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**WOMEN IN FISHING HOUSEHOLDS IN
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND -- 1998**

BY

DIANNE PORTER B.A. DIP. PA

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of**

**Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies**

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
April 21, 1999**

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**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis**

**“Women in Fishing Households in
Prince Edward Island - 1998”**

submitted by Dianne Lynn Porter, B.A.

**in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

Thesis Supervisor

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May 1999

Abstract

Activities, events, and obligations that take place in the household have an effect on women's paid employment and their paid employment has an impact on household responsibilities. Women's contribution in both spheres enables their families to participate successfully in the fishing industry.

Fifteen years ago, J. Estelle Reddin examined the full range of women's work in the fishing economy of Prince Edward Island. Since then, globalization, the movement to recognize and count all of women's work whether paid or unpaid, the interest of governments in moving services to the community and the promotion of self-sufficiency through the restructuring of government have changed the context for women's work in and outside the household. The research for this thesis conducts a follow up on the 1984 study.

Making use of a 1984 study, conducted in Prince Edward Island, this current research follows up on the work issues facing women in the fisheries as discussed by J. Estelle Reddin in her writings on the earlier study. The analysis of the data suggests that the work lives of women in the fisheries have become increasingly more complex and dynamic over the past fifteen years. Women continue to play a critical role in the fishing industry, albeit an often invisible and complicated one.

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Estelle Reddin freely provided me with the data and writings concerning her 1984 study. I have learned a lot from this data and it provides the basis for my own inquiry. I am truly thankful for her excitement in having the research continue and for her encouragement to tackle the follow-up project. The Prince Edward Island Advisory Council on the Status of Women helped in the research process by facilitating the enquiry part of the research and will use the research finding in a publication later this year.

I wish to also extend to my children, Alex, Andrea, and Emily, my thanks for the unselfish manner they have approached this time of change in their lives. I realize that having a mother who has taken on new challenges can often take away from time that might otherwise be shared with them.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Images of fishing tend to be male: men stand with a hook and line in cold water; men brave the perils of the sea, while women are bad luck on boats. It is safe to say, in fact, that Western tradition has stereotyped fishing as an exclusive male occupation. Unfortunately, this perspective robs us of the ability to think about women in fishing communities, to ask what women do and to contemplate the possibility that “fishing” as an economic enterprise might require-and even value-women’s labour.

Jane Nadel-Kline and Donna Lee Davis
*To Work And To Weep – Women
in Fishing Communities*, 1988

Prince Edward Island is a small province on Canada’s east coast and is located in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The shallow waters surrounding the Island provide a rich fishing ground for several species of fish that have provided sustenance and economic wealth to Islanders since before the time of settlement in the seventeenth century.

Since this early beginning the fishing sector has sometimes been erroneously viewed as a mainly male domain. Very often fish harvesting is over-emphasized, too often ignoring the associated activities -- preparing the fishing gear and bait, fish landing, processing, financial management and marketing -- which traditionally been carried out partly or mainly by women.

Among fishing households, the most common division of labour by sex has been between activities carried out from the shore, and those carried out from the boats at some distance from shore (Nadel-Klien & Davis, 1988). This division has typically evolved, in

part because of the dangers and frequent loss of life involved in going out in a small boat, and because of women's most direct responsibilities for children. In this study, I will investigate how this work and the division of labour may have changed. A 1984 study by J. Estelle Reddin explained this division of labour and what, if any, affects the division has on fishing households.

Women in traditional fishing communities, those in Reddin's study, have customarily developed skills and technologies, and engaged in work which also permitted them to remain close to home. In this way women are able to attend to children and other family members, while also engaging in food production and processing, crafts and other forms of home production.

A feminist analysis of the fisheries conducted by Nadel-Kline and Davis (1988) outlined several themes which are central to any discussion of women in fishing economies: the specific nature of women's work in fishing economies; gender status and the sexual division of labour in fishing economies; gender ideology, and the expressive dimension of status; and the implications of all of these themes for social change and development. These themes often overlap, and they are necessary to the study of women's status as well as for the evaluation of women's work activities in both public and domestic domains within the fishing community.

My study asks women about their tasks associated with the family fishing enterprise and how this work is broken down by gender. In the past, the status of women in fishing economies was not viewed as important as men's status was as the main breadwinner. Women were treated as compliant bystanders with little or no say in their choice of work. In this 1998 study I aim to expose the changes in work, status and decision-making among these women in the PEI fisheries by re-interviewing these women as well as some other women not involved in the original study.

The practical and applied importance of these topics present challenges to social change, development, and success of both fishing households¹ and communities². The option for women to become more directly involved as paid workers in the harvesting of fish is a relatively new development during the past 25 years. The survival of fishing households has depended on the paid work of women in these households due to changes in the management of the fishery in the Maritime Region (Connelly & MacDonald, 1989).

¹ Fishing household is one where the primary wages or monetary reward is derived from fishing.

² Fishing community is defined, for the purposes of this study, as a community of interest because fishers will often live in one community or geographical location and fish from a different location at another port. This often depends on the size of the fishing area designated by the department of Fisheries and Oceans, on the size of the allowable catch, the length of the fishing season, and the allowable species to be fished. Fishing households, then, are located in a variety of geographical locations in the Maritimes Region and this does not depend on where they may live although some fishers do fish from their home port located in or near their household.

Studies of women's role in the PEI fisheries have only recently been done. In order to obtain a clear picture of women's work in the fisheries it is necessary to observe the dynamics in which these women live. The theory which guides the research stresses the context of the environment in which fishing households live and work.

Interviews allowed me to sketch profiles of three women in fishing households. Survey data, collected using the format of the 1984 study, allowed me to compare these women and their work in the two periods. The analysis reveals complex and ever changing patterns of work.

Maureen Larkin (1990) has studied women in fishing households in PEI, and she argues that the survival of the PEI fishery is dependent on many factors, both inside and outside the fishing household. Drawing on data from interviews with men and women in fishing households in Naufrage, located in north-eastern PEI, she demonstrates that in developing survival strategies, members have actively and creatively responded to changes in state policy. Initiatives on the part of women have been a key component in household survival strategies. They have creatively adapted to the constraints of external forces such as economic and technological change, as well as lobbied for changes in state policy that, in turn, extended the survival options for fishing households. The success of survival, she states, also depends on the internal characteristics of the fishing household such as the life-cycle, the intersection of gender relations and household dynamics. Popular images of

women in fishing communities too often have conveyed a sense of female passivity that must be challenged in order to capture the true involvement of women in their paid and unpaid work in fishing households.

The aim of this research is to investigate the changes in work arrangements taking place among women in Prince Edward Island (PEI) fishing households. The fact that much of their work is invisible and is not counted as a part of Canada's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has added to the complexity of women's lives. It is important to look at their entire workload, both paid and unpaid, especially in this era of economic restructuring, government cutbacks in public services, changes in the structure of the fisheries and changes in women's direct participation in the fisheries. The context for women's work brings a more dynamic and complex arrangements for work; these changes must be considered when planning for change.

Chapter 2: The Context for Women's Work

In order to discuss women's work today it is important to describe the overall context of the work environment.

Finding strength in difference and diversity, respecting the beliefs and customs of others, acknowledging the worth of every community's contribution to national life are more than Canadian ideals: these are Canadian realities (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1991). Bilingualism and multiculturalism policies and equality guarantees in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms have all helped these ideals evolve as powerful bonding agents for Canadians, as well as expressions of our fundamental system of values. These policies help to unite us, while at the same time allowing every element of our society to retain its own characteristics and heritage.

In spite of these progressive policies in Canada there are obstacles and criticisms against Canadian institutions for failing to respond to the challenges posed by Canada's increasing diversity in the workforce. The specific recognition of the needs of women, who face multiple obstacles in their efforts to achieve full participation in Canadian society has been no less compelling. Women have yet to overcome linguistic, cultural, racial, educational and sexual barriers that often prevent their aspirations for equality in Canada.

For many, it has been difficult to accommodate diversity ideals into the political process in Canada. Finding ways and means to include the ideas and goals of the women's community must therefore be found in the primary stages of policy development, in the consultative phase, to ensure that politicians are familiar with the full spectrum of community realities before embarking upon new ventures which upset the status quo. There are many developments which shape women's involvement in any work related activity. Among these are: globalization, the whole economy, community, government restructuring and public/private provision.

Chapter 2.1: Globalization

Globalization is an economic and social force which aims to create a borderless environment for the movement of goods and services world wide. In order to create a more global focus, capitalists have sought to encompass and capitalize on both domestic and global markets. This advancement has been facilitated by growth in inter-state collaboration, in public debt and in financial mechanisms such as international banking and credit facilities.

Gary Teeple (1995), in *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform*, sketches the period of reform from the post World War II period until the present. He clarifies the complex and all encompassing process of global change which has affected our public and private programs and policies in Canada and its provinces.

He describes this global economic movement, which has evolved since the end of World War II and has exerted pressure on the welfare state in Canada. Although the post-war period was marked by expansion of national capital beyond our national boundary, most of this growth in production, trade, and finance took place between the industrial nations of North America, Europe, and Japan. Our strength in economic terms had been within our national boundaries, but the post-war period brought a greater interest in world trade and keeping peace with labour, who had been hit so hard during the Depression of the 1930's in the pre-war period.

This period of balance between the state and the commercial sector was facilitated by liberalized state economic policies which aimed to balance the interests of capitalism and labour. However, these efforts to tap into savings generated by a newly emerging global labour market in underdeveloped countries began to bring pressure on domestic markets here in Canada. Capitalist interest in levelling the labour force at lower cost levels encouraged the rise in the global labour force and the gradual reintroduction of cheaper child labour, in many nation states. These forces lowered the expectations of both capital and labour. Surplus labour put pressure on the domestic wage rates and slowed their growth, and, in many cases, lowered labour costs for many industries from the early 1970's and this continues even today. This growth of trade and production beyond our national borders is one of the central effects of internationalism of capital and the shift in core economic policies which continue to inform government practice from the welfare state to monetarism.

By the 1980's, important elements of the welfare state had been eliminated due to changes in economic circumstances not necessarily as a result of the *failure* of the welfare state as some would like us to believe (Teeple, 1995). As a macroeconomic policy, monetarism has little need for state boundaries or the bureaucracy, but instead requires governments to be at arms length from the globalized economic system (Teeple, 1995).

Canada's social welfare programs have come under pressure from the international monetary system in the push to eliminate the deficit. The erosion of our social programs began at this time also. Efforts toward social reform started to gain strength among many Canadian industrialists who formed a formidable special interest group exerting pressure on provincial and federal governments to focus on barriers, they believed, to higher productivity such as government-subsidized public program costs, deficits, and a public sector work force. Teeple (1995) argues that international pressure continues to exert influence.

The decline in post-war social reform is increasingly leaving social needs unanswered. In spite of a change in government from the Progressive Conservatives to the Liberals in the 1990's, the reversal of welfare state cutbacks in Canada has not happened. Today, we see our federal and provincial governments attempting to pursue policies demanded by international capital, yet seemingly unable to set out some conditions which will improve the lives of most Canadians.

Canadian scholars and researchers have been studying the effects of these shifts in policy and have been able to track some of the impact on people. Connelly and MacDonald (1996) explore the labour market in Canada as a result of the globalization of commerce and focus on the shift in economic thinking. They argue that these changes are affecting many women and how women live their daily lives. Household workers, corporate workers and government workers, as well as the government as employers, are all rethinking the way that work is structured. Connelly and MacDonald (1990), focus on the pressure for workers to be flexible in the use of our Canadian labour force in order to meet the demand for an adequate supply of labour. Unfortunately, flexibility has meant more part-time work, casual work, in-home work, contract work and more skills added to job descriptions, all of which mean workers have had to adjust to a new reality.

Global economic restructuring has become a constant theme of this decade and appears, to Connelly and MacDonald, to be driven by the powerful and well-funded business sector. Health and social services are the most obvious sectors of restructuring that have had an impact on women. Pressure is being placed on women to pick up the slack in the reduced service delivery system in Canada.

Women are often required to be responsible for unpaid household work. In addition, women who are paid workers in the formal workforce also maintain great responsibilities in the informal, unpaid and underpaid volunteer sector. For many women this means a heavy workload burden. Unfortunately, the pressure to shift services to the

informal sector has not been followed by government funding to pay women as workers in this emerging sector. The poor fiscal situation has meant the erosion of the health care system. Health policy defines women as reserve workers rather than full fledged citizens with equal rights to access the workforce who should be able to demand equality of benefit from their labour (Connelly & MacDonald, 1996). Women are *expected* to be unpaid.

Looking at the current situation of government services alone can cause confusion about how this critical point was reached. It is, therefore, important to view the changes which have taken place over time. Beginning in the 1980's, the social security system included a combination of entitlements: family allowances; old age security; the *Canada Health Act*; the Canada Pension Plan; Unemployment Insurance; means-tested programs such as social assistance; tax-based measures such as the Guaranteed Income Supplement for seniors; and a refundable Child Tax Credit. Though hardly generous by western-European standards, the Canadian social security system was considerably more generous than its United States counterpart. But the Canadian system has been under challenge in the context of government restructuring and economic reform. MacDonald (1998) describes the programs in the 1980's and 1990's as more targeted, less generous, and more punitive.

