

# **From "Shipped Girls" to "Brides of the State": The Transition from Familial to Social Patriarchy in the Newfoundland Fishing Industry**

Barbara Neis  
Department of Sociology  
Memorial University  
St. John's, NF A1C 5S7

In a recent teleconference on women and violence in Newfoundland, a woman from a small, rural community broke into a discussion of the extent and origins of this violence to comment: "It's the patriarchy!" A concept that has become almost passé in today's complex maze of feminist thinking had resonated with this woman's experience. Someone familiar with recent feminist research on fishery economies, like that of rural Newfoundland, might be surprised by this resonance. Feminist researchers have made some important contributions to our understanding of fishery economies. They have critiqued the androcentrism of pre-1980 analyses. In the process of developing this critique, they have introduced new concepts to better document women's active participation throughout fishery economies, as well as the diverse gender relations and differing sexual divisions of labour that can be found within them. Feminist accounts have also challenged male anthropologists' common assumption of universal patterns of male dominance and female passivity within fishing households and communities (Allison et al., 1989; Cole, 1991; Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988; Neis, 1988a; Porter, 1983; 1985). Porter (1985) provides significant evidence to support the view that a rigid sexual division of labour did

---

The author would like to acknowledge the helpful comments of two anonymous reviewers, Caroline Andrew, Peter Armitage and Peter Sinclair on earlier drafts. A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Annual Meetings, Charlottetown, June, 1992. Research was facilitated by a grant from the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), Memorial University.

not imply, in any simple sense, male dominance. Wives of boatowners in inshore fishing communities seem to have exercised considerable control within the spheres of their kitchens and, in the past, shore-based work. These conclusions are also supported by other accounts (Davis, 1983, 1988; Murray, 1979). However this multifaceted feminist critique has tended to rely on data collected from groups of women with the most power, and contexts where women's power is strongest and most visible. The wives of boatowners as opposed to crewmen; women who live in endogamous communities where they are in close proximity to their female kin; women employed in unionized as opposed to nonunionized fish plants; and moments of protest as opposed to quiescence predominate in existing accounts (Cole, 1991; Davis, 1983; 1988; Murray, 1979; Neis, 1988a; Neis and Williams, 1993; Porter, 1988).

In fishing economies, the state, households, workplaces and communities, are terrains of struggle for women, but these women differ in terms of the class, marital and other resources they bring to these struggles. Some women exercise significant power within some fishing households and others have successfully challenged discriminatory measures and aspects of male control through the state and within their communities. A full understanding of gender relations in fishing economies needs to include, however, those women who are economically and socially marginal: women on welfare, widows, daughters who were forced out of the fishery, and nonunionized fish plant workers. Documented processes of class differentiation within fishing economies make it particularly important to avoid generalizing from the experiences of the wives of boatowners to other groups of women (Sinclair, 1985). In all classes, however, there may be some who are silenced by the threat of violence, by sexual abuse, or by the threat of lost livelihood in the form of either a job or support from the welfare state.<sup>1</sup> These women may have been eliminated from the fishing industry or even from their communities altogether and hence not be available for interviews.

---

1. This feminist literature also says relatively little about the impacts of state policies on women's options and experiences. The few sources that examine these impacts within the Atlantic Canadian fishery document the differing impacts of some policies on men and women in fishing and fish processing households. They often overlook, however, patriarchal ideologies, dominance, and the potential for violence within these households, as well as the relationship between these and policy initiatives and outcomes (MacDonald and Connelly, 1991-92; Wright, 1994). There has been little research on violence in fishing communities but the prevailing view is that it is rather rare (Felt, 1987). Statistics Canada's recent Violence Against Women Survey (1993) found that Newfoundland had the lowest rate of violence against women in Canada (33% as opposed to 51% for Canada as a whole). Data are not yet available by provincial region, but these findings suggest that while violence may be less common than elsewhere, it certainly is not rare. The social stigma associated with violence and the absence of transition houses for women in rural fishing areas (forcing women to leave if they want safe asylum) may contribute to research findings that underestimate its prevalence.

This paper is prompted by this gap in the existing literature, and by the current context of crisis and restructuring in fishery economies throughout the world. In this context, such a paper can highlight some of the risks that currently confront women in fishery economies and draw our attention to shortcomings in proposed "solutions" to this crisis. The analysis draws on recent research on the fishery and fragmentary accounts from individual women in Newfoundland fishing communities, past and present, whose experiences do not fit the image of strong women confidently in control of their own, separate spheres. I will examine some of the ideologies and practices that have limited women's access to control over the fishery resource, and to the wealth it produces, while making them responsible for production- and reproduction-related work within the fixed gear, coastal household-based fishing community (often called the inshore fishery). These ideologies and practices are the shadow of patriarchy in its different forms.<sup>2</sup> This shadow is particularly dark in the lives of the more vulnerable women described above. I have woven some women's voices and experiences into the text to remind us that these women have their own diverse histories and are not passive victims (Cole, 1991).

The concepts "familial patriarchy" and "social patriarchy" will be used to guide the analysis. "Familial patriarchy" refers to "the experience of the past in which power and authority over women and children were largely exercised in the home", by men (Ursel, 1992: 2). "Social patriarchy" refers to the social welfare institutions like family allowances, minimum wages, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions associated with industrialized nations in the twentieth century. Within social patriarchy, support for and control of women and children is exercised by the state through the theories, ideologies and practices (such as moral regulation) that shape the development and transformation of these social welfare institutions (Valverde, 1991; Wright, 1994). Ursel's (1992) recent analysis of the transition from familial to social patriarchy in three Canadian provinces identifies the state as mediator between the spheres of reproduction (the family) and production. She argues that this process of mediation is contradictory, with the result that state initiatives tend to sustain, but in the longer term erode, familial patriarchy. I will document a similar contradictory relationship between familial and social patriarchy within

---

2. The image of the "shadow" of patriarchy was inspired by a recent paper by Reddin (1993) on sustainability in the lifestyle of the PEI fisherman's wife. She, in turn, borrows the image from Ivan Illich's concept "shadow work" which she says refers to "a kind of forced labor or industrial serfdom in the service of commodity-intensive economies." The shadows Reddin hears in the stories of PEI fishermen's wives are those that stereotype fishermen and make women invisible. I would add to those shadows corporate and state policies and practices that reinforce women's vulnerability as well as practices that make women vulnerable to violence and poverty in their households, workplaces and communities.

the Newfoundland inshore fishery.<sup>3</sup>

The following portrait of Beverly provides a starting point for the analysis.<sup>4</sup> It helps pinpoint the intertwined familial and social patriarchal elements women could confront in inshore fishing communities in the 1980s. This is followed by a brief overview of some elements of familial patriarchy documented in existing historical research from the 19th and early 20th centuries. The time frame then shifts to the post World War II period and a limited exploration of the impacts of selected social patriarchal institutions on women's options within the fishery. The analysis culminates with the current fishery crisis, policy proposals for the future, and their probable impact on the poorer and more marginal women in the inshore fishing economy.

### Familial and Social Patriarchy in the 1980s

Beverly is a middle-aged, single mother who works in an inshore fish plant. She lives with her daughter in a modest house she inherited after caring for her parents in their old age. Her housing situation may be one reason why she is still single. Generally speaking, houses have been inherited by sons and not daughters in Newfoundland communities (Palmer, 1991). In this context, her rights to the house are ambiguous. If she were to marry she might lose it to her brothers.

Beverly has worked in nonunionized fish plants for most of her adult life. Although lowly paid, her wages and the resulting unemployment insurance (UI) have provided her with sufficient financial support to live alone, provide for basics, and care for her daughter.<sup>5</sup> Beverly's paid work is characterized by uncertainty, poor working conditions, occupational health risks and few benefits (Neis and Williams, 1993). During the winter season, when the plant is closed, Beverly recuperates from her paid work, repairs and cleans her house, cares for her daughter and helps some elderly people in the community.

