Committee of the Diocese of Newfoundland granted his request. Major proceeded to get his flying license, but since he could now cover more territory, he also received responsibility for ministering to additional coastal communities, - to the more than 200 Anglican families in the Labrador Straits (St. Mary's the Virgin Church 2004).

Although the citizenry in the Straits had discussed establishing a centrally located high school for several years, Major spearheaded the efforts to turn their dreams into a reality. A scheme was devised for each family to contribute 200 hours towards the facility's construction or $200 in cash. Those who were not able to make such a commitment would be required to pay monthly fees to cover educational costs. In spite of the risks involved in making such personal investments of time and/or money into the project, the people were willing to try a new, proactive approach without waiting any longer for the province to take the initiative with such an important step to improve the cluster’s educational offerings. All religious groups in the area were invited to take part, but only the Anglican and United Church congregations joined together in the project.

Major traveled to the House of Assembly in St. John’s and proposed that with a combination of government grants and donated local labor, such a high school could be built. He was successful in his endeavor, and in the fall of 1964, the first Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, Joseph Smallwood, officially opened the school on the occasion of his first visit to the Labrador coast since taking office roughly 15 years earlier. The school was named after two bishops, Mountain and Feild, who in the mid-19th century had met in Forteau and brought Christianity to the Straits (Mountain Feild Academy 2004).
APPENDIX G

TRADITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE COD FISHERY

On the North Shore of Conception Bay, there were many traditions linked to the cod fishery that disappeared after the cod moratorium. One cluster native described an annual ritual:

The first cod trap came to Bay de Verde in 1882. (This became) the traditional method of catching fish here. The year 1992 was the last time we drew for cod trap berths. About 35 fishing crews took part in it. All trap skippers would meet in the church hall. This was an annual social event in February. The fishers would have a drop of rum. Names would be put in the bag. Another bag had the name of the trap berth. Someone from the trap berth committee would draw the first name. That fellow would come up and draw from the bag with the trap berth names. This was the fairest way. When someone drew a good berth, there was a round of applause. When someone drew a good berth two years in a row, he might get a standing ovation.

Cod trap berths were given names locally. For example, in Grates Cove they were usually named after local fishers who had used the berth most frequently or for their location, such as, “Jake’s Berth...Reuben’s Gulch...Isaac’s Point...Dan’s Cove...Point of the Motion...Sunken Rock...Heart Point...Squiding Point.... Fishermen also traded berths if a particular spot did not suit the gear they had or some preferred one berth over others” (Stanford and Stanford 2003:21). Among the local customs that characterized those times was the hauling up of the boats by hand at the end of the harvesting season, described by a cluster resident:

Forty to fifty men gathered for this community event. (All the fishers) had to participate because they needed their own boat hauled up. Somebody with a strong voice sang the polka, “Haul on the bow line, haul, boys, haul...” I especially remember this in the 1950s and ‘60s when I was growing up. Instead of figure skating or playing hockey, as small children we were into “community” and we’d be there as bystanders.
## APPENDIX H

### LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES - NORTH SHORE OF CONCEPTION BAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Businesses</th>
<th>Large</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Other Non-Profit and Voluntary Associations</th>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Western Bay</td>
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**TOTAL** 4,115 98 1 2 21 3 82 17 233

Sources: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency (2004); Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade; enVision (2004); Local Officials; and Personal Observation.
### APPENDIX 1

**ATLANTIC CANADA OPPORTUNITIES AGENCY (ACOA) COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS 1992-2004**

#### LABRADOR STRAITS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client</th>
<th>Discussed in Text</th>
<th>Projects Approved</th>
<th>ACOA Funds ($000)</th>
<th>Matching Funds ($000)</th>
<th>Total Project Costs ($000)</th>
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<td>Development Groups/Initiatives</td>
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<td>Towns</td>
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NOTE: Totals may vary due to rounding.