With regard to women in Canada it is important to consider their economic situation separately from men, because there are significant differences in women's work patterns. MacDonald (1998) describes six points of difference which emerge from feminist work in economics and are useful for evaluating the gender assumptions and impacts of social security policies. Of course women are not a homogenous group. They are also affected by location, class, race, and age which also may shape their interests.

MacDonald (1998) explains the principles by which governments should develop policies and programs for women.

Guiding Principles:

1. Intra-household inequality should be taken into account in the design of policies.
2. Policies must be based on a recognition of the economic importance of social reproduction, including care-giving and unpaid household work.
3. Policies must be based on a recognition of the existence of a gender division of labour in the home and women's greater responsibilities for reproduction.
4. Policies must be based on an understanding of the distinct labour market experience of women and men.
5. Policies should not be biased in favour of particular family arrangements or assume a particular family arrangement.
6. Policies should contribute to changing the inequalities by gender in the distribution of workload, income and power.

In retrospect, it is clear we can see that societal changes are part of an ongoing process characterized by extensive economic and social restructuring as well as global forms of communication and cultural practice. But these changes also present a paradox. On one hand, a continuous restructuring of economic and social conditions seems to restrict options: efficiency in production is accompanied by a declining number of jobs; and global marketing appears to involve an international homogenization of cultural forms and economic structures (Kobayashi & MacKenzie, 1989).

On the other hand, there exists the technological and intellectual means to act as global citizens. Global changes have elicited a variety of means by which one can react to and further open up disparate areas of life to intellectual analysis as well as to conscious political action. There appear to be more places and more parts of our lives in which one can deliberately act and exercise control such as our relationships within the household and community as well as our ability to communicate at a local and world scale. In doing so we must also consider a new structure for thinking about the economy in relation to women's involvement.

Chapter 2.2: The Whole Economy

Glazer (1993) argues that the expectation of women's unpaid work completes the labour processes that are fundamental to the success of the new global economy. Unfortunately, the success of the transfer of work to women relies on and reinforces the current system of class, gender, race and ethnic inequalities. Within the bounds of privilege

and inequality, women's unpaid work is necessary for the follow-up work started by paid employees, usually other women. Privileged relations allow some women to forgo doing much unpaid labour, and vast social inequalities force other women to do more than the average share of unpaid work.

Women in fishing households, in Prince Edward Island, are one such group where there has been a significant increase in both paid and unpaid work from 1984 until the present time. While some of the change has been a result of the aging of the survey group allowing them to incorporate more paid work due to a decrease in child care, other factors are also involved. This time frame captures most of the period of global economic restructuring and government reform in Canada. While these women's spouses may share some of the unpaid household work with women in fishing households, women remain largely responsible for caregiving, household work, social relations with kin and neighbours, schools and health care institutions. All of this unpaid work must be accomplished along with women's paid work.

The scope of women's work is complex and dynamic. The trends in women's employment include work in the private sector, public sector and in the newly defined third sector. In each sector women do a combination of paid and unpaid work. This new work arrangement calls for a new structure to be articulated which will capture all the work that women do. The economic relations do not seem to fit, and they are not included when discussing the meeting of human needs. A new structure that would meet

this need is the *whole economy* which includes all types of work regardless of who performs it, when and where they perform it, for whom it is being done, and who pays or does not pay for the work.

The “Whole Economy” is a concept talked about by Diana Smith, Catherine Starrs and Gail Stewart (1997), in their paper *The Whole Economy: A Concept Paper*. It builds on the concept first defined by Heather Menzies (1996), in her book, *Whose Brave New World?* They both agree that the whole economy paradigm seeks to restore a larger context for the word economy which was first discussed in Ancient Greece.

The word economy comes from the Greek work for household. Hence “economy” shares its roots with ecology, which likens the living inter-connections of a healthy household to those of nature itself. Whole economics is an ecological rendering of economics, centered in the teeming impulses of life yearning to renew and sustain itself. And it deserves to be honoured on that basis too: with all the labour which instinct and love commands -- the labour of child-bearing, the nurturing of everyday life around the kitchen table and the bathroom, and the care of the elderly, the diseased and disabled -- valued first and foremost.

Smith, Starrs and Stewart, 1997

The whole economy concept forms a more equitable basis for public policy than the current scope of the economy which deals with only that defined by global economic principles (classical economics) used to define the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This concept would include all of women’s work whether paid or unpaid.

Incorporating unpaid work into national accounts has been raised by both feminist economists such as Marilyn Waring and international organizations such as the International Labour Office (ILO) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). Recognizing women's unpaid work becomes crucial as governments are shifting more and more institutional services to the household and to the community, especially in the area of health care. Feminist economics aims to ensure that all women's work is measured and counted as part of the GDP.

Classical economics assumes individuals are self-interested, and they act in mainstream, orthodox ways. Feminist economics has been forced to evaluate these theories and methods of economics in order to enter the debate about economic adjustment and change with particular attention to research and policy implications³. At the present time feminists have problems conducting research, because traditional data collection methods do not provide the information about all work they need. The methods of doing research in the whole economy are "outside the economic tool box" (Economic Equality Workshop, 1993). Making women visible in economics has meant considering non-market activities as legitimate economic contributions. Unpaid work, domestic responsibilities, and volunteer work should be included in the data used to measure and analyse economic activity. Feminist economics look beyond the "male" identity of the typical worker implicit in labour economics to explain economic inequalities that exist by

³ It will be important to be vigilant to see how the Canadian government utilizes the unpaid work statistics gathered in the 1996 Census.

gender, by looking beyond labour practices to macro policies and the relationship between market and household labour. The classical approach to economic study exhibits biases evident in classical economic models that are built on the assumptions of choice, independence of action, competition and individualism. Surely, economic policy initiatives fail when they neglect gender issues and issues related to government intervention.

Clearly classical economic theory and methodology both have to change to include the gendered nature of the whole economy. The missing gender component must be included to find answers to questions of resource allocations, efficiency, welfare, development, and policy impacts. This means not only addressing the interests of women, but also developing economic policies that are more realistic and holistic for everyone. One such policy deals with counting and recording women's work.

As a result of the Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statistics sponsored by the United Nations; a resolution arose to improve definitions of economic activity and a commitment to look at ways of minimizing bias in data collected (ILO 1983b). Presently, there are many groups who are not considered to be economically active: homemakers, students, those on fixed incomes (pensioners and the disabled), and others not classified. Following the current rules, paid workers and those in this inactive category cannot overlap when women's work is counted. United Nations recommendations have been proposed to deal with counting women more clearly in the work statistics (UN, 1993).

There is no doubt that workers who participate in the formal (paid) sector are well studied in comparison to those in the informal (unpaid) sector, especially those who work at home (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1994). There are value judgments and assumptions about whose work is considered important or perhaps socially and culturally unacceptable and is more easily missed. There is a need therefore to extend the proposed United Nations improvements, so that all persons not now recognized as economically active will be counted in economic statistics. The goal is not counting for its own sake, but counting to gather information that will enable all to understand better how the unpaid/informal economy functions and integrates with the cash/formal market.

Statistics Canada is a pioneer internationally in the valuation of unpaid work, publishing their first estimation in 1978 (M.A.W. 1997) and including unpaid work in the latest census. According to a 1992 Statistics Canada calculation, the household work done in Canada each year is worth between \$210.8 and \$318 billion. Leaving this out of Canada's national statistics twists the results about work used to demonstrate the productivity of Canadians. Without the inclusion of unpaid work women could potentially be seen as non-productive citizens when the opposite is true. The national valuation of household work validates and demonstrates the scope of women's work in the whole economy, and the value of this particular work statistic would increase if it was counted as part of the GDP.

Chapter 2.3: Community

Just as economic policy has undergone scrutiny from women so has the notion of community.

Women can be seen as a community in Canada where the idea of communities have usually formed around interest, place, and cultural background. Women's communities face multiple barriers between their ability or situation and their opportunity to demonstrate it. In order to understand the nature of women's present day work challenges we must have a clearer understanding of the word "community". It is necessary since it can be used in a variety of ways which are complex, confusing and continually evolving in the new global economy. The debate about community has been triggered by economic change and government restructuring.

Christopher Lasch (1995) describes the fear of a crumbling society in North America. The new society, he fears, is more global in its outlook with the "new knowledge workers" who network technologically with other knowledge workers around the world. In his opinion, they do not have the same geographical boundaries or national priorities as the workers of the past. The emerging culture among knowledge workers has the ability to impact on Canada's traditional work culture and could have lead to a higher regard for communitarian values. He predicts communitarianism will bridge ideologies and join the economic and social structures of the past with the new global reality. The old values, Lasch suggests, have less importance in the new global economy and society.

Culture is shifting away from its political foundations. The traditional labels of “left and right” seem irrelevant as liberals appear conservative and conservatives seem split between the neo-conservative (the religious right) and progressive factions.

However, a “new” communitarian view acknowledges global changes and reflects a conservative view. Also, this view aims to reconcile notions of individual over collective rights to promote equality and democratic change with that of greater personal responsibility to one’s own community, family, school, neighbourhood, union, local government, and one’s own religious and ethnic group. Lasch (1995) believes a focus on community builds character and instills virtues of citizenship. The new community values he states, will heal the wounds of neglect and change which has marked a period of decline in the 1980’s and 1990’s.

Superficially, most people associate community with a place: those with nostalgic notions may see a village community. Typically, such places had hierarchies where everyone knew his or her place and did not challenge this arrangement. Others see community as a social entity like a “fishing community” where work is performed in the local community and binds people together. Often this type of community has segregated the work by gender and subordinated the position of women in the home and in the labour market (Lasch, 1995).

In the Atlantic provinces, where federal government restructuring of the fisheries has had impact on many fishing communities, local structural changes in the way work has been affected can also be observed. Here also, along with the global economic challenges, come local challenges. This can be demonstrated by studying the impact of restructuring in the Atlantic fishing industry and specifically on women in fishing households. It is here, where women are facing changes in their work and social lives, that economic restructuring necessitates a rethinking of the definition and scope of community in order to meet women's needs within the new reality (Connelly & MacDonald, 1990). If we are better able to identify community are we then better able to meet government's restructuring program to enable community to be self-reliant? If so, how will the new community meet its needs in isolation and without adequate funding? These questions must be tackled if any hope exists for a positive transition to self-reliance.

The values proposed by communitarians¹ have reached our political culture. Municipal, Provincial, and Federal governments have all embarked on reform processes to flatten the civil service hierarchies, transfer work to the community level, and exert pressure on citizens to respond to their own needs in order to be self-sufficient. In fact, the role of the state, under restructuring, has lessened as community responsibility is the proposed *answer* to the needs of its citizens.

¹ Communitarians describe those who are promoting the shift away from universal national programs and policies toward the community. They define their own needs and put in place local services to meet these needs. The role of the state is supposed to facilitate the definition of community needs and ensure that they are implemented. Inevitably the state becomes coordinator, planner and priority setting body (Canadian Communitarian Forum. Ottawa. 1996).

Chapter 2.4: Government Restructuring

As a provincial example of government restructuring, British Columbia presents an interesting model since the province undertook the restructuring of government process earlier than other provinces. We are able to observe the changes from provincially funded and delivered government services and programs to the establishment of community level services (Rekart, 1993). This phenomena which delegates health and social service work to “third parties”⁵ occurred in the late 1980’s and has continued into the 1990’s. While Rekart calls the third parties, private provision, I argue that a third sector is now operating outside the traditional public and private delineation of the economy. This third sector, as described by Rekart, is not fully private because of a contractual negotiated agreement and collaboration on objectives and goals which link the service provider and the government. This situation is, in reality, an *interdependent model*⁶ where public funds are used to provide needed services within the community where the need has been defined. It is the interdependence that exists when governments are able to link public, governmental standards and measures which aim to satisfy both conservative and liberal political views of community-based needs.

⁵ “Third Parties” in British Columbia provide statutory and non-statutory services in the private sector, both profit and non-profit and of the community at large. It is discussed by Rekart (1993) as a way of distinguishing the non-government provided services from the governmental (public) service.

⁶ Interdependence exists where government and its community partners work collaboratively on meeting community needs. These needs are often defined first by the community and may become priorities for governments. In the case of an interdependent approach, both partners combined have the necessary skills, finances, and other supports which might be needed to resolve a community issue. This definition stems from my understanding of the application of Stephen Covey’s (1990) book, *Principled-Centered Leadership*.