In the late 1980s, a male friend suggested to Beverly that she go fishing with him in his boat. She was tempted by the offer because she had always

liked fishing and had wanted to fish with her father when she was young. At that time, however, the assumption in the community was that women did not fish. By the late 1980s, several women were fishing with their husbands in her community (in the 1986 Census, women made up 8% of those engaged in harvesting (Rowe, 1991: 8)). Thus, Beverly might have encountered less criticism from the community than in the past if she had accepted her friend's offer.

The probability of a better income from fishing and fishermen's UI also attracted Beverly. Fishing incomes are generally better than those from plant work, particularly work in nonunionized inshore plants. In some cases, UI for fishers is also based on the ten best weeks of income, whereas plantworkers' UI is based on an average of all weekly incomes. Declining landings in the 1980s made it more and more difficult for plantworkers to get 10 full weeks of work threatening their ability to qualify for UI, forcing them to rely on low paying "make work" projects and reducing their UI benefits. Fishers were generally better able to sustain their incomes from fishing and UI than plantworkers, despite lower landings.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the advantages of going fishing, Beverly was hesitant. The main reason her friend had asked her to join him in the boat was because she was taking care of his sick daughter in the afternoon and evenings. If she went back to work in the plant, she would no longer be able to do this. However, since fishing was generally over by noon, he felt she could combine it with care for the child. Beverly wondered what would happen if his daughter died or her health improved to the point where care was no longer necessary. Going fishing would mean giving up her job in the plant. She worried that she might have an argument with her friend on the fishing grounds and lose her position. What if she got sick and, when she took a day off, someone reported her to CEIC, as had been done with other women, claiming she was not really fishing? If this happened, she could be turned down when she applied for UI in the fall and forced onto welfare.

Beverly's dilemma has historical roots. She is caught in a complex mesh of familial and state institutions composed partially of the remnants of familial patriarchy, the dominant form of patriarchy in the Newfoundland inshore fishery prior to World War II, and partially of the social patriarchal institutions that have been introduced in the post World War II period.

- 
3. A full analysis of the effects of patriarchy would also include corporate patriarchy--the ideology and practices of employers, unions and male workers that, since industrialization, have helped sustain the sexual segregation of work and women's concentration in lower paid, less secure jobs, with particular kinds of occupational health risks.
  4. This portrait is a construction. I have pieced together information from the lives of different women to produce an amalgam of features that illustrates a range of practices and institutions shaping women's lives while obscuring the identity of individuals.
  5. Women fish processing workers are heavily concentrated in seasonal and part-time jobs within the Newfoundland industry. Their employment incomes are about one-half those of men in the communities where women make up a majority of fish processing workers. In 1988, women's average part-time annual employment income in these communities ranged from a low of \$2,419 to a high of \$6,212 (Rowe, 1991: 13).

- 
6. During the same period, Canada Employment and Immigration (CEIC) also began prosecuting plant owners for so-called "stamp banking." This refers to the practice of permitting workers to combine income earned from one week with that earned in another week so as to increase the size of the weekly income they report to UI. Several fish plant owners have been charged and workers in some communities have had to repay UI benefits. This has probably reduced the willingness of owners and workers to rely on "stamp banking" to bolster plantworkers' incomes.

## Familial Patriarchy

[Thomas Hutchings commented]: ... 'as you can see I'm crediting each household with the work of the women and children it will feed this winter.'...In that instant Mary Bundle resolved she would marry Thomas Hutchings. If Mary could add nothing to her possessions without a man--then a man she would have (Morgan, 1992:66).

The Newfoundland fishery began as a migratory, primarily male fishery based on master/servant relationships and a fixed wage for the season.<sup>7</sup> During the 19th century, a British settler fishery displaced the migratory one and spread up the north-east coast of the island. In response to conditions of greater labour abundance, better gender balance, seasonality, ecological uncertainties and costly credit, the fishery was transformed into one that was reliant on familial labour, supplemented when necessary by hired labour (Cadigan, 1991; Ommer, 1990). During this period, the hired labour often included the young men and women of other families, many of whom would later establish their own fishing households.

These fishing households developed, with some encouragement from the state, into a form of familial patriarchy (Cadigan, 1994). Fish harvesting and processing became decentralized and production and reproduction activities fused. Production of fish for exchange was combined with subsistence agriculture, gathering activities and daily and intergenerational caring. Work was characterized by a fairly rigid division of labour. Generally speaking, men broke the land for subsistence agriculture in spring, fished summer and fall, and worked in the woods, at their gear and other fisheries in the winter. Women were responsible for childcare, care for husbands, the elderly, and the infirm, preparing meals, gardening and making clothes and other household necessities. In some communities, they also took primary responsibility for drying the fish for sale to the merchants (Porter, 1985) although this varies by region (for example, south of St. John's women were actively involved in processing fish in Petty Harbour but not in Bay Bulls or St. Shotts).

Economic surplus from the fishery was largely controlled by the merchants. They controlled marketing, as well as both the price of the minimal requirements for household production and the price of fish. Payment was largely in goods ("truck") rather than cash, and fishermen were often indebted to the merchants. The names of wives and children did not appear in merchants' accounts. Instead, the results of their labour were recorded in their

7. Master/servant law was a complex of British laws actively enforced in Britain up to the 19th century and exported to British colonies. It "balanced claims by servants and apprentices (for unpaid wages, ill-treatment, etc.) against penal sanctions and other remedies demanded by masters (for leaving work or other forms of breach of contract, insubordination, etc.)" (Hay and Craven, 1993:176).

husbands' names (Sweeney, personal communication, 1993). Some women may have controlled occasional cash surpluses (Porter, 1985). However, it is not insignificant that while exchanges between fishermen and merchants were based partly on the results of wives' and childrens' work, women had no formal right to determine the type or scale of purchases made by fishermen. Men could make debts they were subsequently unable to pay and, as many did, walk away from them. Without direct access to credit, women had no such "privilege" but paid part of the price for this debt avoidance in higher costs for goods (Sweeney, personal communication, 1993); although women do not seem to have been held liable for these debts, rather their male partners were (Cadigan, 1991: 205).

Fathers and husbands controlled women's and children's access to the wealth from the fishery through their control over houses, land, fishing technology and access to the fishery resource itself (Faris, 1972; Firestone, 1967). Male control was bolstered by patrilineal inheritance laws, state-sanctioned regulations governing access to the fishery resource (the Newfoundland Fishery Regulations), and laws that made husbands and fathers responsible for supporting women and children without guaranteeing that this support was provided (Cadigan, 1991; Cullum et al., 1993; McCay, 1976; Martin, 1979). The centrality of women's work to the fishery in some communities reinforced women's economic dependence on men by limiting their ability to produce agricultural and other products for exchange (Cadigan, 1991).

A recent review of Conception Bay court cases from the late 18th and early 19th century shows that widows were generally left propertyless, as their deceased husbands' homes, land and gear were turned over to sons or other male relatives. They were thus forced to depend on the good will of these male relatives for support.<sup>8</sup> These court cases also show that some women who worked as servants in the fishery encountered violence, and others made pregnant by their employers had to sue for support. In the context of patriarchal control and economic vulnerability within the household and patriarchal law outside,<sup>9</sup> "[t]he family's basic struggle for survival...ensured an essential

8. Cadigan's research suggests that property was normally left to sons, "usually with some provision that they care for their mother or mother-in-law." The court records also show that "[b]eing left to the good will of a son could be disastrous for a widow" (1991:199-200). There were, however, cases where daughters sued to protect some share of their fathers' estates and others where women appeared in court "to defend their households' interests" (1991:206).