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### North Shore

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**NOTE:** Totals may vary due to rounding.
APPENDIX J

NEW BUSINESS START-UP SERVICES

During my fieldwork I had the chance to attend the Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade’s Business Excellence Workshop, which was designed to introduce prospective entrepreneurs to the resources available to them. The workshop was well organized and professionally executed. Representatives from development groups and governmental agencies serving the entire peninsula gave presentations and were available for one-on-one questions. The possible resources for someone interested in starting a small business were plentiful. However, because of the complexity of the numerous programs outlined, I found it to be confusing for a potential businessperson to know where to get started. I compiled this list of resources from notes I took at the workshop.

**Baccalieu Trail Board of Trade Business Excellence Workshop**
**October 18, 2004  Carbonear, NL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Resource</th>
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| Provincial Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development | - Business and Market Development Program  
- Small Business Seed Capital Equity Program  
- Craft Industry Development Program  
- EDGE Program (Economic Diversification and Growth Enterprises)  
- Direct Equity Tax Credit Program |
| Provincial Department of Human Resources Labour and Employment | - Employment Generation Program  
- Graduate Employment Program  
- Student Work and Services Program (SWASP)  
- NewfoundJOBS Program  
- High School Employment Program  
- Linkages Program |
| Human Resources and Skills Development Canada - Harbour Grace | - Targeted Wage Subsidies  
- Self-Employment Program  
- Skills Development  
- Job Creation Partnership  
- Youth Programs – Summer Work Experience  
- Labour Market Partnerships  
- National Employment Service |
| Mariner Resources Opportunities Network (M-RON) | - Assistance with Data Collection, Proposal Development and Review  
- Handbooks and Training Modules  
- Supported Employment Services |
| Newfoundland and Labrador Organization of Women Entrepreneurs (NLOWE)-Bay Roberts | - Women in Business Initiative  
- Consultant Advisory Service  
- Business Management Training Allowance |
| Trinity Conception Community Development Corporation | - Investment Fund/FRAM-ED Fund  
- Youth SEED Connexion Program  
- Youth Ventures Program  
- Self-Employment Benefits  
- Employment Assistance Services |
APPENDIX K

PROGRAMS FOR SOCIAL WELL-BEING EMANATING FROM
THE LABRADOR STRAITS SOCIAL EDUCATION CORPORATION

Partners in Learning

When courses in Adult Basic Education (ABE) or high school equivalency were mandated by the TAGS (The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy) for citizens who lost their livelihoods in the wake of the cod moratorium, the mayor of West St. Modeste saw locals struggling with classroom topics like fractions. “I would debate the purpose (of fractions) with the instructors...(and argued they) should be teaching life skills and how to cope,” she said. The mayor also identified a more basic educational need for literacy, and out of that, helped to found Partners in Learning in 1994 to promote literacy development.

The organization’s focus was on learning opportunities situated in everyday lives. Partners in Learning was funded through private, federal and provincial sources, but also partnered with cluster groups such as the Family Resource Centres and the CAP internet sites to accomplish their literacy goals. Volunteers helped with one-on-one tutoring at home. In 2002 Partners in Learning received the Canada Post Community Leadership Award for its achievements and innovations in the field of literacy (Canada Post 2002).

Family Resource Centres

Another initiative launched to enhance the social well-being of the cluster was the establishment of the first Family Resource Centre in the Labrador Straits in West St. Modeste in 1999. From that location, the undertaking expanded to four more centers in Forteau, L’Anse au Clair, L’Anse au Loup, and Red Bay. The program’s mission was “to provide programs, support and services to children ages 0-6 and their parents or caregivers.” Children’s activities ranged from crafts and physical activities to story time and special event days. Parents’ options include a postpartum program, support groups, and workshops covering such diverse topics as brain development, reading, and crafts (Northern Pen October 20, 2003c.)

During my fieldwork I stopped at the Red Bay Family Resource Centre and spoke with the educator in charge. The center had nine children enrolled, and generally seven are in attendance at any one time. Open three days a week during set hours, the center rules stipulated that a child must always be
accompanied by an adult, hence these adults were “volunteering” their time to take part in the center’s activities for their children, with the chance to take part in the programs for parents as well. All together there were approximately 95 youngsters enrolled in the centers in the Labrador Straits. Funding came from a variety of sources: the National Child Benefit Program, the provincial Early Childhood Development Program, and from other contributors such as the International Grenfell Association (IGA 2003.)