Conservative principles of governance (Rekart, 1993) focus on the individual as being responsible for his/her own needs. The principles of such conservative thinking governments include:

1. the activities currently undertaken by government would be better undertaken by individuals.
2. If individuals are freed from state interference and given proper incentives, economic development will follow.
3. Many of the so-called “social problems” said to be socially caused really arise from individual causes. Thus, the solution to these problems should be based on “individual responsibility and individual choice rather than on government policy.
4. Ascribing problems to social causes lessens the feeling of personal and individual responsibility, which is the basis of a responsible and healthy society -- a society in which the vast majority of men and women are encouraged and helped to accept responsibility for themselves and their family...who care for others and look first to themselves to care for themselves.

The welfare state, as it developed in Canada (under a government that valued the role of government), is an intervener for those who become less advantaged in society in order to reach specified objectives or standards. This included programs regarding child welfare, housing needs, employment interruptions, just to name a few. The liberal welfare state in Canada has always included the public sector, the private sector as well as the volunteer sector to provide supplemental government programs (Valverde, 1995). This seemingly double agenda is creating chaos in the community as citizens seek the best services they can obtain for their families. In Canada the various provinces undertook restructuring at different times. Reform in Prince Edward Island officially began in 1990.

The British Columbia government has lead the way for other provinces in the implementation of service quality reform in Canada and has set the stage for a new debate about what is public and what is private. The implementation of this reform process has raised many questions about the effective and efficient delivery of services by alternate means. (PEI Government Document 1992). Is it the profit motive that divides the private from the public? Is it the volunteer vs. the paid worker that decides the auspices of a service or is it something else? Is this interdependent, community sector the answer to economic concerns and government effectiveness?

The auspice of community services has been debated by those wishing to focus on and define access to quality care. Some do not believe quality can be achieved when a profit motive exists, because indicators of service quality⁷ can be overlooked in order to achieve a short term profit where the goal of the non-profit sector might be to focus on the long term results. The short-term economic health of the organization seems to be the first consideration in the private sphere. Basically, the question asked is -- can a profit be earned for financial investors this quarter? The existence of a quality service, in a conservative view, can exist in profit-making situations, but this service is available to only those who can pay for quality. This approach excludes many in the community who cannot afford to purchase the quality service they require, thus limiting access. Another question that arises is whether health care is a public good or a private concern.

Non-profit groups do not have a profit-making motive, and this fact distinguishes them from the private sector. Including non-profit voluntary organizations in the private sphere overlooks some advantages which may be gained by encouraging interdependent kinds of government /community, non-profit action. Rekart (1993) notes the benefits of having non-profit voluntary organizations as actors in the delivery of public services.

⁷ Service Quality is a strategy for economic advantage. It involves a series of activities and commitments of an organization in which all personnel work towards a single vision of efficient, cost-effective service, based on consistently meeting community articulated needs (PEI Government Report. The Quality Imperative, 1992).

The activities of the voluntary associations signalled not only the deficiencies and gaps in government service provision but also the emergence of new social needs, such as those of the growing number of single parent families, the working poor, and other marginalised groups that remained outside the general prosperity.

In fact, voluntary groups in the “third sector”⁸ are very able to identify new needs, to develop innovative programs and projects, and to assist people whose lifestyles do not conform to mainstream norms. This community action arises when a concerned group identifies a problem which they wish to resolve.

Community organizations in the third sector, like the non-profit voluntary organizations defined by Rekart, also have some problems which must be overcome if they are going to include more community-based services in the arrangement of publicly funded service providers. Voluntary organizations lack statutory authority, are unevenly distributed, and tend to arise out of spontaneous need. Consequently, the third sector is not likely to allocate its energies according to abstract criteria of need as defined by government or of equity as defined by women, because they are not required to by law.

⁸ The third sector is a name given to the volunteers, non-profit sector of the economy which places service delivery closer to the community and away from government's direct involvement in service delivery. Thus, the third sector includes non-profit organizations, the voluntary sector (charities), and the social economy (cooperatives and community development enterprises), and also the broader public sector (Rifkin, 1995).

Rekart believes it may be difficult to limit the private, for-profit sector's role in the community because they will be successful financially, given that wealthy citizens will purchase services privately. This will likely create several levels of care since moderate and low income people will be unable to purchase the "best" care because of the high cost. This raises another question which must be answered: should all government-funded services provide universal access? Since the decentralization of government services to local communities raises so many issues it is important to know the terrain into which expansion of community services is likely take place.

The interest in the community third sector, for local involvement and local control is taking place in Prince Edward Island (Employment Summit Panel-PEI, 1998). Changes in service delivery have not developed as quickly as in British Columbia, because little provincial government financial support is given to existing community groups in the third sector to develop services nor does the infrastructure exist for the delivery of local services. This means there is virtually little or no empowerment of citizens or the community to become self-reliant. The establishment of an interdependent model⁹ for a community/government system within communities who are expected to deliver the former public services, has not happened (Employment Summit Panel-PEI, 1998). In this case there is the probability that services, which have been limited or given up by federal

⁹ The interdependent model can create "webs of voluntary mutual responsibility" (Bennis Bederman, 1997) which is a meaningful goal, but without a well-funded stable source of funding for adequate staffing and infrastructure the model is at risk of collapse.

and provincial governments, are not being picked up in communities and the extra work is falling, by default, on families who are stressed to find the resources and the time to provide the services for themselves within their households.

There seems to be little agreement between governments on what the community is and what the constituting universal elements of one are. Government promotion of communities is therefore suspect since many researchers have pointed out the differences between old notions of community and the new reality. It is not known just what governments are promoting. Because of the lack of clarity one must define community as it relates to specific cases.

For the purpose of this thesis I have defined community as a community of interests rather than that of a geographical space since fishing households are operating from several different ports around Prince Edward Island and do not necessarily fish from their home port or even from only one port throughout the year. The single fishing port community of the past is changing and expanding its boundaries to include more fishing around the entire Island.

For example, in Prince Edward Island a definition of community is not readily available and efforts to “strengthen communities” (PEI Government, 1993) seems to be the platitude which is widely stated by politicians and bureaucrats to define the restructuring process which is promoted as “the” solution to combat local service needs.

Some caution must be taken in this regard as we begin to focus on the concept of community. Groups of citizens must be careful not to make quick assumptions that discrimination against political and social communities, their blind spots, empty rhetoric and generalizations that so often stereotype groups and individuals in different communities.

As government is expected to continue to shift more and more public services to the community in Prince Edward Island, there will be more and more unpaid work expected of families, especially of women. Within the existing third sector there is an inadequate infrastructure to capture and/or pay for the work (Economic Summit Report, 1998).

This era of economic change that is shifting public services towards the third sector undermines the hard won employment and equality gains made by women. The transfer of work from the well paying jobs of the public sector to the community or the household is not likely to be followed by sufficient resources or provision of services (Glazer, 1993).

Women lose twice in this arrangement (Connelly & MacDonald, 1990). First, rather than receiving care from well paid women in a provincially funded hospital or service center, care to clients is expected to be delivered by a family member, usually a

woman, who is unpaid. If there is no one available to provide this care, the possibility of inadequate care and/or neglect is more likely.

Secondly, women also lose as more unpaid work is expected. Prince Edward Island appears to be made up of homogeneous communities who are eager to care for themselves (Employment Summit Panel - PEI, 1998). However, there is only a limited possibility, at the present time, for the community third sector and women to pick up the caring work. Women are already busy with their present paid and unpaid work, especially within the fishing community, so other measures will have to be sought in order not to place this enormous burden on women.

Chapter 2.5: Public and Private Provision of Services

In political economy the terms public and private are used to distinguish both between states and other organizations in the formal economy, and between households or communities and formal economies, including the public sector (Armstrong, Armstrong & Connelly, 1997). Rather than simply dividing the economy into public and private it is possible to see a complex arrangement of services that have shifted over time in relation to the context in which we live. The future form of service provision will have a profound impact on what gets done and by whom, in and out of the household, and on what kinds of paid jobs are open for women (Armstrong, 1997). When services are shifted from the public sector to the community third sector it is a form of privatization in spite of the lack of a profit-making motive. While there is a shift away from government responsibility to

individual responsibility, the lack of definitive terms has helped to confuse and obscure the government's reduction in the provision of services to citizens. This confusion leads to a debate about the value of public services as opposed to the value of privately delivered services.

We can see many researchers breaking away from the bifurcation of work into only the public and private sectors which have, until now, defined the economy. Researchers are including the emergence of the community third sector as a "third alternative", a different kind of private/public arrangement which promotes the first sector as the private sector, the second sector as the public sector, and the third sector as the interdependent, community sector.

The new global economy pundits are also promoting third sector community service as a revolutionary alternative to traditional forms of labour supply and service delivery (Rifkin, 1995). The community helping action is seen as a reaching out to others. Rifkin explains the third sector in terms of providing jobs for unemployed workers and state welfare recipients. However, those in Prince Edward Island who talk about the third sector do so in terms of employment possibilities for the under-employed, unemployed, and as a mechanism to expand the service sector of the economy (Employment Summit Panel, 1998). The third sector is seen as a new direction to combat the labour surplus in PEI and not necessarily to provide a social safety net outside government.

While voluntary action is common in Prince Edward Island, when unusual needs arise, it cannot be expected that most services can be delivered by a volunteer workforce on an ongoing basis. The provision of service cannot be sustained by volunteer action nor funded by charities who have found the economic climate difficult in which to raise sustainable amounts of funding. This fact can be demonstrated by the evolution of charitable services into government services in the past.

For example, our first schools and colleges, hospitals, social services, fraternal orders, women's clubs, youth groups, welfare organizations, art galleries, civic organizations, and security patrols were all creatures of the community volunteer sector in the past. These services, in Canada, have been funded by charities and governments throughout our history and continue to serve communities in many ways (Valverde, 1995). Their reach and scope often eclipse both the private and public sectors. Thus, privatization is often a misleading term as applied to social services, particularly if the distinction is not made between private funding, private service delivery, private management or private policy development. Today, the new political ideology being followed appears to be a new construction of liberal goals by conservative means.

Conservatives who wish to reduce the size government and public spending are promoting the community third sector, as a viable alternative for PEI. Liberal, welfare state supporters see the community third sector as volunteer non-profit groups having a partnership with government which would have both social value and job creation

possibilities (Employment Summit Panel, 1998). This view is problematic given that we know changes in government funding and service delivery have caused considerable stress on the existing caregiving system and on individual members of the community.

While the community third sector can be a bonding force that can unite interests, it is not adequately developed or funded sufficiently to provide ongoing, universal quality to our public services at the present time (Employment Summit Panel -- PEI, 1998). However, there is every reason to believe that the trend to attempt to exploit the idea of community-based services will continue as governments seek alternatives to fully-funded public services. This trend will also continue as long as governments maintain conservative notions focussing on individual interests rather than on society as a collective with a commitment to help one another through our tax system and our public institutions.

Relying on the community third sector, also called the volunteer sector, the non-profit sector or the private sector, means change in government involvement of social services and health care. At this stage of development, in the shift of services to a "third reality," confusion is the only term which might adequately describe the situation. There is little understanding about the interdependent, community, third sector model of service delivery, its durability for the long run, its size, its focus or its employment capability. This gap in information is described by the Canadian Center for Philanthropy and the Canadian Policy Research Networks in their joint report to Human Resources Development Canada, on the Third Sector in Canada (1997). A question remaining to be

answered concerns how governments can adequately make policy decisions about shifting the delivery of public services and the transferal of work when it appears to know so little about how or whom may pick up the dislocated work?

The Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives has published a report on the “third sector” as they see it constructed (1996). In it they state that the third sector implies the existence of three distinct, relatively homogeneous social realities: the (public) state, the (private) market and “something else.” The three sector model they envision draws attention to the often neglected non-profit associations, co-operatives, voluntary and informal unpaid work, and community development enterprises. The community third sector reflects the significance of citizens associations for public and mutual benefit (Brown & Landry 1996).

It is possible to argue that the shift away from government provision of services to a community third sector model has been exacerbated by the economic times in which we live. The political shift to the community has been facilitated by many forces which demand changes in government taxing and spending arrangements. There is little debate that the unpaid work women do in the home and community has value. The debate centers around the value of unpaid work and the possible meanings of value, and the different ways of counting value, and how to compensate and support this work.

With respect to counting the monetary value of women's work in fishing households, it is not possible because reliable counting methods have yet to be established. Some may say that work can be counted using the opportunity cost method -- what income is given up so that women may perform the unpaid work or the replacement cost method -- which calculates the value of work by calculating the cost of hiring someone to do the work. Both appear to be reasonable methods should statistics be collected in the future but until the methodology is finalized one might only guess at the true value of women's work.

It appears from the existing research that women in fishing households have changed their work load during the period of global economic reform and government restructuring adjustments (Connelly & MacDonald, 1990). External forces are affecting women's work lives in spite of the fact we still have not found ways to recognize or value all their work efforts or to find the means to support women in their work responsibilities.

The context of women's work in the new global reality and subsequent government restructuring have provided a new reality in which women are facing privatization of government services which support their family. This new reality includes a shift in the provision of work by women from government to community and to the household. The community is increasingly unable to take this load, as we have seen in an

earlier section. Without intervention to capture the work, women face an enormous workload. One such intervention could be at the community level but at this time community service structures are non-existent.