9. Cullum et al. (1993) conclude that in Newfoundland, "the law has reflected society's view of women...as passive creatures, requiring protection and guardianship of men...the chattels of men, possessions to do with as men wished. With this prejudicial view, male legislators gave to men responsibilities considered too onerous for women: the right to vote, to sit on juries, to have custody of children, control of property and money or to run for public office". An example of patriarchal law in Newfoundland was the law that forbade women to marry without the consent of their fathers unless they were pregnant or had a child out of

solidarity between men and women in households despite the presence of male violence" (Cadigan, 1991:210). As the quote used to open this section suggests, women learned early that their comfort and their economic survival depended upon the strength of their ties to men. However, as immigration into Newfoundland declined, and the ratio of men to women got smaller, forming these ties became more difficult.

During early settlement, men outnumbered women and women were valuable assets, providing the basis (with children), for the establishment of a household fishery (Porter, 1985). However, as male/female ratios declined, census data show that female populations in fishing districts tended to stabilize at a level below male populations. This was particularly true for women in the 20-24 age group. According to the 1935 census, for example, the ratio of women to men in this age group for 11 fishing districts was 770.8 women per 1,000 men (Department of Public Health and Welfare, 1935, Vol. 1. Table 32, 168-171).<sup>10</sup> The pattern of female removal from fishing activities appears to have been particularly strong during periods of economic stress as was the case in Bonavista during the early twentieth century. In Bonavista, the percentage of the population classed as females curing fish declined from 22.1% in 1891 to 8.3% in 1911 (Ommer, 1990: 172-173).<sup>11</sup>

Generally speaking, familial patriarchy demonstrated a greater attachment to sons than daughters. The sexual division of labour, male preference, and male inheritance practices pushed many women out of fishing households forcing them to find work elsewhere. Their mothers were left to share the burden of household and fishery work with the remaining daughters and the help of husbands and sons. Young men lived at home and worked in their fathers' boats until they could fish on their own or until they had sons old

---

wedlock.

10. I have classified White Bay, Green Bay, Twillingate, Fogo, Bonavista North and South, Trinity North and South, Ferryland, Placentia and St. Mary's and Fortune Bay & Hermitage as fishing districts. Many of the women who left ended up in urban centres, like St. John's. The ratio of women to men in the districts of St. John's East and West in 1935 was 1,322 women per 1,000 men and the ratio for Newfoundland as a whole for 20-24 year olds was 926.5/1000. Some of these women subsequently returned to their communities if they found husbands.

11. It is important to recognize that significant differences existed between fishing communities in terms of the technologies used, the combination of fishing with other activities, periods of male absence for work, and in terms of the sexual division of labour. These factors, as well as parental, church and perhaps ethnic concerns regarding suitable marriage partners for their children might influence migration patterns for young people. For example, Benoit (1982: 63) argues that in the Stephenville area during the early 20th century women were rarely allowed to leave their community. These women were part of a French Newfoundland Catholic enclave. They lived in an area with a marginal fishery and where male outmigration in search of paid work was common. In contrast to inshore communities elsewhere young unmarried women appear to have remained in their fathers' or perhaps an uncle's household until marriage.

enough to form a new crew (Faris, 1972). Knowledge of the fishing grounds learned from their fathers and local rights to fishing berths acquired by virtue of being male and coming from a fishing family were critical to their survival as fishermen (Butler, 1983; Neis, 1992). Where technology was costly and could not be divided easily between sons, as in the case of the Labrador schooner fishery, the access of some men to the fishery seems to have depended on their willingness to forego marriage altogether (Britain, 1979).<sup>12</sup> A shortage of young, marriageable women in the area would have contributed to this pattern.

Although they lived alongside of the fishery resource, young women did not have the knowledge required to fish successfully (Silk, 1994). They also did not have the means to share in the wealth from that resource unless they married a fisherman, worked for the local merchant, or for a boatowning family. As argued by Antler (1977), women followed men into the fishery. If there was no man they could (or would) follow, many had to leave fishing communities to find paid work. Young daughters, particularly those in poorer families, were expected to "ship out," work for merchants for low wages (Antler, 1981), or move into urban areas to work in factories or as domestics servants in private houses. The term "ship out" derives from the practice of engaging for service as a member of a fishing crew for a specified wage and period of time (Story, et al., 1990: 472). For young girls it meant agreeing to live with another fishing family and carry out both domestic and fishery-related tasks for a small monthly wage. A 1974 study of women and work in Newfoundland described their work situation:

"A girl was sent into service for two main reasons: [1] to relieve her parents of her support, and [2] to learn all the skills pertaining to household and fishery in order that she might make a good fisherman's wife. Girls were paid about \$2.50 a month in winter and \$5.00 in summer, because of their help in making fish. A minimum of clothing and board and lodging was also provided. The work was often hard and long; the girls were completely at the mercy of their employers as to the work they were required to do and the treatment they received" (Batten et al., 1974:13).

Young girls shipped out well into the twentieth century. Some men also shipped out, but they were more likely to work as "sharemen", taking a share of the catch, and to work within their father's family enterprise.

---

12. According to the 1935 census, men made up an average of 55.4% of the single population in the districts of Ferryland, White Bay, Green Bay, Fogo, Twillingate, Bonavista North and South, Trinity North and South. This compares with 49.3% of the single population in St. John's West.

The wages of shipped girls need to be contrasted with male incomes from fishing. In 1935, annual male incomes from forestry, fisheries and trapping averaged \$143.20. In contrast, as suggested by the above quote, the annual wage of shipped girls was probably \$40.00 a year during the same period.

The overlap between household and processing work, and the importance of fishery work to some women's identity during the period of familial patriarchy, is well illustrated by the following quote. A lone adult woman in a household with three men, she described her work as:

the best kind of times, calling out to one another and calling out across the harbour even...Everybody was into it together. You'd make bread and go out on the flake and give that time to rise and come home and knead it down and go back again. Often I had youngsters here. Jane was a baby, and I'd leave her here, get her all set up for the morning, and we would go over on the flake, myself and Rita, and Dan and Al and Jim. And by and by I'd hear Jane, her usual time, you'd hear her bawling upstairs and I'd come over off of the flake. That is the truth now. And then you get something to eat, just a kind of a snack, and get a little rest, and by that time sure it was time to go back again and make it up, put it away. So, it was a full time job. And then you had to cook for men, coming in from fishing, you had to have a big feed of corned beef and cabbage. This is now, since I got married, all that, baking bread and baking cakes and pies. I don't know how we did it all, to tell you the truth. But I liked it on the flake, I used to love it on the flake. The fish used to be right nice, it was golden, it was a nice colour, you wouldn't see anything like that around now sure.

As this quote suggests, despite the context of patriarchal law and patrilineal practice, women who married boatowning fishermen often enjoyed their work and identified themselves with the fishery. A fairly extreme sexual division of labour and the central importance of women's labour encouraged "a tradition of respect and gentleness between men and women" and recognition of women's economic contribution within some fishing communities (Porter, 1991: 4). Some boatowners said that their wives did more than fifty percent of the work, acknowledging that they were the "skippers of the shore crew" (Murray, 1979; Porter, 1985).

Not all women's lives, however, took this form. Widows and daughters from poorer families had few employment alternatives. Domestic servants who ended up pregnant and were unable or unwilling to marry the father of their child received little support from the state in attempting to gain financial support for themselves and their children. This was particularly true if there was any public perception of immorality or promiscuity--a perception that was perhaps more likely when women came from poorer families or moved into

male-dominated work areas.<sup>13</sup> The above quote is from a woman whose mother was widowed at a young age with young children. Her mother qualified for a small quarterly pension from the government, which she supplemented with money earned drying the fish of local fishermen whose wives were ill or unable to do this work. She was paid a small sum for each "quintal" (that is, 112 pounds of dried fish) that she and her children produced. From this money, she fed, clothed, and housed herself and her children. They lived in a rented house and were often hungry. Although they lived alongside an abundant resource, they rarely had any fish to eat. Her daughters left home early to find work as domestic servants in town.