**Partners in Personal Growth**

Another spin-off from the Labrador Straits Social Education Corporation, this initiative was formulated to combat the stresses of the moratoria. As its foundation, a mental health counselor served residents in the cluster area. It was the initiative of the mayor and funds mostly from the International Grenfell Association that made the counseling service a reality in the late 1990s. The counselor conducted workshops on topics such as addictive relationships, helping skills, and overcoming anxiety. In addition she handled crisis intervention, served on cluster *ad hoc* committees dealing with subjects such as anti-violence and inclusion of disabled, and worked with schools on mental health issues.

A Roots of Empathy program in the cluster schools originated from this committee. Parents along with their newborn or toddler were invited to visit a classroom monthly over the course of a school year to allow the school children to experience the various developmental phases of the child. Trained facilitators guided classroom interactions to elicit expressions of feelings from the students about what they observed and to develop empathy. Funding for this venture was obtained from the Labrador Straits Anti-Violence Committee partnering with the National Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Family Violence Initiative (MacDonald June 28, 2004).

**Community Youth Network**

The most visible symbols of inclusion of youth in the cluster’s social fabric were the youth centers in West St. Modeste and L’Anse au Loup, where committees of youth volunteers participate in the running of the operations. The centers were part of the province’s Community Youth Network (CYN), funded by Canada’s National Child Benefit Program with a mission to facilitate the development and success of youth. The mayor was a member of the Adult Working Group of CYN since the late 1990s and invested many weekends in St. John’s attending its meetings with the intent of bringing its services to the Labrador
Straits and neighboring areas (Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Youth Services and Post-Secondary Education 2004). The coordinator of CYN in the cluster was responsibilities for two other sites in the region: Port Hope Simpson further north on the Labrador Coast and Flower’s Cove on the Great Northern Peninsula. These ties beyond the cluster allowed youth to share activities with their peers from different parts of the province. One of nine provincial CYN projects, the mandate of the CYN was “to develop an array of services for youth living in, or at risk of, poverty” (Newfoundland and Labrador Youth Services and Post-Secondary Education website 2004).

Since February 2001, youths from 12 to 18 years old benefited from Paula’s Place in L’Anse au Loup, the main CYN drop-in center in the cluster. Named after a local 14-year-old who tragically lost her life in a snowmobile accident, Paula’s Place offered youth options of table tennis, hockey, homework havens, computers, career planning and awareness programs. Youngsters enjoyed a safe environment free of foul language, alcohol and drugs. One staff person ran Paula’s Place, heavily augmented with adult volunteers. On a school night Paula’s Place attracted 20 to 25 young people; on a weekend day, there were between 50 to 60 in attendance on average. I visited Paula’s Place one Friday evening in December. By 7 PM 25 youths had signed in so far that day. The atmosphere was lively with young people involved in a variety of activities, such as, playing volleyball over a pool table or watching a video. Two girls were having fun braiding their respective heads of hair together. The staff person said karaoke would be held for the first time that evening.

Involvement with youth was not confined to the two drop-in centers in the Straits. The CYN mission was to reach out to local institutions and collaborate in sponsoring other youth activities. An instance of this was the CYN coordinator’s involvement when students from Forteau’s Mountain Feild Academy traveled to Sudbury, Ontario for a one-week exchange program. A month later, two dozen students from Sudbury were hosted by local families in the Labrador Straits (Northern Pen May 31, 2004). Other options for youth that CYN conducted with cluster and regional partners were summer career placements and a career/employment expo. CYN also sponsored workshops in Self-Esteem/Drug and Alcohol Awareness and teamed with two organizations within the cluster along with the Status of Women Canada to conduct a weekend workshop to address dating violence. The latter was funded by the National
RCMP Family Violence Initiative and Planned Parenthood of Newfoundland and Labrador (*Northern Pen*
November 15, 2004; August 16, 2004; and June 21, 2004.)