Chapter 3: Background

Chapter 3.1: Fishing as a Way of Life

In hearing fishermen's wives¹⁰ tell their stories, J. Estelle Reddin (1984) found many elements of sustainability. Sustainability has been defined by Reddin: "A society is sustainable if it meets the needs of all its members without in any way diminishing the capacity of future generations to do the same. The history of home economics theory, with its ecological view of the world held by the founders of the discipline and developed through the many decades we have a good base for describing a sustainable society for both the physical environment and for families and individuals. This requires also a balance between work and play, production and consumption, women's and men's share of resources and labour, and household and state contributions and co-operation. How needs are defined and satisfied is a key question for sustainability" (Reddin, 1984). Reddin also found areas where the important unpaid role of women in the fisheries had not been adequately studied, explained and valued. I have been given access to Reddin's data and writings about fishing households which was gathered between 1982-84 and have found the material very valuable for follow up purposes. Reddin's work acts as a base for my thesis that women's work has changed since 1984, and this must be taken into consideration when governments and communities make plans to transfer any work from the government to the community and to the household.

¹⁰ Fisherman's wife is a term used by the women themselves, at this time, and it denotes expectations of a certain amount of unpaid shore work.

Reddin's PEI study began in the summer of 1982 with a preliminary visit to fishing households across PEI to talk with fishermen's wives (see figure 1). This was followed by a random telephone survey of 100 wives of bona fide fishermen, captains who own their fishing operations. The following summer 30 of these women participated in personal open-ended interviews to clarify and expand on the survey findings, and they completed a description of the seasonal pattern of their lives. Reddin's writings about these women draws especially on the sub-sample of 30.

Figure: 1

(N = 100)

**Reddin's 1984 sample came from many ports in Prince Edward Island
and serves as the basis for the 1998 study.**

Source: E. Reddin, 1984

The total sample, in Reddin's study, is a cross section of fishermen's wives, not just the young or well-off. Ages ranged from a few in their early twenties to a few in their late fifties and sixties. The largest group was between 25 and 35 with two other small groups 35-45 and 45-55. Of this group, 91% were born on PEI and 72% of women and 83% of their spouses grew up in fishing households. It is the 100 fishermen's wives from Reddin's telephone survey that I have included as my survey group to conduct a follow up of their work lives in 1984 and the same women in 1998. There is a broad range of experience in the current sample group (see figure 2). The current mail-in survey had a response rate of 47 percent. Several surveys were returned by those who have left the fishery, through changes in occupation, death, or family breakdown.

Figure: 2

(N = 47)

Women have a long history of work in fishing households.

(1984 average is 12 years. 1998 average is 16 years.)

Reddin has written several articles and papers about her findings. While they are not all published, her analysis has provided a baseline for my own analysis. Both aimed to look at all of women's work, paid and unpaid. The stated aim of Reddin's 1984 analysis is to typicallise without generalizing on the one hand or idealizing actual cases on the other; to see through the eyes of the women themselves, the qualitative, the subjective and experiential aspects of their lives in a particular place at a particular time. Data from the study indicate that in many respects the fishing households are more attuned than most to the natural environment. Fishing, as a way of life, is not without problems: a major one being the precarious state of fish stocks and questions of long term sustainability. Reddin asked women questions about the sustainability of the fishery and found optimism.

The women's stories show an awareness of distinctive ways of fishing families, and how they define their lives as being fishermen's wives. Each of the women interviewed is unique, but whether she has descended from a long line of fishing families or she is a new member of the household, each learns what is expected and the typical ways of the fishing occupation. The fear expressed, in the 1984 study, by the women that they may lose this way of life cannot be overlooked. Indeed, fishing households have undergone considerable pressure to change their way of life in the years since this study was conducted. Changes in government regulations, the viability of fish stocks and the expansion of women's work have all affected this as I will demonstrate.

Participants of the 1998 study represent a realistic cross-section of the PEI fishing industry. Most of the fishing households are mainly involved in the lobster fishery, but other species are also harvested when lobster is not in season. The lobster fishery represents more than 70% of the total landed value of the PEI fishery, and this has been the case since the commercialization of the fishery in 1870 (Larkin, 1990). Fishing households in 1998 include 65% who fish lobster (see figure 3).

Figure: 3

(N = 47)

Lobster remains the mainstay of the PEI fishery

While few women held licences to fish lobster in their own right, many now work on lobster boats as a fisher's helper. Today, many more women hold licences for other species of fish and usually are involved in fishing oysters, quahaugs, and mussels. While lobster has the highest commercial value, the other species are growing in importance in the Island fishery, especially since the federal government closed the commercial groundfishery. Those who do augment their lobster fishing income with groundfish are now involved in fishing other species of fish and also include taking tourists to fish for groundfish off shore. There is also a growing interest in aquaculture, in particular in mussel farming. Today, women are involved in all of these areas also. Their growing interest and activity have provided women with changes which affect both their paid and unpaid work since Reddin's study.

Many of the concerns expressed by the women in Reddin's 1984 study are still issues today but there are also new issues which have emerged since that time: uncertainty about fish stocks, fishing regulatory interventions by government, the increasing number of women participating directly in fish harvesting (with licences and as workers on the boats), and the increase in women's paid work outside the home are all affecting how fishing households have changed.

In the past, women were viewed as temporary workers in the paid labour force. They would work outside the home as a prelude to marriage or would move in and out of the labour force as needed to supplement family income. This transitory aspect of

women's work in PEI is clearly a thing of the past. There are now approximately equal numbers of women and men in the paid labour force today. Many women are employed throughout the different stages of their lives: before they are married, when they are married, when they have children, when they support their children as lone parents, and when they support elderly relatives. Women's participation in the paid workforce continues to grow (see figure 4). This fact is also reflected in the changes among women in the fisheries today.

Figure: 4

(N = 47)

Women now share the paid work in greater numbers than in the past in PEI.

Source: Minister Responsible for the Status of Women – PEI. 1996.

Chapter 3.2: Government's Role in the PEI Fishery

The first policy to require a more direct role for the federal government in resource management, called *Policy for Canada's Commercial Fisheries*, was announced in 1976. This policy set a new direction for government toward fish management and development. Implicit in the new orientation was more direct intervention by government in controlling the use of fishery resources (Larkin, 1990). The inclusion of fishers in the Unemployment Insurance scheme in 1978 was meant to compensate fishers for the catch restrictions placed upon them. This policy had a second effect; it encouraged more fishers to enter the fishery by improving the *overall* economic situation of fishers. Fishing households thus became more economically viable and fishers saw improved family incomes.

Many of the PEI fishing enterprises are family units. Just as in family farms, the viability of many fishing households depends on the labour of various members of the family unit. After 1988 women who fished with their spouse were also covered under the regulations and could also claim unemployment insurance benefits in the seasons when they could not fish. Thus, more women were encouraged to become active in fish harvesting in order to assist the family financially.

Fishing households in PEI have adapted over the years as more and more involvement by government became obvious. The negotiation of survival strategies depends on both the economic and non-economic concerns of fishing households as, within the constraints of external structures, they work out a way of living that best meets

their values and goals as fishing families (Larkin, 1990). I intend to show with this study that changes are continuing to take place which impact on fishing households.

Chapter 3.3: Reform of Government Services

In April 1993, after several years of investigation, the government of PEI reorganized. The highlights of the reorganization included a smaller cabinet, consolidation of departments and agencies, a bigger focus on policy discussion with taxpayers and clients, a focus on becoming more efficient and a commitment to ongoing reform. Government stated that the streamlining was due to focus on the articulated needs of the community, but the focus was mainly on the government's financial situation. Government expenditures were out of line with revenues, and government was determined that action must be taken to minimize the deficit and reduce the burden of debt, and restructuring was seen as the remedy. One of the most significant changes was a change in the focus from a governmental service role toward a greater independent role for individuals and for communities.

According to the Government: "The goal must become the development of Islander's desire, opportunities, skills and capabilities for social and economic self-reliance and self-determination" (Reorganization of the Government of PEI, 1993 Media Backgrounder).

The reform process called for Islanders to do more for themselves: to empower and motivate them and to shift government's activities and approaches of the past. Government also identified another goal: to strengthen and diversify the private sector; create more economic opportunities; and to improve services by delivering selected government activities through the private sector¹¹ (PEI Government document -- April 1993). This reform announcement was the result of several years of change within the public service and articulated, for the first time, the actual goals of the reform process which had ushered in an era of public uncertainty, service reduction and organizational chaos within the public service. The changes brought about by the reduction in government involvement in service delivery has had an impact on fishing households as well as other Island families.

I have used Reddin's 1984 telephone survey form to prepare my 1998 survey in order to compare the changes taking place over time in these fishing households (appendix 2). In the chapter on women's work in the fisheries I will compare women's work done in 1984 with the survey results of 1998. The purpose of the comparison is to document the shifts in work as a result of changes in the new economic and social environment. One thing that is obvious from the start of this project is the change in the

¹¹ In analyzing activities for potential transfer of services government asked some key questions:

1. Must this activity be carried out by government for its policy objective to be achieved?
2. How can this activity be made commercially viable?
3. Is there sufficient competition in the private sector to ensure that the potential benefits of private sector delivery are realized? (lower costs)
4. How can the activity be defined such that the public interest and private interest coincide, so as to minimize monitoring and regulation?

life cycle of the families that include some retirements, some deaths, some new family members, and several families who have given up fishing as an occupation. The family cycle¹² has brought about change also; as the families changed so do the work patterns. But not all the changes can be attributed to life cycle alone.

¹² Family cycle means the progress of a group through the various stages of family life. This includes marriage, home making, child rearing, working, developing extended family and aging.

Chapter 4: Methodology

There are many methods, both qualitative and quantitative, that can be used to collect data. For the purpose of this research I decided to incorporate a feminist method of research, a community enquiry, along with a standard mail-in survey. I sought to make this process as open and as flexible as possible in order to hear women's own stories and not just the statistics which would demonstrate the work being done, by women, in fishing households.

Feminist theorists work to develop critical analyses of how in patriarchal societies women and men tend generally to live different lives and have different experiences. Patriarchal societies are those in which men have more power than women and readier access than women to what is valued in the society or in any social subgroup. This power and privilege differential means that men in such societies or groups occupy positions that permit them to shape and control many, if not most, aspects of women's lives (Burt, Code & Dorney, 1993). Feminist research methods aim to bring women's lives into the mainstream and attempt to define ways of achieving social change.

Combining two types of research enriches the understanding which can be learned from the research subjects (Smith, Starrs & Stewart, 1997). Enrichment of the facts with women's lived reality often sheds a different light on a situation because we are better able to see the many ways women are able to cope with their complex lives.

Chapter 4.1: Including both Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

My focus has been on grassroots, fishing households and I expected this study to provide a way for women to express their concerns about their work. All kinds of women's issues are fought, first and foremost, by the people who are affected the most. Effective public policy and programs depend on information about the community. Community-based organizations have historically initiated the collective action that is necessary to improve the conditions of people's lives (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992).

In the feminist movement, local women's centers and consciousness raising groups provided the initial forum for women to speak about their experience. By listening respectfully to women's stories, feminists learned what the issues were and got ideas about what actions to take. From this base, they organized services and advocacy on a wide range of issues. Grassroots women's groups, such as women's centers, rape crisis centers and transition houses, continue to be the cornerstone of the movement. They are the places where new issues emerge and strategies can be developed (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992).

Information from the community enquiry phase of this research on women in fishing households has been used to provide the qualitative data for this research, to add details to the survey material, to expand on it and explore the work activities more thoroughly. It has given a voice to women's experiences. My aim has been to

understand, describe, explicate meanings, and discover the intentions of women in the fisheries in doing what they are doing. Such data is as important as the quantitative data (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990).

The emphasis on the techniques used in and the legitimacy given to the so-called “hard” data of quantitative analysis ran counter to the “personal is political” assumption at the core of feminist thinking. But those who argue for the exclusive use of qualitative techniques maintain that quantitative techniques both failed to capture many aspects of women’s lives and objectified women. As feminists worked with qualitative techniques and transformed them into what was increasingly called feminist methodology, they also developed a more thorough critique of old approaches, both quantitative and qualitative. (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990)

The idea of community control and ownership of the research process worries some researchers because they think that it will compromise the “objectivity” of the research. There is a mistaken, but prevalent, belief that research must be objective to be good: “Unless it is objective, it is biased”, is often quoted (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). The community enquiry approach challenges this theory, by acknowledging that people who are working in fishing households have first-hand experience of the issues being researched. Rather than ignoring assumptions and opinions, I asked women in the fishing

households to declare them. Stating and recognizing assumptions of the researchers and the participants at the beginning of the enquiry helped to define the research to make it possible to examine issues throughout the research process.