### Social Patriarchy

Social patriarchy, in the form of social welfare institutions, has also shaped the options and choices of women like Beverly. Although some social welfare institutions existed in Newfoundland prior to Confederation, these were minimal in terms of their number and the scale of support they provided.<sup>14</sup> Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949 during the era of expanding state investment in social welfare institutions that occurred throughout the country between the 1940s and the 1960s (Ursel, 1992). It inherited family allowances, UI, and old age pensions; it also participated in the development of other programmes, such as medicare. The social welfare programmes described below were shaped by implicit assumptions about the ideal family form and women's place in the modern world that dominated public thinking during the period when they were introduced. In the fishery, the result was programmes that both transformed and sustained familial patriarchy in the short term. In the longer term, however, they tended to undermine it.

Social welfare programmes initially combined with the development of corporate-owned fish processing in the postwar period to bolster familial patriarchy. These programmes gave households greater financial independence from merchants and reduced the costs of caring for and raising children. Cash payments from social welfare programmes reduced debt and reliance on credit.

13. Sporadic correspondence from the 1930s and 1950s highlights the problems these young women experienced in attempting to convince state officials that they were entitled to support and getting them to ensure that support payments were made when entitlement had been established (Hollahan vs. Dugald Shepard Provincial Archives, GN 13 Box 155, #17; Smallwood Papers, 1.06.006 Burin, 1952, Memorial University). Records from the turn of the century highlight a period of heightened public concern about the morality of young women who participated in the migratory Labrador floater fishery (Patey, n.d.) See also Cullum et al (1993).

14. Widows' allowances are reported to have been \$50.00 a year, \$12.50 a quarter. The "dole" (welfare) was \$1.80/month or 6 cents a day during the 1930s.

Family allowance cheques were used to buy shoes and clothing for children, reducing the reproductive obligations of the individual household fishery. In a partial subsistence economy where households had little access to cash, \$15.00 a month (the cheque for 3 children in 1949) seemed like a lot of money to a young mother. Pensions gave adequate incomes to the elderly with surplus left over to help finance new engines for their sons' boats (Cornelius O'Brien, 91461 C14593).<sup>15</sup> One woman described a disability pension of \$30.00 a month as "a fortune" at the time.

The setting up of corporate-owned fish plants in some communities also strengthened familial patriarchy in the early 1950s. These plants permitted households to sell some of their fish fresh, for cash. As suggested by one woman:

it was the convenience and the readiness of it, it was a great thing to get a cheque from the fish plant every week, because I remember they used to come in from fishing or if it was a queer day or anything go up to ... and get your cheque, \$600 and \$700, go up to the Royal Bank and change it. Sure that was a godsend compared to waiting till the last of October like you used to have to before and you might not get something then. If you didn't pay your bill, you probably wouldn't have very much coming to you.

Although they bolstered familial patriarchy, social welfare institutions and corporate-owned fish plants also worked to undermine and transform it. In order to qualify for family allowance payments, children had to remain in school instead of going in the boat. Family allowance cheques were paid to women and not to men, giving some women new financial independence. Cash incomes from government construction programmes and unemployment insurance meant more young people could marry.<sup>16</sup> Young men and older fishermen who had formerly worked as sharemen for boatowners took better paying construction jobs in the province and elsewhere in Canada causing a labour shortage in the household fishery (Antler and Faris, 1979; McCay, 1976).

Women gradually disappeared from the flakes in those communities where they had laboured for generations drying fish. Some stayed in school and then

15. Annual pension incomes in Newfoundland in 1952-53 averaged approximately \$40.00 a month. In comparison, one woman estimated that, at the end of a good fishing season, a fishing household would be lucky to have \$200 left over after they settled up their accounts (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985, Table B-5).

16. Although marriage rates declined in the postwar period with the departure of American servicemen, they remained higher than during the 1930s. The average marriage rate for the years 1931, 1936, 1937, 1938 was 6.65/1000, whereas the rate for the years 1950-1959 was 7.24/1000 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985, Table A-2).

took jobs in the expanding education and health sectors; others left their communities to work in fish plants.<sup>17</sup> As the number of corporate-owned fish plants grew, single women, widows, those with husbands with low incomes and large families and those who could not count on their husbands to support them took the small number of poorly-paid fish plant jobs open to women at the time. These jobs provided them with a better pay cheque than domestic service; a badly needed second income for some and, for others, a break from brutal home situations.

"The reason I went to work in the fish plant was because I was fed up with the hum drum of doing the same things in the house, washing clothes, cooking meals, babying a drunken husband when he was home. I had six children, which meant I didn't get out much if at all in 30 years. We didn't have water and sewage in the house at that time, therefore I had to carry water in two galvanized buckets, sometimes very late in the night when the children were in bed, in order to have water to wash clothes for the next morning. Fish plant work I found to be hard work, but compared to housework it was a breeze" (quoted in Batten et al., 1974: 25).

With fewer young "shipped girls" around to help out, and with fewer "sharemen" whose wives might be available for the "shore crew," boatowners' wives had fewer workers to supervise. Their participation in the fishery was also more constrained by their responsibilities for domestic work and childcare.

These changes produced a crisis in the reproduction of the fishery based on familial patriarchy, particularly in regions without fish plants where fishermen could sell some of their catch fresh. The result was growing pressure from fishermen and the provincial government for increased social support for this fishery.<sup>18</sup> The policy initiatives that resulted, and the ideologies on which they were based, incorporated assumptions that replicated the gendered relationships of familial patriarchy, but ignored the central role of women in the household-based fishery.

Gender ideology and gendered practices pervaded the provincial and federal government policies that affected fishing communities during the post-war period. In 1950, Newfoundland introduced its first Minimum Wage Act.

17. It is difficult to track the number of women employed in the fishery in the censuses from 1935 onwards. Census data do show, however, a decline of almost one half in men employed in the industry between 1945 and 1951 (Anger et al., 1986:9-10). A gendered analysis of population and net migration of young people from the Northern Peninsula between 1951 and 1961, found high net migration of youth as a whole, and higher net migration for young women than for young men (Sinclair, 1985:54-56).

18. During the same period, the state was providing massive economic support to fishing corporations like Fishery Products (Antler, 1981; Sinclair, 1987).

Unlike the rest of Canada, where minimum wages were introduced earlier and began as protective legislation for women, the Newfoundland legislation applied only to men until 1955 (Creese, 1991-92). After 1955, the legislation took the form common in other provinces for the period: separate minimum wages for men and women with the rate for women set lower than that for men. This did not change until January 1, 1974. Domestic employees employed in private homes (who would have included girls "shipped" for the fishery in the 1950s), were not covered by minimum wage legislation until much later than other female workers (Creese, 1991-92; Gillespie, 1986; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985, Table D-4).<sup>19</sup> Thus, minimum wage legislation perpetuated an inequity rooted in familial patriarchy (Creese, 1991-92: 121). A similar pattern was evident in the fishermen's UI programme and in policies to "modernize" the fishery.

Female fishery workers were often married, engaged in seasonal work, and working within family enterprises. All three categories of workers had difficulty qualifying for UI during the early years of the programme. However, formal discriminatory requirements imposed on married women were eliminated in the 1950s and seasonal workers and male family-based fishing crews qualified for UI during the same period.<sup>20</sup> Discrimination against fish processing workers engaged in the household fishery and women who fished with their husbands persisted much longer (as documented by Porter (1993)).

In 1957, the federal government created a UI programme for seasonal inshore fishermen. This programme perpetuated the historical pattern of crediting women's work in fish processing to male household members and denied women working in household enterprises access to UI (McCay, 1988; Wright, 1994). Fishermen's UI was based on the fiction that they were the employees of the merchants and plantowners who bought their fish. During its

19. Although domestic workers in private homes were later brought within the minimum wage section of the Labour Standards Act, their minimum wage was set lower than the basic rate until April 1, 1990 (Linda Black, Government of Newfoundland, personal communication, 1990). As late as 1968, the Smallwood government exempted fish companies from paying processing workers overtime as required in the new provincial minimum wage law and set the minimum wage for fish plant workers between 16 and 19 years of age lower than the general minimum wage (Burse, 1980:254).

20. It is not clear whether or not independent eligibility for wives was ever discussed in the development of the programme for fishermen's UI. However, a preliminary review of some archival documents found no such discussion. This review also suggests that the system reflected the impact of strong antagonism towards eligibility for married women, as well as towards extending UI eligibility to seasonal workers. Workers employed in family enterprises where, it was assumed, there was a high risk of collusion between family members to extract as much as possible from the system, were also considered unsuitable by representatives of the Unemployment Insurance Commission and such organizations as the Canadian Manufacturing Association (National Archives, RG 27, Vol. 3458 Files 4-11). There was a provision for dependents in UI payments but this did not adequately reflect the value of women's work (Roach Pierson, 1990:89).

early years, fishermen received qualifying "stamps" based on the amount of fish produced in their households. The system for allocating stamps reflected the work required to dry fish by paying more for dried fish than that sold fresh. Like familial patriarchy, however, it allocated the UI generated by the extra work of drying the fish, the women's work, to the men. In addition, fishermen received as much credit for fish sold in the form of salt bulk as they did if they sold it in the form of higher quality light salted dried fish (Commission of Inquiry, 1965). The latter was more labour intensive and the labour involved was often women's. In short, the UI system credited women's work to men by allowing only the fishermen to qualify for UI, and failed to reward women's extra work. As a result, it discouraged women from making dried fish and from investing the extra labour required to produce higher quality dried fish. This contributed to the longer term decline of this branch of the industry, its displacement by corporate-owned fish processing, and the associated weakening of familial patriarchy caused by growing dependency on the corporate sector (Alexander, 1977; Neis, 1988b). Unemployment insurance regulations also reinforced male control over fishing by disqualifying women who fished with their husbands.

It did not matter whether women were fishermen's wives, daughters or "shipped" girls from other households who combined domestic work with drying fish, they were not eligible for UI. Fishermen's UI thus perpetuated the existing discriminatory practices of allocating the wealth and benefits resulting from women's labour to men, and defining women as dependents of men in the inshore fishery. UI regulations also combined with practices retained from familial patriarchy to ensure that women were excluded from direct access to the fishery resource and to fishing incomes.<sup>21</sup>

In 1962, Premier Smallwood convened a provincial conference to address a deepening crisis in Newfoundland and Labrador inshore fishing communities. The transcripts of a conference that was designed to establish provincial fisheries policy for the next decade, reveal the patriarchal assumptions that

21. These UI regulations and the importance of the fishery to the Newfoundland economy might explain why the number of UI claimants in Newfoundland increased from 16,671 in 1957 to 30,957 in 1958 while the percentage of those receiving UI who were women increased from only 3% to 5% in the same period, despite the elimination of the regulation that imposed additional eligibility requirements on married women. In Canada as a whole, women made up 19.44% of UI recipients in 1957 and 20.97% in 1958 (*Labour Gazette* 1958, 58(7): 812; Porter, 1993:37). Women were not passive in their response to discriminatory UI regulations. However, the history of their responses to this and other state initiatives is not yet written. In one community, Port de Grave, women redesigned fish drying technology and combined the production of salt fish with that of fresh fillets for sale to local freezing plants. In 1969, these women wondered "why unemployment insurance benefits were not available to them" (Andrew, 1969:16). See also McCay, 1988 for a discussion of women and fishermen's UI.



pervaded provincial policy formation during this period.<sup>22</sup> Premier Smallwood defined the primary focus of the meeting as dealing with the problems confronting fishermen and the growing numbers of unemployed young men in rural communities:

"You remember here, yesterday morning, I said that the things we were to talk about yesterday morning were the problems of a fisherman, not a man as anything else but a man as a fisherman, and then you re-member that I pointed out that the Fisherman in addition to being a fisherman, are (sic) very often husbands and very often fathers, and certainly they are always citizens and they are people, they are not just fishermen, and as citizens and as people they are interested in all kinds of things besides fish. They just don't spend all their lives thinking of nothing else but fish, they're interested in homes and houses, they're interested in schools, churches, in lodges, in co-op societies, in unions, in sport, in athletics, and they are interested in their families, and they are interested in their communities. Now this morning, what we are trying to do is this, we are trying to take a look at the problems of the fishermen, not as fishermen but their problems as men, their problems as citizens" (Transcripts, Vol. 4: 3).

With the exception of one plant owner and one federal civil servant, there appear to have been no women at the conference. The fishery they discussed consisted only of fishermen, companies and unemployed men. No concerns about the problems confronting unemployed young women were raised. On the rare occasions when women were referred to, it was as the new owners of "nylons" who had opted out of working on the flakes rather than run the risk of getting runs,<sup>23</sup> as helpers, helping their husbands; or as young girls in search of the few dollars they could make "spreading fish." The Premier identified the absence of women and children from the flakes as a sign of progress. He was surprised to hear that some were still doing this work which he, and some other participants, described as "slavery."

Smallwood's speech enfolded the women who lived in fishing communities

22. See also the first and second *Reports and Recommendations of the Newfoundland Fisheries Commission* (1963). This Commission was established as a result of a resolution adopted at this conference. There were no women involved with the commission and its recommendations made no reference to women or to their involvement in the fishery.

23. One fishermen's representative from Trinity Bay commented: "If we had some sort of community stage or something with a cooling system into it so that we could lay our fish over until the trapping season is over and you're slack at nothing else in the fall of the year, then you could turn around and make your fish and you could make real good fish, not with the women either, because it's like I said before, the women went out when the nylons came in and now the fish won't go for anything only nylon" (Transcript, 1962). The latter comment is a reference to the introduction of nylon nets.

and depended on the fishery resource inside of the concepts of "family" and "community" with the implied assumption that addressing the needs of fishermen and unemployed young men would meet their needs as well. His comments showed little of the respect and recognition for women's economic contribution to and reliance upon the fishery that existing accounts of women's place in Newfoundland's fishing communities would have led us to expect (Murray, 1979; Porter, 1991). Women, their issues, and their work in the fishery were largely invisible.

Fishery support was tied to an overall programme of "modernization." Wright (1994) has shown that the modernization policies of federal bureaucrats and the federal Department of Fisheries publications from this period were permeated with gender ideology. There were ideas about "man's place" and "women's place" and the relationship of each to the fishery...Men would be trained in new technology and new methods of catching fish; women would have little or no role in the modern fishery, but would devote their time to their families.

A key part of the "modernization" programme was the resettlement of fishing communities into "growth centres," many with corporate-owned fish plants. Resettlement separated households from the land and forest resources that had provided the basis for growing some of their own food and heating their own houses. The commodities that took the place of these subsistence products had to be paid for with income from the fishery and, increasingly, social welfare programmes. Many families found themselves poorer (Iverson and Matthews, 1968). Modernization proposals also included the construction of community stages for fish processing. Centralized processing meant wives and children could no longer easily combine processing work with childcare and other household responsibilities making them dependents of fishermen in a new sense (Antler and Faris, 1979).