Phase one of this research can be classified as descriptive research (quantitative) because it explores and describes phenomena in detail rather than explaining or specifying the causes. Phase one consists of a sixty-three question survey which was mailed to one hundred women who live in fishing households in Prince Edward Island. This survey documents the actual work duties which women in fishing household usually do so that I could compare their current work load to that which they performed fifteen years earlier. An open-ended question at the end of the survey allowed women to express their opinions on their work in their own words (see appendix one). These women were previously surveyed, using similar questions as in a 1984 study conducted at the University of Prince Edward Island by J. Estelle Reddin of the Home Economics Department. This new mail-in survey has attempted to document that considerable change has occurred in fishing households over a similar time-frame as economic restructuring and government reform. Some of the change is due to aging of the survey group. However, change also occurred as a result of economic restructuring. Reddin's larger survey includes questions about work as well as questions about play, resource management, job satisfaction, family and world view.

Exploratory studies such as this are typically done to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for a better understanding, and to test the feasibility of undertaking a more causal-based study. This type of research is deemed the most appropriate for this study because of the sample size of one hundred.

Phase two of the research was based on the idea of a community enquiry through qualitative research. All citizens have opinions: they have things that worry them and often believe that they are not heard or taken seriously. Too often local decision-making is shaped by the interplay between politicians and their vested interests, and hence their decision-making lacks in thoughtfulness about where the public good might lie. With this consideration in mind I arranged for the creation of a community enquiry. The group was invited to come together to discuss and develop their ideas about women and work in the fisheries. So rarely are women's voices heard by political decision-makers.

There are many opportunities to vote for politicians who make our laws and policies...choosing them to handle our affairs in municipal, regional, provincial, and federal governments. Yet, for many women, there is an increasing sense that their "everyday"¹³ concerns are not being heard, that concerns that are important to women, who must compensate when governments change policies, programs and funding, are being overlooked. The focus on deficits and the reduction in government services has placed

¹³ "Everyday" women's lives is a term used to describe women's lives in the fishery in the 1984 study conducted by J. Estelle Reddin.

many social concerns aside during the late 1980's and this trend has continued throughout the 1990's (Bakker, 1996). The need to document the changes this policy direction may have wrought became apparent to me.

As an individual with a desire to understand and a capacity to listen, I volunteered my time to hear the concerns of women, to apply myself to sorting the things I learned, to "make sense of them", and to try to see patterns. In order to listen intently to the discussions the communications co-ordinator at the Prince Edward Island Advisory Council on the Status of Women facilitated the session. This Island organization has considerable credibility and valuable skills in this area.

The meeting place for the consultation was Charlottetown since it is a central location for women who are based in fishing villages around the Island. All one hundred women who were included in the survey were invited to attend. Women from fishing households were invited, by letter, to appear at the enquiry, and they were not expected to be members of any particular group or come armed with a formal brief that they were expected to defend. The session was taped and transcribed and adds much to the profiles of women in the fisheries. Women attended the afternoon session for three hours. The session was held in the lecture theatre of Confederation Center. Participants received \$20.00 toward transportation costs.

The questions asked at the enquiry were discussed with the facilitator in advance in order to focus on the questions raised by the quantitative survey results.

The questions:

1. Why has your home-based unpaid work increased?
2. Why are there more women in paid fish harvesting work?
3. If someone were to become ill and need care, what would you do?
(what supports would you need?)

The women were also given the opportunity to express other concerns that were not within the scope of these questions. The results of the qualitative and quantitative research are expressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: We Juggle Everything: Women's Stories about Fishing Households

When J. Estelle Reddin wrote about the results of her study of women in fishing households, in 1984, she included many quotes from the women themselves. The women's own words were used to describe their typical, home-based way of life. Each quote was typical in that the same ideas were expressed in different words by five or more women participating in her study. In order for us to fully appreciate women of the fisheries today I am including these early discussions in order for us to appreciate that women's work in homemaking has not changed significantly. The increases in work may be home based (caring responsibilities) but are not part of the traditional tasks noted in 1984.

Maureen Larkin's 1990 research also reported on women's lives in fishing households in PEI and I will include some explanations about women's paid fishing work in relation to state policies in order to present women's increasing presence in the fishing industry.

I will then present three profiles developed from the current data. These profiles are composites of the *three distinct voices* which emerged from the 1998 consultation. These profiles were developed from information gathered during the community enquiry phase of the research. They are typical of three types of women in fishing households, and they express the values, issues and concerns that were heard. In addition, I will present women's ideas about the current nature of their work lives.

Chapter 5.1: Fishing as a Way of Life - J. Estelle Reddin, 1984

A frequent topic of conversation with women in the fisheries was work., both household work and fish work -- what it includes, who does it, and who helps. Attitudes to housework differ for the women and for the men, but it is assumed by all that the work must be done.

1. Men may be helpful (with work) or neutral as in this example:

He's not the type to come home and say dinner's not ready. He'll come home and he'll sleep. So the afternoon is mine. After I get my work done the day is mine. I do up my work in the forenoon. If I'm working, I just rush a little bit in the morning and a little more in the evening.

(Note that housework is referred to as "my work", whereas "if I'm working" means a paid job.)

2. Children provide some help:

I've been lucky there--to have girls. They've been a good help. They may want to get out and work but they have to know a little bit about housework. If you just let them go they're not going to learn anything.

3. In general, there is a spirit of caring and comradeship in speaking of their work:

My husband and I work together. When I start something if he needs help in the building--well I go and help him.

4. Childcare also is shared:

It was a hassle when they were little I have to say. But Elwood was always home in the winter so that made it easy. So he looked after them from the middle of October almost. He always was good around the house. Didn't even have to train him. He came already trained.

5. Most fishermen know how to cook:

...different times when I'd get home he'd have the supper ready. When it comes to cooking fish I guess he can cook it better than I can. When they're out there sometimes they cook for themselves -- they call it scoff -- a mixture of potatoes and fish.

6. In many respects the fishing lifestyle with its emphasis on sustainable subsistence work and play is more attuned than most to the natural environment. A large part of their household work for these fishermen's wives concerns preparing, producing, and preserving food. Most of them have vegetable gardens. In planning their gardening activity this couple shows care and consideration for the older generation. Glenda says:

The garden is at my in-laws...They're old and they can't plant a garden -- they can't take care of it so we have a garden there. They like to see it grow. It was always part of their life.

7. Cooking is enjoyed by almost all of these women:

I love to cook and put up. Twice a year I put up lobster and I put up salmon and pickles. Once in a while they'll get a salmon into their nets with the mackerel. I pick berries and put them up. I make freezer jam now. I'm waiting for next week now when my company is gone and I'll go pick raspberries. When the berries are over it's pickling time.

8. There is a common attitude that home food preparation is important:

I like to bake, OK I always do all my own baking -- I'd get threw out if didn't -- if they had to live on that baker's stuff....

9. Housing for many is also a do-it-yourself way of providing:

We built the house ourselves. We built the garage ourselves. We shingled and painted. We put the gyproc up and seamfilled it and sanded. If we can't afford it we won't do it. We're doing our house as we can afford it.

10. In fish work the women play a variety of roles:

But we're fishing moss, raking moss, now. Those are moss boats out there today. And then we'll get ready to fish lobsters in the fall. I go out lobster fishing with him, and on the moss boat too. I had to stay home today to clean house. I couldn't get behind any more. It's hard, but I'd sooner be out there in water than in here doing this housework.

11. There is a seasonal time pattern to the fishery as one season follows another:

He enjoys fishing the changes like--they have their lobster in the spring and then right now he's trawling long lines or whatever you call it for cod. Later on he'll be trying for tuna. It changes.

12. Then there's winter -- but it's OK for the men so long as they have someone to help:

And in the winter time he's just home. It is boring for him and I understand. They do their traps and their nets, but it's still -- he looks forward to being able to get out there to fish. He just loves that. When they're out fishing there's the bunch -- this is it too eh? He's not all alone.

13. The space where these families have their homes is important to them:

I'd much rather be here than in the city. I like being here close to the water -- I like where you can see the boats. I like being around nature. I don't think I could live in a city after being here.

You go down here to the wharf and you can see all the lights out there -- it looks like a miniature city -- all the boats are out there at night fishing herring and they've got lights on the boats so everybody knows they are there.

14. Although policies assume that the fishery is carried out entirely by individual men or corporations, in reality women carry the responsibility for much of the financial management in addition to their roles in preparing for and assisting with the fishery. They are usually the business managers, managing both the money and time:

Money managing? Not too many of the men are good at that. Some are not too bad, but it's mostly the women that does that and the groceries and stuff.

And I do the tax. All except one year when I took it to the accountant to get them gone over. It was when he built the boat -- he built his own -- and it was the time when they changed the taxation right in the middle of halfway building the boat. So I didn't know.

15. Fishing as a way of life is important to fishing households:

The people are wonderful to help -- anytime you need help for anything they're right there -- all you need do is ask. But they aren't always in your kitchen.

We're not rich, but we're not suffering. We don't have as much as others but we are happy. We're just that type -- we make do with what we have. You have to be today. I mean, ya know it's rough if you try to keep up with everyone else.

I think we have had success--we're not wanting. We'd like a new home but we'll get it--that's our goal. It may take a little longer than if we went the mortgage route, but we'll do it. Everybody's healthy. We don't have any big expensive desires or anything like that. As long as everybody's got what they need we don't want a lot of money. And the independence--

A roof over your head -- the kids grown up without getting into trouble. Your health is important. I think having your own home is a success. Make sure the bills are paid but not a lot of money in the bank.

You're your own boss and it's just a nicer way to live. My husband, the first day he was out, he was saying, "You know I think you'd really miss it if you didn't get out there. Something gets in your blood -- you get used to it."

Chapter 5.2: Naufrage: Women Took the Initiative -- Maureen Larkin, 1990

Larkin found that women have become more directly involved in fishing operations in her 1990 study. Their involvement meant that they took the initiative to move into this kind of work and this kind of work was an indication of women's active involvement in family economic survival strategies. Larkin's research was conducted in the fishing port of Naufrage, PEI and is typical of the change in women's work patterns.

1. Those who are now fishing were all engaged in other forms of wage labour before deciding to go fishing. They decided to go fishing with their partners because they saw it as a way to increase their earnings, cut fishing costs, as well as to integrate work and their family responsibilities. All of the women state that the decision to go fishing was their own:

I always wanted to try it. I do not have a fishing background at all. I worked at the fish plant one year. After that I said, forget it. I'm going lobster fishing next year.

I was the one who wanted to go. I was working in Parkdale. I wasn't home with the kids. Other people who were smaller than me were doing it and they didn't seem to mind. So why not?

2. For some women it meant working at something they liked, earning a good income, and working as a family unit:

Ben, my husband, was elated when I said I'd go. It was my initiative to go. I never talked to other women about what it was like. My main reason for going fishing at the time was that it was a job. I'd be working with Ben and it was outdoor work. I always enjoyed outdoor work. I could get my unemployment stamps, although that was never a problem. I was mowing before I went fishing with Ben and we got our stamps there. It was good, healthy, clean living. My reasons for continuing are the same. I'll fish until I can't get out on the boat. I can't think of anything else where you can go to work at 4 a.m. and be home at noon. Your day is done then. I can't imagine any other job like that and if you enjoy it...an awful lot of people are doing work that they don't enjoy.

3. Most women had to overcome some resistance from their husbands/fishing partner to letting them work on the boat:

I loved the water and the outdoors. I wanted to go for years, but my husband didn't think it was the right kind of work to do when you are planning on having babies. When I was done having kids I thought fishing would be the answer (to economic problems).

I was working at the fish plant and I didn't particularly like it. I couldn't see why he hired a man. I bugged him and bugged him to go fishing. One year he did it. I was green at the time. I'd never seen lobster fishing done. It grew on me. It wasn't easy. But now I like it.

4. This fisher tells how his wife convinced him that it was a better deal for her to go fishing than continue at her other job:

Julie wanted to go fishing. I had some reservations about it because I thought the work was too hard for her. She had a good job...and was making fairly good money. But she had to travel 80 miles everyday and she couldn't be with the family. This way she can be home with the children much of the year and make some money besides.

5. As fishing is a non traditional job, women had to convince people, especially men, that they could do the job:

I wasn't the first (to go fishing) but it was still a new venture. I didn't have any thoughts that I couldn't do it. It's easier than housework. I knew that women could do it. Some of the fishermen there are so tiny. You wonder how they can handle it.

I always had an approach to life that I could do whatever I wanted to do. I worked at other jobs that weren't traditionally for women...I had been out in the boat a few times but never fished. I was a little nervous in the beginning, but not now. There are some hard parts to it but I know it's a job I can do. I needed the job and I thought it would be interesting. I like fishing most days. Some days I wish I was home but most jobs are like that.

6. A woman with three young children states her preference for fishing over working at the fish plant, it did not pay her to work if she had to hire a babysitter:

There were many reasons (to go fishing). One is the kids. When they're small, you're home with them so much of the time. So it's good to get out of the house. The hours are good for the kids because I am home early in the day. Plus the money. The money stays in the family. If you have to pay a hired hand, it's expensive. I always wanted to try it. I do not have a fishing background at all. I worked at the fish plant one year. After that I said, forget it. I'm going lobster fishing next year. By the time we paid a babysitter and a hired man we weren't making any money.