Resettlement, community stages and fishermen's UI programmes helped reshape inshore fishing households into a form closer to that assumed in "modernization" ideology (see Wright (1994), for a fuller discussion of the gendered assumptions of modernization theory). However, they also reinforced women and children's economic dependence on men and increased the cash requirements of fishing households. As a result, these programmes made fishing households dependent on more and more intensive exploitation of fishing resources during a period when uncontrolled foreign and local overfishing were driving down landings in the inshore fishery. Encouraged by state subsidies and by a federal government licensing policy that limited the employment alternatives of fishermen, more fishing household investments of time and money moved off the land, out of women's sphere into men's sphere of boats and gear. As the household production of saltfish declined, more and more fish was sold fresh to corporate-owned plants. The elimination of alternative markets for their fish and legislative barriers to fishermen's unionization kept fish prices and hence the income of fishing households low (Neis, 1988b,

Appendix B; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985: K-8). Not surprisingly, when more jobs opened up in corporate-owned fish processing plants during the 1970s, economic need and a strong work ethic pushed the wives of boatowners into the paid labour force in search of wages and unemployment insurance.<sup>24</sup>

Familial patriarchy had the ideological advantage of making women's subordination appear natural. It also cheapened the cost of reproducing fishing households on a daily and generational basis, and ensured that women provided a cheap source of wage labour for both the expanding welfare state and private industry (Ursel, 1992). With the gradual separation of production and reproduction in the postwar period, familial patriarchy was overlaid with social patriarchal policies and new ideologies about women's place. Women's access to the fishery resource and the wealth it produced, came to be mediated not only by familial patriarchy but also by corporate ownership, an expanding state resource regulatory regime and social welfare institutions. In response, women in the industry, like men, began to use the citizenship rights implied in social welfare institutions, such as rights to a minimum income and the right to strike, to challenge discriminatory corporate practices and state policies (Creese, 1991-92; Neis, 1988b, Appendix B). In the early 1970s, plantworkers and fishermen unionized. In conjunction with pressure from the women's movement at the national level, unionized women plantworkers were able to bring an end to the system of women's wages and men's wages for the same work and different minimum wages for men and women were discontinued in 1974 (Batten et al., 1974: 40-41; Inglis, 1985: 95; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985: Table D-4).

Higher wages and better prices, combined with expanded state regulation of fish stocks, and overly optimistic predictions concerning the rate and scale of stock recovery that could be anticipated, encouraged the revival and expansion of the Atlantic Canadian fishery after 1977. The resultant fishery was more diversified in that it processed more species and generated a greater variety of products. At this time, conservation efforts delayed the expansion of the offshore corporate fishery for a few years. Optimism, government support, corporate competition for cheap fish, and species and product diversification encouraged the revival of the inshore fishery. Many new plants were constructed and women's employment in fish processing increased (Neis, 1988b; Rowe, 1991; Task Force on the Atlantic Fisheries, 1983).

The revival was short-lived. By 1983, some inshore fishers were

24. Between 1957 and 1970, the percentage of female production workers in fish processing (measured in terms of full-time equivalent jobs) hovered between 16% and 18%. After 1970 it began to increase, almost doubling to 39% in 1986 (Rowe, 1991:5). As late as 1962, women and men who worked in seasonal fish plants like that in Bonavista were unable to qualify for unemployment insurance despite the fact that their work, like that of fishermen, depended on the fishery (Transcript, 1962).

challenging scientists' claims that the major cod stocks, on which the future expansion of the industry depended, were recovering (Neis, 1992). Inshore fishing households found they had to invest in more and better gear in order to land the same amount or less fish. In this context, and that of societal intolerance for discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status, several women successfully challenged UI regulations that made it difficult for them to go fishing. A group of Newfoundland women fought the old practice of allocating women's processing work to men when they claimed income earned drying squid (Women's Unemployment Study Group, 1983). In 1980, Wilhelmina Giovannini defeated the UI regulation that classified the incomes of a husband and wife fishing together as "joint income" so that only the husband could claim benefits (MacDonald and Connelly, 1991-92; Awareness, 1984). Silk (1994) challenged a regulation that prevented fishers from combining qualifying fishing weeks with those earned from paid work on shore.<sup>25</sup> Growing numbers of women were pushed and pulled into the boats. With husbands and wives fishing together, households could count on two incomes to help cover the increasing costs of the fishery and meet their household needs (Larkin, 1990). As noted in the opening discussion of Beverly's dilemma, many women also enjoyed fishing and they earned better incomes than they could working for a plantowner or in a service sector job. Finally, some were pushed into the boats by reductions in alternative means of qualifying for UI (McGrath, 1990; Rowe, 1991).

Going fishing was, however, primarily an option for the wives of boat-owners, not for other women, and it was an option with risks. Most women entered the fishery as "part-timers" after licenses for such lucrative species as crab and shrimp had already been allocated. As "new entrants" and as wives, their legitimacy as "workers" has not gone unchallenged in fishing communities or within CEIC (Silk, 1994; McCay, personal communication, 1993). Although they may enjoy the work more than plant work, as inexperienced crew members, they are also heavily dependent on their husbands, who are also their employers.<sup>26</sup> As "part-timers," their involvement in fishing and, relatedly,

25. The latter was an important concession for women with young children who, as junior partners in fishing enterprises and with responsibility for work on shore, probably found it more difficult than men to get enough insurable weeks from fishing to qualify for UI.

26. Recent research from southwest Nova Scotia describes the increasing involvement of boat-owners' wives in both fishery-related shore work, and in fishing itself in the 1980s. As fishing became more costly, competitive, and more heavily regulated by the state, women's shore work of managing the household, enterprise accounts, onshore repairs and sales, and correspondence with state regulators became more crucial for enterprise success in the inshore. This work is invisible in the accounts of such enterprises. Kearney (1993: 355) identifies these women as engaged in a "double-edged struggle...On the one hand, they had increased the intensity of their work in the fishing household in order to ensure its survival, and on the other hand, this work had led to a corresponding intensification of the exploitation of their labour by their fisher husbands". Kearney argues that some of these women are now

access to individual incomes may be threatened by current proposals to "professionalize" the fishery and eliminate fishermen's UI (Task Force, 1983).

## Conclusion

This paper has explored the transition from familial to social patriarchy in the Newfoundland inshore fishery. It adds to the growing number of feminist accounts about women in fishery economies. Unlike many of these other accounts, however, it takes more vulnerable groups of women as its point of departure. Historically-informed discussions of this kind can help us understand the legacy of patriarchy and its relationship to women's vulnerabilities in the current crisis. By 1990, declining cod and capelin stocks had driven fish plant employment well below the level necessary to ensure that workers could work long enough to qualify for UI in many regions (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1991). When the stocks collapsed in 1992, the federal government closed down the fishery on which Beverly depended for her living. Like many others, she is receiving a modest compensation package at least until May 1994. Unlike many women in the industry, she is also participating in a re-training programme. Moratoria in almost all of the major groundfisheries in Atlantic Canada have placed the future of up to 40,000 fishery workers and hundreds of communities on hold. It is currently unclear when, if ever, these fisheries will reopen on a commercial basis.

The federal government's compensation package for fishers and plant-workers is based on previous income patterns. As a result, it replicates gendered income inequities that are partially a product of familial and social patriarchy.<sup>27</sup> In addition, if current rhetoric and proposals are any guide, the employment options open to women in the future will be more constrained than those in the recent past. A policy to "professionalize" the fishery by eliminating "part-timers" and tightening up access could force many women from the boats and close the door to others, such as Beverly, who might have wanted to enter in the future. "Professionalization" could re-establish gendered boundaries in the fishery that were partially eroded by the court victories of the early 1980s. It will also firm up class boundaries between richer and poorer fishermen and hence between their wives.

---

struggling for greater decision-making powers within the enterprise.

27. Like their wages before the moratorium, women's compensation checks are generally lower than men's. In May 1993, the average weekly rate for recipients of the northern cod compensation package was \$333 for men and \$260 for women (CEIC, 1993). However, a guaranteed bi-weekly check set at a minimum of \$225 a week has provided greater income security to some women than they had in a declining fishery before the moratorium. A few of these women have used this security to try to escape abusive relationships with their spouses (Walsh, 1993).

Proposals to "downsize" fish processing by closing up to one-half of the fish plants along the northeast coast will eliminate many jobs, most of them women's (Tripartite Committee, 1992). The federal government may, in addition, privatize more sectors of the fishery by parcelling out the resource in the form of individual transferable quotas (ITQs) to vessel-owners. Elsewhere, ITQs have contributed to the rapid concentration of ownership of fishery resources and eliminated rights of crew-members and their families to independent access to them (McCay and Creed, 1990; Sissenwine and Mace, 1992). These initiatives will further undermine the economic and ecological basis for familial patriarchy in its current form: households dependent on multiple incomes in a community-based fishery (MacDonald and Connelly, 1989). In the fishery of the future, many inshore fishing communities could be displaced by a high-tech, urban, even foreign-owned, corporate-controlled fishery.

There are few occupational alternatives to the fishery in rural Newfoundland at the present time. Women in their middle years are often tied to their communities by their children, their homes and their caring responsibilities for the elderly and the disabled. The current requirement for multiple household incomes in any region of the country will make it difficult for families to move, as well as for men to migrate elsewhere and send home enough wages to support their families. Unemployment and low incomes will make it difficult for fishery households to generate the revenues necessary to help their daughters and sons escape to postsecondary education and employment elsewhere. If families have to choose which children to help, will they support daughters or sons? Economic "development" projects like the Hibernia project have primarily created men's jobs. Whereas fishery communities based on familial patriarchy used to hold on to their sons and relinquish many of their daughters, fishery communities that have lost their economic base may become poverty traps for women. Indeed, a recent study of net migration in the economically-depressed and fishery dependent region of the Great Northern Peninsula on Newfoundland's west coast found that while female net migration among young people exceeded male in the 1950s, by the 1980s male net migration exceeded female (Sinclair and Felt, forthcoming).

In the future, there may be a significant increase in the number of lone parent families headed by women in rural communities (Davis, 1992).<sup>28</sup> If the current social welfare regime persists, many of these women will be forced onto welfare. Those who are, will become "brides of the state" (as a friend of mine, a single mother on welfare, describes herself). In Newfoundland, as in other provinces (excluding Ontario), single mothers can be cut off welfare if

---

28. Lone parent families in the province increased by 19.2% from 13,765 in 1986 to 16,410 in 1991 compared with an increase of 12.6% for Canada during the same period (Census Catalogue 93-311, Table 9, p. 130). The majority of these families are headed by women.

they are thought to be cohabiting with a man--evidently the state is a jealous husband. The state, however, is also a reluctant husband. The current UI and welfare programmes may be replaced, for more marginal workers, by a Minimum Basic Income programme. Programmes of this kind have been proposed in three separate commissions in Canada, and one was recently proposed by the Newfoundland government (Gregory, 1987; Economic Recovery Commission, 1993). Proposals for Minimum Basic Income are generally based on household rather than individual incomes, and the Minimum Basic Income is set at a very low rate. Household income support programmes might improve the basic incomes of some women but they are particularly dangerous for vulnerable women in abusive situations because they can deprive them of access to individual income (such as UI benefits) on the basis of an often false assumption that household income is shared equally (Gregory, 1987).

The "brides of the state" scenario suggests the outcome of the current fishery crisis may be a much more complete transition from familial to social patriarchy. Alternatively, familial patriarchy may be strengthened in poorer households by forcing them to rely more on household rather than individual-based income support. The basis for familial patriarchy will, however, be significantly weakened in fishing communities with collapsed economies. Land and houses in a depressed rural community with no fish plant, where neither men nor women have retained the right to fish for a living will be worth little. Thus, the importance of male inheritance and the benefits of marriage for women will be lessened. Low support payments, limited opportunities for supplementary employment income in collapsed communities, and threats of violence may encourage women to establish households without men to maximize their incomes (while also maximizing their responsibility for childcare) bringing us back to the "brides of the state" scenario. Familial patriarchy will be strengthened, temporarily at least, in "professionalised" fishing households where boatowners' assets are enhanced by the gift of exclusive licenses and "individual quotas" from government. With few employment alternatives in their communities, the wives of these fishermen may devote their time more and more to the unpaid shore work of their husbands' fishing enterprises, rather than working for pay outside the household (Kearney, 1993).

## References

- Alexander, D. 1977. *The Decay of Trade*. St. John's: ISER.
- Allison, C., S. Jacobs and M. Porter. 1989. *Winds of Change: Women in Northwest Commercial Fishing*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Andrew, R. 1969. "The Role of Women in the Port de Grave Fishery in 1969." Unpublished Manuscript, Memorial University.
- Anger, D., C. McGrath and S. Pottle. 1986. *Women and Work in*

- Newfoundland*. Background Report to the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment. St. John's: Queen's Printer.
- Antler, E. 1977. "Women's Work in Newfoundland Fishing Families", *Atlantics: A Women's Studies Journal*, 2: 106-113.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1981. *Fisherman, Fisherwoman, Rural Proletariat: Capitalist Commodity Production in the Newfoundland Fishery*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Connecticut.
- Antler, E. and J. Faris. 1979. "Adaptation to Changes in Technology and Government Policy: A Newfoundland Example", in R. Anderson (ed.), *North Atlantic Maritime Cultures*. Mouton: the Hague.
- Awareness for Women in the Fishery Report*. 1984. Sydney, Cape Breton.
- Batten, E., D. Gray, C. Hallett, A. Lewis, and J. Lewis. 1974. *Working Women in Newfoundland*.
- Benoit, C. 1982. *The Poverty of Mothering: A Case Study of Women in a Newfoundland Community*. M.A. dissertation. Memorial University.
- Britan, G. 1979. "Modernization" on the North Atlantic Coast: The Transformation of a Traditional Newfoundland Fishing Village", in R. Anderson (ed.), *North Atlantic Maritime Cultures*. Mouton: the Hague.
- Burse, B. 1980. *A Half Century of Progress? A History of Economic Growth and Development in Newfoundland, During the Modern Period, 1930-1980*. Report prepared for the Economic Council of Canada.
- Butler, G. 1983. "Culture, Cognition, and Communication: Fishermen's Location-Finding in L'anse-a-Canards, Newfoundland", *Canadian Folklore Canadien*, 5: 7-21.
- Cadigan, S. 1991. *Economic and Social Relations of Production in the Northeast-Coast of Newfoundland, with Special Reference to Conception Bay 1785-1855*. Ph.D. dissertation. Memorial University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. "Whipping them into Shape: State Refinement of Patriarchy among Conception Bay Fishing Families, 1787-1825" in C. McGrath, B. Neis and M. Porter (eds.), *The Lives and Times of Women in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Collage*. St. John's: Creative Publishers.
- Canada Employment and Immigration. 1993. Strategic Planning and Analysis, NCARP Option by Occupation and Sex.
- Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911, 1935.
- Census of Canada. 1991. Catalogue 93-311. *Dwellings and Households the Nation*.
- Commission of Inquiry Into the Atlantic Fish Industry. 1965. Verbatim Reports of Public Hearings held in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec from Feb. 1 to Feb. 15, 1965. Ottawa.
- Connelly, P. and M. MacDonald. 1991-92. "The Impact of State Policy on Women's Work in the Fishery", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 4: 18-32.
- Cole, S. 1991. *Women of the Praia: Work and Lives in a Portuguese Coastal Community*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Creese, G. 1991-92. "Sex Equality and the Minimum Wage in British

Columbia", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 4: 120-140.

Cullum, L., M. Baird and C. Penney. 1993. "A Woman's Lot: Women and Law in Newfoundland, 1890-1949", in L. Kealey (ed.), *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: ISER.

Davis, D. 1983. *Blood and Nerves: An Ethnographic Focus on Menopause*. St. John's: ISER.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "Shore Skippers and Grass Widows": Active and Passive Women's Roles in a Newfoundland Fishery", in J.N. Klein and D.L. Davis (eds.), *To Work and to Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*, St. John's: ISER.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1992. "Women in an Uncertain Age: Crisis and Change in a Newfoundland Fishery", paper presented at the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Annual Meetings, Charlottetown, June.

Department of Public Health and Welfare. 1937. *Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935*. Vols 1 and 2. St. John's: The Evening Telegram.

Economic Recovery Commission. 1993. *Proposal for a New Income Supplementation Program and Other Reforms to the Income Security System*. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Faris, J. 1972. *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement*. St. John's: ISER.

Felt, L. 1987. "Take the 'Bloods of Bitches' to the Gallows": Culture and Structural Constraints Upon Interpersonal Violence in Rural Newfoundland. St. John's: ISER.