7. Some women said that they have changed their attitudes after seeing other women in this work. Many openly expressed support and encouragement for moving into this male-dominated field:

My attitude has changed. One time you would never think of it. You would never see a woman fishing. I don't see anything wrong with women fishing. If they can go out and fish, fine.

More power to them, if they can do it. The work wouldn't bother me. It's not that hard. There was a woman working at the plant who used to fish and she said it was easier than working at the plant. You're not eight hours on your feet; you are your own boss; if you want to sit down, you can sit down. At the fish plant you're standing there in one place for eight hours. I never had a desire to fish but I always felt that if they wanted to do it, they could go ahead.

I think there should be more women at it. I don't think they understand. It's not as hard as they think it is. They have not spent a lot of time around the water as much as my family. They probably think they don't know enough about it. If they gave it a try, they would know there is nothing to it.

Chapter 5.3: Profiles of women in Fishing Households -- 1998

These profiles were developed from information gathered during the community enquiry phase of the research. They are composites of three types of women in fishing households, and they express the values, issues, and concerns that were heard during the qualitative process in phase two of the 1998 research.

Maggie

There are still people fishing here. There are still some trying to get into it. One young fellow, this year, came from out west and fished and then he was going back west to work. I think they think we are millionaires until they get into it and see that everything you put up is not all profit.

Maggie has lived in a fishing household for almost thirty years and she is married to Jim with six children. Over the years she has raised her family and contributed to the fishing operation performing unpaid tasks. She now performs paid work on two fishing boats. Maggie's children are all grown and have families of their own. Only one of her children decided to become a fisher. He has his own fishing operation and fishes from the same port as his father.

Fishing: that is all he ever wanted to do. So, what do you do? That is what he wanted. He is fortunate that if he is not fishing for a year at least they have his wife's salary and they can live. Whereas if we aren't for a year I don't know what will happen because we are both in the same job. I should have started a career back then when I was younger but it is too late now.

During the lobster fishing season Maggie works with her son on the fishing boat. She does the work of the fisher's helper and loves to be out on the water. She says it is always exciting to see what the traps hold and how much of the catch meets the size regulations as catches vary from season to season and from day to day during the season.

At the end of the lobster season Maggie joins her husband on his fishing boat and begins the work of the mackerel season. She and her husband enjoy their work together during this season which extends into late summer.

There is more of a trend of a husband and a wife sharing the fleet because of the advantages that it brings. It is almost like half and half. She's making half and he's making half of the living. That is becoming more popular. Usually a lot of people are like me. It takes two jobs to make a living.

Prior to the spring fishing season Maggie plants her vegetable garden and spends time weeding, fertilizing, and hoeing. Gardening is an enjoyable task for Maggie, and she readily shares her produce with her children's families in addition to supplying produce for her own household. At the end of the fishing season she begins her freezing and preserving to provide food for the family during the winter months.

During her time at home, in the off-season, Maggie babysits her grandchild, so her son and his wife may both work. Maggie has other grandchildren in school but when they were younger, Maggie looked after them as well. To Maggie, babysitting is not work, she

just loves to spend time with her grandchildren. “He just comes along with me when I have work to do related to the fishing operation or when I have to go to town for supplies.”

Maggie considers herself lucky, to have her health and her family. She has not given much thought to retirement and hopes to continue her work for many more years. The thought of a family health problem has not received much concern but she, “honestly does not know,” what she would do or how she would cope with a serious health problem if there was not accessible health care available to the family. She expects it would have a financial impact but also an impact on her way of living.

There are women involved in the fishery. They do work. I would hope that they not be forgotten. Maybe, eventually, women who are very active in this would have some say.

Mary

When our children were really small, I couldn't work nights because nights were from 11 to 7 and if he left at 4 the children can't be alone for 3 hours, you would have to alternate your shifts with someone else. It was a continuous struggle. You don't want to fall back on your job.

Mary is a full-time nurse. She works at a hospital in her home town. Her husband is a successful fisherman who has extended his work into several fishing seasons by moving around the Island from one port to another depending on which species is in season. He also fishes in the Atlantic Ocean off Cape Breton in the fall season. There are

some “good years,” but there are also some years where there are financial concerns: when prices are down, when fish may be scarce, or when government regulations restrict the size of the catch or the length of the season.

Mary and her husband have two young children who both live at home and attend school. Child care has not been an issue for the family since Mary can work shifts that allow her the flexibility to be home when her husband is not there. So far, sharing child care has worked out well.

The only problem the family has encountered occurs when one of the children gets sick and needs care. Mary likes to be able to be the one who looks after health care for the family, but in her small town her employer often knows when her husband is not fishing. During these times Mary is required, by her employer, to work and her husband is expected to look after the health care. One time Mary’s son was sick in hospital and she had to work on another hospital unit in spite of her desire to “take a sick day.”

Mary says, “we juggle everything; it takes two jobs to make a living these days and my husband and I are busy from early morning until late at night.” Both she and her husband perform household tasks. When Jim is around, he helps, except for the fishing season, Mary does most of the work and the children “help out” a little, too.

Mary provides the bookkeeping for the fishing operation and she is involved in many fishing-related tasks. She has a computer now so she finds the financial duties a little easier than in the past. Buying a computer and learning how to use it was seen as a necessity given the amount of documentation required by the tax department and the Employment Insurance regulations for both her husband and their hired workers.

Mary's son wants to fish when he finishes school, and says he cannot imagine doing anything other than fishing. This has caused Mary some concern since she thinks of him and the dangers of being at sea. She also knows "it in his blood to fish, just like his father."

Verna

From what my husband says it is the freedom. You are your own boss. You will get out what you put into it. The more you put into it the more you will get out of it.

Verna considers herself a traditional fisherman's wife. She stays at home to look after her children, and her husband does not get involved in this care. Verna and her husband have a large family, some grown and away from home but two are still in school.

For most of the year Verna's day is centered around her household work and her unpaid fishery work. When her children return from school she drives them to their activities and helps them with their homework. She enjoys her work and takes great pride

in her ability to manage the household so well. Verna cares for the family's yard, the lawns and flower gardens, and she puts in a vegetable garden with the help of her family. In the past she kept chickens, turkeys, and geese but stopped doing this when the family became smaller. Knitting socks, hats and sweaters, sewing, and remaking clothing are all tasks which continue to take up her evening time. This work saves some income for other uses since "living from fishing is not as good as some people think."

For the past few years Verna has worked in the local fishplant for a few weeks per year and has been able to get "enough weeks" to qualify for Employment Insurance. She sees a financial necessity to contribute to the household as her reason to take on this additional work and hopes she can continue, "at least until the rest of the children leave home."

Only one of her children has gone into fishing. Her youngest daughter Maria, fishes with her Dad. Maria hopes to be able to take over from him when he retires. She now has a few licences in her own name and hopes to buy her own boat and fish throughout her working life if fishing remains a viable industry.

Verna tends to be pessimistic about the future of the fishery and questions the motives of those who fish.

What I am saying in the fishery, what my husband said is years ago to be a fisherman, you were a nobody that you had no other job. And now fishing is full of people with degrees from university. Those are the people that are buying up. Lawyers are buying fishing boats. They are buying the fleets and hiring people to fish them. It is like they are getting into a business. It is not in their blood. That is what I find up our way. The young people that are getting in have university degrees.

Chapter 5.4: The Changing Times – Dianne Porter, 1998

1. For many years fishing was seen as a simple activity with little to do in the way of bookkeeping or keeping track of fish prices other than keeping the receipts from the fish buyers. Over time the fishing industry has become more and more complicated and government regulations concerning the environment, taxation, employment insurance, and all the fishing departments, both federal and provincial, are keeping track of all fishing activity on Prince Edward Island. In order to achieve this women have been recruited to do the extra work, at home, and are unpaid:

Years and years back through the Women's Board of Fishing a small group of women from our group in Souris developed, and I guess I was one of the women on the planning committee that wanted to get the women more involved in the fishing part and keeping records of the fishing because we would get audited. You have to be ready to answer "Where did this come from?" "Where did that go?" "Why is this here?" So you are accountable for a lot. We decided that a small group of us should bring in a chartered accountant, which we did and he helped us get organized.

There were many from "Women in Support of Fishing" that wanted to attend the workshops. There was a course put on. From that we went on to computers. Some of us wanted to get involved in computers so we, again, went on to the Department of Fisheries and said, "Is there any funds for us to hire a person to come in and talk to us on computers?" From that a lot of women attended workshops and computer courses.

We also had to bring in a lawyer to speak to us about the new laws.

2. Women are becoming more aware of the fishing industry and have created an active voice for them selves in time of need. Many such times involve the safety of fishing, the prices and even lobbying government for changes to fish conservation:

We have lost lives because of the poor conditions of the harbour. I guess, probably women have just as much feelings as the men. Their husbands are going out on that run. If there was any way that women could help support them....

I now get paid for my work on the fishing boat. It depends on the price of lobsters and it is not a whole lot. Since I started that I do not see my unpaid work increasing much except that I care for my grandchild while I work on the traps on shore.

My oldest child is now 19 and I still do the record keeping in addition to working at a full time job. I find there are more forms to fill in. There are lots more than in the past. It just gets more and more.

3. There are times in the fishing community when the fishers are out fishing in another port and women are left to take care of the home and the family alone:

Him away from home up to 8 weeks. The reason why he travels (to fish) is because you have to go where the fish are at the time. Otherwise you can be at home and spending money and the chances are you are probably not going to make it as opposed to travel and a bigger chance of accomplishing one or two expenses.

When we first got married, he was fishing out of one lake, returning every night and tuna fishing would be an all day thing. We would meet when I was going out to work in the evening shift and he would be coming home from fishing...and that is how we raised our children. I worked around him by doing shift work. When I wasn't there he was.

4. If some one becomes ill in a fishing household there is an impact on women. For some women it is a question of time and for others a question of financial cost:

I have thought about this but we get no support. I have thought about it but I don't know what we would do.

Well, Walter's parents are still living. There is other family also so that if anything happened to them we would just take our turn when we weren't working.

Basically, I guess we have been saving for a rainy day...We would deal with it if we had to.

I guess that mothers can't always be there for the sick or hurt.

5. Men are also becoming engaged in the caring work in some cases but not in all:

So, I can see where husbands have taken on a lot more family duties because of what we now have to contend with in our (paid) work. Our husbands have done more, even though we do more unpaid work, but mostly our husbands have done what our parents have done

If something came up I guess I would have to stay home from fishing and look after things. It would be me because my husband is the main breadwinner.

6. For many women their paid work takes place outside the fishery and often it is difficult to find this work close to home:

We lost our fish plant up here. We had a plant where lots of people worked...about 50 I think. Some of them got other work in other places and we are not too far from Cavendish so many women work in the tourism. It is hard when all the work overlaps the other. I couldn't work in tourism because I start to work fishing in June.

My husband and I run charters. Tuna charters and deep sea fishers. When we take out deep sea fishers we can only catch 25 per boat because of the restrictions on the ground fisheries. But once the tourist season is over that fishery closes. You don't dare catch cod for yourself once the tourist season is over. Even when you are fishing lobsters and a cod gets in the trap you dare not keep them. Only the tourists can catch cod. During that season we are tourist operators not fishers.

7. Some of the cut backs in government staff has meant that there are fewer fisheries offices near the ports. Since it is the women who conduct much of the work on shore it means they must travel to Charlottetown everytime they need anything from the fisheries officers:

If we are out fishing and a tag happens to get cut off a trap, then you lose the ability to use that trap. They are entitled to come for a replacement tag. So, we drive 68 miles one way, pick up one tag that the local Department of Fisheries office used to give out in the past. Hopefully, when I get into town they are open.

I have to have that tag number and I have to have a signed paper from my husband that he actually lost it. They did it in Souris for years and years but now they closed the building. It is now done in Charlottetown for the whole Island.

For every lobster trap that is not in the water you are not going to get a lobster. So if you have a 300 limit you want to keep the limit. If it means getting out another trap you make the trip to get the tag.

8. Small rural communities have seen the changes in healthcare policies and fishing families also bear the brunt of changes in service:

Actually, we have a small hospital so we are getting a lot of the Queen E's (Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Charlottetown) people coming here because of their situation and going home and just not ready to cope with home yet and not feeling well enough to cope with home. We get those types of patients. So they get another day or two to recuperate until they feel

strong enough to look after themselves. We do this because of all the cutbacks at the bigger centres where they are pushing patients out the doors not necessarily in better shape.

Home care is not, it will be, I guess, when they have it set up, to the extent that it should be, but it is not set up yet. They say the dollars are not there for it. Maybe when it is established it will get better. If you are home recuperating and someone is looking in on you. That is not how it is happening right now because there is still not enough set up in the home care system to take care of the people that are coming back to their homes from major surgery. Now they are going home much faster. It is scary.