Firestone, M. 1967. *Brothers and Rivals: Patrilocality in Savage Cove*. St. John's: ISER.

Gillespie, B. 1986. *A Class Act: An Illustrated History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: The Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 1985. *Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Vol 2. St. John's: Department of Public Works and Services.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Planning Services Division. 1991. "Plant Employment Survey Final Results for the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador", St. John's.

Gregory, A. 1987. *Study of the Impact of a Household Based Support Programme Upon Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Women's Policy Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Hay, D. and P. Craven. 1993. "Master and Servant in England and the Empire: A Comparative Study", *Labour/Le Travail*, 31: 175-184.

Hogan, G. 1983. "Female Labour in the Labrador Floater Fishery", unpublished, Maritime History Group, Memorial University.

Inglis, G. 1985. *More than Just a Union: The Story of the NFFAWU*. St.

John's: Jespersen.

Iverson, N. and D.R. Matthews. 1968. *Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland*. St. John's: ISER.

Kearney, J. 1993. *Diversity of Labour Process, Household Forms, and Political Practice: A Social Approach to the Inshore Fishing Communities of Clare, Digby Neck, and the Islands*. Ph.D. dissertation. Laval University, Quebec.

*Labour Gazette*. 1958. 58(7).

Larkin, M. 1990. "State Policy and Survival Strategies in P.E.I. Lobster Fishing Households", in J. Burns, G. Pool and C. McCormick (eds.), *From the Margin to the Centre: Proceedings of the 25th Anniversary Meeting of the Atlantic Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists*. Saint John: University of New Brunswick.

MacDonald, M. and P. Connelly. 1989. "Class and Gender in Fishing Communities in Nova Scotia", *Studies in Political Economy*, 30: 61-86.

Martin, K. 1979. "Play by the Rules or Don't Play at All: Space Division and Resource Allocation in a Rural Newfoundland Fishing Community", in R. Anderson (ed.), *North Atlantic Maritime Cultures*, Mouton: the Hague.

McCay, B.J. 1976. "Appropriate Technology' and Coastal Fishermen of Newfoundland". Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "Fish Guts, Hair Nets and Unemployment Stamps: Women and Work in Co-operative Fish Plants", in P. Sinclair (ed.), *A Question of Survival: The Fisheries and Newfoundland Society*. St. John's: ISER.

McCay, B. and C. Creed. 1990. "Social Structure and Debates on Fisheries Management in the Atlantic Surf Clam Fishery", *Ocean and Shoreline Management*, 13: 199-229.

McGrath, C. 1990. "Ethnography of Southeast Bight," in *Women and Economic Life in Newfoundland: Three Case Studies*, by M. Porter with B. Brown, E. Dettmer and C. McGrath. A report on project #482-87-0005 funded by SSHRC, Women and Work Strategic Grants.

Morgan, B. 1992. *Random Passage*. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

Murray, H. 1979. *More Than 50%: Woman's Life in a Newfoundland Outpost, 1900-1950*. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

Nadel-Klein, J. and D.L. Davis. 1988. *To Work and to Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*. St. John's: ISER.

National Archives. RG 27, Vol. 3458 Files 4-11.

Neis, B. 1988a. "Doin' Time on the Protest Line: Women's Political Culture, Politics and Collective Action in Outport Newfoundland", in P. Sinclair (ed.), *A Question of Survival*. St. John's: ISER.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1988b. *From Cod Block to Fish Food: The Crisis and Restructuring in the Newfoundland Fishing Industry, 1968-1986*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Toronto.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1992. "Fishers' Ecological Knowledge and Stock Assessment in

Newfoundland", *Newfoundland Studies*, 8: 155-178.

Neis, B. and S. Williams. 1993. *Occupational Stress and Repetitive Strain Injuries: Research Review and Pilot Study*. St. John's: ISER.

Newfoundland Fisheries Commission. 1963. *Report and Recommendations of the Newfoundland Fisheries Commission to the Government of Newfoundland*. April 1963. St. John's.

Ommer, R. 1990. "Merchant Credit and the Informal Economy: Newfoundland, 1919-1929", *Historical Papers*. Ottawa.

Palmer, C. 1991. "Growing Female Roots in Patrilocal Soil: Female Property Rights and the Flexibility Needed to Survive a Failing Fishery", in P. Sinclair and L. Felt (eds.), *Living on the Edge*. St. John's: ISER.

Patey, N. n.d. "Perceptions of Women in the Labrador Fishery", unpublished, Maritime History Group, Memorial University.

Porter, A. 1993. "Women and Income Security in the Post-War Period: The Case of Unemployment Insurance, 1945-1962", *Labour/Le Travail*, 31: 111-143.

Porter, M. 1983. "Women and Old Boats: The Sexual Division of Labour in a Newfoundland Outpost", in E. Garnikow (ed.), *Public and Private: Gender and Society*. London: Heinemann.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1985. "'She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew': Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour", *Labour/Le Travail*, 15: 105-123.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "Mothers and Daughters: Working Women's Live Stories in Grand Falls, Newfoundland", in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11.

Porter, M., B. Brown, E. Dettmer and C. McGrath. 1990. *Women and Economic Life in Newfoundland: Three Case Studies*. A report on project #482-87-0005 funded by SSHRC, Women and Work Strategic Grants.

Provincial Archives. GN 13 Box 155, #17.

Reddin, E. 1993. "Sustainability in the Lifestyle of the PEI Fisherman's Wife", paper presented at the Canadian Association for Research in Home Economics, Carleton University.

Roach Pierson, R. 1990. "Gender and the Unemployment Insurance Debates in Canada, 1934-1940", *Labour/Le Travail*, 25: 77-103.

Rowe, A. 1991. *Effect of the Crisis in the Newfoundland Fishery on Women Who Work in the Industry*. St. John's: Women's Policy Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Silk, V. 1994. "Women and the Fishery", in C. McGrath, B. Neis and M. Porter (eds.), *The Lives and Times of Women in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Collage*. St. John's: Creative.

Sinclair, P. 1985. *From Traps to Draggers: Domestic Commodity Production in Northwest Newfoundland, 1850-1982*. St. John's: ISER.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1987. *State Intervention and the Newfoundland Fisheries*. Aldershot, England: Avebury.

Sinclair, P. and L. Felt. 1994, forthcoming. "Coming Back: Return Migration to Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula", *Newfoundland Studies*.

Sissenwine, P. and P. Mace. 1992. "ITQs in New Zealand: The Era of Fixed Quota in Perpetuity", *Fishery Bulletin*, 90: 147-160.

Smallwood Papers. 1.06.006 Burin, 1952. Memorial University.

Statistics Canada. 1993. "Violence Against Women Survey", *The Daily*, Thursday Nov. 18.

Story, G.M., W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson. 1990. *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sweeney, R. 1993. "Accounting for Credit", Guest Presentation, Memorial University, February.

Task Force on the Atlantic Fisheries. 1983. *Navigating Troubled Waters: A New Policy for the Atlantic Fisheries*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Transcript, Fisheries Conference, Sept., 1962. Memorial University.

Tripartite Committee-Newfoundland and Labrador Fish Processing Sector. 1992. "Discussion Paper: Implications of Resource Crisis for Newfoundland's Fish Processing Sector". Ottawa: Department of Fisheries and Oceans.

Ursel, J. 1992. *Private Lives, Public Policy: 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family*. Toronto: Women's Press.

Valverde, M. 1991. *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1825-1925*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Walsh, J. 1993. "Women and the Moratorium - Reasonable Doubts". Paper presented to the annual meetings of the Atlantic Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists, Antigonish, N.S.

Wright, M. 1994. "Women, Men and the Modern Fishery: Images of Gender in Government Plans for the Canadian Atlantic Fisheries", in C. McGrath, B. Neis and M. Porter (eds.), *The Lives and Times of Women in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Collage*. St. John's: Creative.

Women's Unemployment Study Group. 1983. *Not for Nothing: Women, Work and Unemployment in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's.