The people I have spoken to are concerned about health care. I think that the fear with most of us is that we have somebody who is close to us that could require hospitalization would be in and out and then we are expected to care for them. There is a lot of people who are not like our family. There are a lot of families who would not be able to have somebody. Patients are scared too. They are coming out of anaesthetic and half an hour later they are expected to drive 60 miles home. This is actually happening.

Small places, and women clean up after the major things. Yes...That is health care.

Chapter 6: Women in the Fishery - 1998

As a wife of a fisherman and mother of three children, plus working alongside my husband, I feel sometimes that it is a thankless job. I need a voice to express my views as a wife, mother, labourer, and helpmate. I do know that I contribute a lot to our home, livelihood and to my spouse but I would love a more active voice for myself.

written by a woman who has lived in a fishing household for 21 years, December 1998.

Chapter 6.1: Introduction

The role of women in fishing households has changed over the past fifteen years. Women's work has increased and become more diverse. Comparing the current survey results of this study with that of J. Estelle Reddin, conducted in 1984, revealed an increasingly more complex, multifaceted and dynamic work life. It is fair to say that women of the fisheries are carrying a large share of the work which enables the family to survive, more than they were in 1984 and more than can be explained by aging alone.

The current survey group were first interviewed in 1984 and at that time displayed a work life that was mainly centered around the family home and their spouse's fishing operation. Women spoke of a way of life that was difficult but rewarding and satisfying. In traditional fishing households an essential and unpaid job was proudly associated with the role of women in the fisheries. They also had a sense of pride in their ability to provide for their families in countless supportive ways. Their roles included

household work such as food preservation and preparation, cleaning, making clothing, child care, health care, and growing food crops. A minority of these women were actively involved in either seasonal or full-time work away from the family home. Their unpaid, home-based work in the fisheries was not recognized as real work, so they remained the silent and invisible partners in fishing operations. This role has increased significantly with more women from fishing households participating in paid employment outside the home and often outside the fisheries in addition to their unpaid work at home. There generally is an increase in women's direct paid participation in fish harvesting and in fish processing plants during the season. Several households from the 1984 survey have left the fishing industry, and of the women who responded to the survey, 18% are no longer living in fishing households.

Chapter 6.2: Fishing-related Home-based Unpaid Work

Women in the 1984 study conducted many tasks associated with the fishing operation for which they were seldom recognized or compensated. Women in fishing households today have not given up these tasks despite the fact that many are now including paid work in their work profiles. They continue to conduct the family finances: they keep the books for the fishing operation; prepare income tax returns; keep records of the catch; pay fishing-related bills and often arrange for financing or credit. Women are involved in the retrieval of parts for boats and trucks, check mail, and collect and return telephone messages. During the off-season women help with the maintenance of boats, including scraping and painting the boats and buoys and making heads for lobster

traps. Thus, even in the off-season, women are still contributing their time and skills to the viability of the family's fishing operation (see figure 5). Women explained a more complicated system of record keeping thus, many women now hire bookkeepers and accountants to do the work. Technological changes in the industry have reduced some of the boat and trap maintenance. With women's increase in paid work some men are doing some of the tasks that women formerly performed.

Figure 5

(N = 47)

Women's non-paid fishing work has decreased since 1984 mainly due to more complex financial accounting required by governments and many women do not have the training to do this work. However, many women have begun to use computers and have taken training courses in order to do this work.

In order to now fully appreciate the diversity of women's total work load it is necessary to look at all aspects of women's lives in fishing households again and compare the results to earlier findings. The current results demonstrate how women's lives have changed since they participated in the 1984 study.

Chapter 6.3: Women's Direct Involvement in Fishing Work

Some women in fishing households were engaged in work directly on fishing boats in 1998. This amounted to only 22% of the survey group in 1984, and has increased to 46% in 1998. This significant increase is likely due to several factors: the older ages of the family's children who no longer are cared for by mothers at home; the financial necessity of an extra income to maintain the family; and the increase in the number of women wanting to work directly in the harvest of fish (see figure 6).

Figure 6

(N = 47)

Women work in the fisheries throughout the year.

The changes in government laws and regulations, in 1988, which enable fishers to pay their spouses, as they would any other worker on the fishing boat, has enabled women to be seen as true “workers” and not just “supporters.” This change has also allowed women in fishing households to be eligible for compensation under the rules of the Employment Insurance Program which contributes to providing additional family income during the off-season. This factor alone may also have influenced women’s decisions to become more directly involved in the fishing operation. The practice of hiring a spouse has altered the nature of women’s traditional role and has increased women’s income and contributed to women’s visibility and value to the fishery. Thus, women have entered into the paid economy in addition to only the unpaid fishing economy as in the past.

Women’s paid fishing work includes harvesting of many species of fish, and some (35%) of holders of licences to fish a variety of species are women. These licences include, but are not limited to, clams, eels, oysters, lobsters, mussel farming, mackerel, and quahaugs.

Women’s tasks on the fishing boats vary according to the species being fished but include such tasks as picking up buoys, picking traps, baiting traps, measuring oysters and lobsters, cutting bait, pushing empty traps back into the water, cleaning fish and taking seed off the mussel lines. Women who fish on their own boats also operate the boat and the navigational equipment in addition to the other work performed.

Forty-six percent of women are now performing paid work in the fisheries. 54 percent have identified some limitations which impact on their ability to participate in fishing work (see figure 7).

In 1998, more women are performing paid work outside the fisheries in order to increase the family income. Many women feel that their lack of strength limits them in their fisheries work. There is also a difficulty in finding child care. This is still an issue although less so than in 1984. This is mainly due to the increasing ages of the children in the families being studied. In 1998, fewer women believe that fishing is a man's job and that may limit them.

Figure 7

(N = 47)

Women's other paid work limits their participation in fishing.

Chapter 6.4: Paid Non-Fishing Work

Women's paid non-fishing work has increased (see figure 8). In 1998, 5% of the women surveyed earn money by selling home made crafts or goods at flea markets and farmer's markets. About 10% of women also earn money by operating Bed and Breakfast operations during the tourist season. However, the largest majority, 58% of all women surveyed, now work at a paid non-fishing job compared to only 42% in 1984. Most of these women's paid non-fishing work in 1984 was only seasonal (92%) but today only 30% is seasonal jobs.

While the vast majority of women's earnings from work go toward family and health care expenses 10% of women contribute directly to the economic maintenance of the fishing operation.

Figure 8

(N = 47)

More women are working at a non-fishing job.

Chapter 6.5: Women's Work Day

Women in fishing households continue to have long work days whether they go fishing or not. They get up very early in the morning, between 4 am and 6 am, and perform unpaid household work and family care, both before their paid work, and afterwards. They continue their unpaid household work until late in the evening. The length of the work day has not changed much over the years, but it is now more likely to include some paid work.

Families are involved directly in the fishing operation throughout the year and many see the end of the harvesting season as a shift to non-fishing-related tasks such as trap maintenance and building, boat maintenance, and repairs. While male fishers tend to have work at only fishing-related tasks, women's off-season work includes other types of paid work. In 1984, 58% of women in fishing households did not participate in other work. Today, women's work includes a variety of different paid and unpaid tasks throughout the year and most of these changes cannot be explained by their age. Today, other paid work includes nursing, teaching, potato harvesting, retail work, and work in fish plants. Unpaid work includes an increase of tasks which finish the work of paid workers. This is the result of changes in the delivery of public services; early discharge from hospitals; care for the elderly, children and the disabled.

Chapter 6.6: Household Work

Male spouse involvement in household unpaid work has increased since 1984 especially in the areas of food preservation, shopping, and home repairs. Traditional household work described by Reddin in 1984 remains the domain of women. However, the men are rarely involved with unpaid household work of a repetitive nature such as cooking, laundry, dishes, and house cleaning. Women are the main providers of family child care and health care in 1998. In 1984 questions about health care were not asked, itself a reflection of different times.

Despite the division of tasks by gender, women suggest there is some change and more sharing of household tasks now than in the past. Men tend to help out with tasks periodically rather than on a continuous basis. They help more often during the non-fishing season when they are more likely to be flexible in their work schedules. Women were not asked about men's involvement in the off-season in the 1984 study, however, 32.5% now say there is a better sharing of this household work today than in the past.

Chapter 6.7: Child Care Responsibilities

In 1984 the fishing families in this study were large: they had from three to eleven children. These families have now grown up with 26% of families having no children at home in 1998. The average family now includes one to four children at home. This is likely due to the increased age of the family members in these fishing households. This has also changed the nature of women's work, since fewer women have child care

responsibilities at home. The change frees up time for women to be involved in paid work, however some might be expecting women to move into community unpaid work.

Due to the aging of the survey group there have been changes in child care needs. In the 1984 study 32% of the families used a daycare center and now none of the families need full time day care services. In families where there are still small children, care is provided by an in-house babysitter or provided in the community by a relative or friend of the family, since after school programs do not exist in many rural communities. The children are more likely to stay home with an older sibling once they are school aged rather than stay at school where most daycare programs for school aged children are located. Early morning departure of parents demands a child care arrangement either at home or nearby. While the children of school age often travel to school on a bus, they do not have return transportation if they stay for an after-school program. They are more likely to travel home on the bus after school and be cared for by family or friend of the family (see figure 9).

Men are still most likely to be involved with child care in the off-season than during the fishing season. In 1984 women reported that 57% of fishermen performed a significant amount of child care during the off-season. During the fishing season only 10% alternated with women in providing this care. Cases where women do paid shift work enable a better sharing of child care as schedules could be adjusted to accommodate this need. The unequal sharing of child care responsibilities among men and women,

because of their work schedules, has created the need for alternate care arrangements in the past; this is still the case today.

Figure 9

(N = 47)

Child care arrangements have changed.

Women who do have children at home are still very involved in child rearing despite the likelihood of their increased participation in paid work. They still spend many hours per week talking to their children, reading to them, playing with them, and supervising their homework. Women also take part in a wide variety of activities outside the home with their children: church-sponsored events, sporting games, and other social activities.

Chapter 6.8: Health Care Work

Overwhelmingly, women see to the healthcare needs of their family members whenever someone is sick (see figure 10). They take this as their responsibility even though they may have to access the formal health care system when situations become severe. Because of health care reform, family members are discharged from hospital early and need follow up care at home. With limited home care services provided by the province, women must perform this work. There are times when waiting for treatment involves care at home until a hospital bed can be found. Smaller rural hospitals also find an increasing number of patients who have been transferred from the larger central hospital. The length of a patient's stay depends on whether someone is available at home to provide follow-up health care work.

This health care work impacts on women's other work responsibilities whether they are paid or unpaid (see figure 11). Some women, periodically, cannot attend either their paid or unpaid jobs due to their health care responsibilities. Any increase in health care responsibilities often has a profound affect on women's work. The increased health care work required by women because of health care cutbacks has a potentially negative impact on many women's abilities to contribute to the household's financial viability.

Bringing health care services to the voluntary, community, third sector ignores the fact that women are not available to participate in volunteer activities nor are they likely to forgo financial security in order to provide health care at home.

Figure 10

(N = 47)

Women provide family health care.

Figure 11

(N=47)

Unpaid and paid work limits women’s availability to perform health care work at home and in the community.

Chapter 6.9: Community Involvement

Women in fishing households are involved in some community activities such as Women's Institute, church groups and activities which involve their children such as home and school and sports. They still tend not to be involved in providing ongoing volunteer services in the community, and identify the lack of time as the reason for this. This is the same as results of the 1984 study, when women in fishing household did not have extra time to perform this volunteer work. Time is still not available for women to be involved more actively in providing volunteer services (see figure 12). Restructuring of government services does not appear to take this into account when shifting responsibilities to the community.

Figure 12

(N = 47)

Women's irregular work hours and the lack of time limits the amount of volunteer work women can do.

During the fishing season women contribute between one and four hours per month to community work compared to more time in the off-season, between three and five hours per month.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Women in fishing households in Prince Edward Island have joined with other Island women who see their lives changed since the 1984 study of women in the fisheries conducted by J. Estelle Reddin. The traditional role of a woman was as a “fisherman’s wife,”¹⁴ with all its unpaid tasks which support the economic ability of households to make a living from fishing. The influx of women into paid work enhances their productivity in the formal economy and only reduces slightly their unpaid productivity. With global economic restructuring and the consequent reduction of government funding for traditional support structures as well as the reduction of public services, the traditional roles, between citizens and government, have changed and women’s overall workload has increased.

The traditional, supportive role of women in the fisheries has become increasingly more complex, multi-faceted and dynamic. Activities and events that take place in the household have an affect on women’s paid employment possibilities. As a result their paid employment has had an impact on household responsibilities and the ability of the family to participate successfully in the fishing industry. Thus, we now see a challenging and constantly changing environment in which women are struggling to provide the best they can for and with their family members.

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¹⁴ Fisherman’s wife - in traditional fishing households an essential and unpaid job was proudly associated with the role of women in the fisheries. This role has changed greatly with more women from fishing households participating in paid employment outside the fishery, with the increase of women’s direct paid participation in the fish harvesting industry (on boats during harvest - 20% of all fishers), and in fish processing plants during the season.

There is little doubt that women workers in the paid economy are well studied by governments, business and particular interest groups. However, the extent of women's participation in unpaid work has been studied less often and is not as clearly understood. Women in fishing households have a unique combination of paid and unpaid work which is a site that requires more study to reach an understanding about the changing environment in which these women live. More research specifically focussing on health care reform in PEI is needed since it is the most urgent issue.

Within the formal paid economy of Prince Edward Island, government services are being reduced, placing pressure on communities and households to provide services in different ways. The informal unpaid economy is becoming a site of more and more attention is becoming a significant part of our economic structure. The household economy and the community third sector are becoming part of our understanding of the new arrangements of women's work. Canadians are beginning to hear more and more about the government's increased interest in having the community deliver health and social services. Therefore it becomes essential to consider the feasibility of such a move without more government support for this method of delivery of health care.

Household, unpaid work, and the activities of women in the fisheries take up a large share of women's time especially now as they begin to recognize the new expectations of care-giving. Time is also a consideration as women's paid and unpaid work in the fisheries has also become more economically essential to provide assistance

to the ability of the family to make a living from fishing. In fact, families are using income from many sources to provide for their families and adult family members are embarking on new work arrangements. This fact reinforces the problem governments face as they continue to shift services. Women are not available to pick up the extra work.

Taking the current configuration of women's work into account while factoring in the unstated expectation of government for women to provide more unpaid work in the community third sector, and at home, by performing health and social service work, there is possible to see a collision of demands. This collision has the potential to create a crisis in care and possibly a family economic crisis.

In many communities of Prince Edward Island there have not been new funding allocations or organizational efforts in the community third sector to take up the work which is being transferred to individual responsibility. There is no community third sector infrastructure plan, no formal policy decision for the redirection of public funds to the community, and no legislative framework to guide the development of an interdependent relationship between government and the non-profit sector to provide this needed service work.

Thus, many women are feeling growing pressure to reorganize and increase their unpaid work load in the household in order to accommodate the increased caregiving demands. Those who do so may be reducing the household income depended on by the family or diverting their attention away from unpaid fisheries-related work which supports the fishing operation. This line of action propagates a system of neglect, because women do not have sufficient time or resources to provide properly for the needs of their families.

There must be an accounting by governments for all the work done by women in order not to exacerbate the larger problem of gender inequality in society. In fact, government restructuring and service reduction frequently does not take into account the impact of these changes on women's work in the whole economy. Some may speculate that restructuring *depends* on women delivering unpaid services in the household. There are value judgments and assumptions about what work is considered important or not socially and culturally valuable. Therefore many forms of women's work are easily overlooked when government planning and reorganization are undertaken. For women in fishing households unpaid work is not considered in the equation and is easily missed. By not considering the total workload of these women, assumptions about who will be able to deliver services becomes a critical issue.

The early study conducted by J. Estelle Reddin in 1984 argued that many women had busy lifestyles with little time available for active participation in the volunteer sector. Reddin also demonstrated that the supportive unpaid and unrecognized fisheries work performed by women in fishing households contributed greatly to each family's ability to be economically self-sufficient.

Today, as pressure builds for women to provide more work, both paid and unpaid, women are doing so with less government financial support. With few resources and less time to contribute to family care there will likely continue to be pressure on an already busy life. Due to women's traditional roles as caregivers and as potential providers of care, they have a great stake in redefining the future. An evaluation of PEI government restructuring is required in order to further explore the nature of the changes and their consequent repercussions.

Women's work is not infinitely flexible and cannot easily adjust to change without costs. As the real costs shift from the paid public sector to the unpaid household economy, women's work will increase, because there is no community third sector to absorb the work. Unfortunately, this shift does not come with added resources to assist women in the provision of care and services or to assist them in their adaptation to the new reality.

It is unlikely that governments will alter these trends as they continue to pursue their productivity agenda.¹⁵ Because the transfer of work is likely to impact on women's paid and unpaid work, it is important to monitor change closely. This information will help establish an understanding of the new patterns of work and how these patterns affect women. If knowledge about women's work is left out of the policy process of governments, if governments do not recognize women's contributions, and needs, inequitable distribution of any additional unpaid work will occur. It is important to understand women's work patterns in order to expend scarce government resources in ways that provide adequate support and allow women to continue to be healthy productive citizens in both their paid and unpaid work.

¹⁵ The productivity agenda was formally announced by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in his speech to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in September 1998. He stated that it has been his government's objective since 1993 to increase Canada's productivity. Increased productivity involves the transfer of work to lower cost institutions, communities and families. This agenda has reduced government delivered services. It may also include the reduction or elimination of paid coverage for certain government services. This ongoing change was also stated in a report about work by Human Resource Development Canada in *Collective Reflections*, 1997.

Appendix 1

Survey of Women in the Fishery in Prince Edward Island

please answer as many questions as you wish

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THIS SURVEY

1. Do you or your family members work in the fishing industry?
(1) yes (2) no (if no please do not complete this survey and return)
 2. What port does your family fish from?
 3. What species are fished?
 4. How long have you been part of a fishing household?
 5. Do you do any of this work in your household? (circle as many as apply)
 1. Keep the books for the fishing operation
 2. Prepare income tax returns
 3. Keep records of the catch
 4. Pay fishing related bills
 5. Arrange for financing or credit
 6. Go for parts for truck, boat, gear
 7. Check mail and telephone messages
 8. Knit heads for lobster traps, sew heads into traps
 9. Repair fishing equipment
 10. Paint the boat or buoys
 11. other.....
 6. Do you work on a fishing boat ?
(1) yes (2) no
- if yes
1. Do you fish with your spouse ?
 2. Do you have any licences in your own name?
(1) yes (2) no
if yes, what licences?
 3. What jobs do you do when you are out on the boat?

7. What limits your ability to participate in fishing work?

1. a limited amount of physical strength?
2. a limited amount of confidence?
3. a limited amount of skill or knowledge?
4. other work commitments?
5. unavailable child care?
6. no interest
7. it's a man's job
8. seasickness
9. other.....

8. What time do you get up in the morning?

9. Do you prepare breakfast for the family?

(1) yes (2) no

10. Do you prepare lunches for those who go fishing?

(1) yes (2) no

11. How many weeks per year is your household involved in fishing?

12. Does your spouse work at a paid job other than fishing ?

1. What job is that?.....

2. For how many weeks per year?.....

13. Do you work at a paid job other than fishing?

1. What job is that?.....

2. For how many weeks per year?.....

Household Work

14. Now I'd like to ask about housework. Do you do these cooking tasks?

(circle all that apply)

1. prepare breakfast
2. prepare a meal at noon
3. prepare the main meal of the day
4. prepare Sunday dinner
5. prepare meals for quests
6. clean up and wash dishes

15. Do you make home made canned foods, pickles, and jam?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

16. Do you make home frozen foods?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

17. Do you do the grocery shopping ?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

18. Do you keep chickens or animals for family food?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

19. Do you keep a vegetable garden?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

Has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

20. Do you keep a flower garden?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

21. Do you do the laundry at home ?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased during the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased during the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

22. Do you tidy and clean the house?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

23. Do you look after home repairs?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

24. Do you do the painting, wall papering and home decorating?

(1) yes (2) no

spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

25. Do you look after family clothing?

(i.e.. knit, sew, shop for new clothing, shop for second hand clothing)

(1) yes (2) no

Spouse helps with this

(1) yes (2) no

has this work increased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

has this work decreased in the past ten years?

(1) yes (2) no

26. Would you say there is a better sharing of household work with your spouse during the off-season as compared to during the fishing season?

(1) yes (2) no

Children

(if no children go to next section)

27. How many children live in your household?

circle.....1 2 3 4 5 6 other.....

28. How do you provide care for your children (under the age of 12) ?

1. you do it on a full time basis

2. have an in-house baby-sitter when you work

3. have a relative or friend look after your children at their house when you work

4. a day care centre

29. Do you alternate with your spouse to provide care for your children ?

(1) yes (2) no

if yes.....

1. How much during the fishing season?

- 1. a lot
- 2. some
- 3. not much
- 4. none

2. How much during the rest of the year?

- 1. a lot
- 2. some
- 3. not much
- 4. none

30. Who drives the children to their activities?

(1) self (2) husband (3) other

31. How much time do you spend talking to your children?

hours per day..... 1 2 3 4 5

32. How much time do you spend playing with your children ?

hours per day..... 1 2 3 4 5

33. How much time do you spend helping children with homework?

Hours per day..... 1 2 3 4 5

34. How much time do you spend reading to your children during the day?

Hours per day..... ½ 1 2 3

35. Are there other activities that you and your children take part in together?

(1) yes (2) no

if yes, explain.....

.....

36. Do you hope any of your children will go into fishing as an occupation?

(1) yes (2) no

explain

37. Does your husband want them to ?

(1) yes (2) no

explain

Caring Work

38. Are there any elderly family members living with you who require special care?
(1) yes (2) no
39. Are there any disabled family members living with you who require special care?
(1) yes (2) no
40. Has this task decreased your ability to.....(circle all that apply)
 (1) participate in paid work
 (2) participate in community work
 (3) provide care for children
 (4) provide other household jobs
 (5) fish with your spouse
 (6) fish with your own licence
 (7) help with on-shore fishing related tasks
41. Does your spouse help with this care?
(1) yes (2) no
42. When a family member gets sick who provides this care?
 (1) self
 (2) another family member
 (3) home-care service
 (4) hospital
 (5) other.....
43. Does this decrease your ability to..... (circle all that apply)
 1. participate in paid work
 2. participate in community work
 3. care for children
 4, provide other household jobs
 5. fish with your husband
 6. fish with your own licence
 7. help with on shore related tasks
 8. does not affect me
44. Do you participate in any of these community groups and organizations?
 (circle all that apply)
 1. Women's Institute
 2. CWL
 3. Church groups

4. 4H
5. Red Cross
6. Sports groups
7. recreation groups (i.e.. fitness classes)
8. home and school
9. fishing organizations
10. political organizations
11. women and fishing organizations
12. other

45. Do any of the following affect your participation in community organizations?
(circle all that apply)

1. limited amount of interest
2. limited amount of time
3. limited confidence in your ability
4. irregular hours of fish work or other work
5. do not have transportation
6. limited amount of information about activities, time , place
7. cost of baby-sitters,
8. no one available to look after ill while you are absent
9. no one available t look after elderly family member while you are absent
10. no one available to provide care for the children while you are absent
11. other.....

46. On average how many hours per month would you spend doing community and volunteer work (include travel time, committee work, telephoning, etc.)

1. in fishing season 1 2 3 4 5
2. not during fishing season 1 2 3 4 5.....

Paid Work

Next I have some questions about the work you get paid for:

47. Are you involved in any money making activity at home?
(circle all that apply)

1. sell home-made crafts at flea markets or farmers market
2. hold yard sales
3. sell produce from the garden
4. sell meat raised
5. operate a bed & breakfast during tourist season
6. other.....

48. Have your money making activities at home increased during the past ten years?
(1) yes (2) no
49. Has your money making activities decreased during the past ten years?
(1) yes (2) no
50. Are you working at a paid job outside the home at some time during the year?
(1) yes (2) no (if no go to the next section)
51. Has this work increased during the past ten years?
(1) yes (2) no
52. Has this work decreased during the past ten years?
(1) yes (2) no
53. Is your paid work
1. full time (28 hours per week or more)
 2. part-time (less than 28 hours per week)
 3. seasonal
 4. year round
54. Approximately how much of the money you earn goes into the fishing operation ?
(1) all (2)some (3) none
55. Approximately how much of the money you earn goes into household expenses?
(1) all (2) some (3) none
56. Approximately how much of the money you earn goes into elder care expenses?
(1) all (2) some (3) none
57. Approximately how much of the money you earn goes into child care expenses?
(1) all (2) some (3) none
58. Approximately how much of the money you earn goes into health care expenses?
(1) all (2) some (3) none
59. If you had a choice in how you divide your time among the following work areas, where would you choose to spend your time? (circle all that apply)
1. housework
 2. child care
 3. family health care
 4. care of an elderly relative

5. care of a disabled family member
6. community volunteer work
7. work as helper on the fishing boat
8. hold your own fishing licence
9. in a paid non-fishing job
10. in a fish plant.

60. If you are not working at a paid job do you expect to look for paid work in the future?

(1) yes (2) no

61. When will you be looking for work?.....

62. Do you think it important for **government** to know more about your life in the fishery in order to inform public policy? (child care, respite care, health care, home care)

(1) yes (2) no

63. Do you think it is important for your **community** to know more about your life in the fishery in order to inform public policy?

(1) yes (2) no

64. Please use the remaining space to write any information which you think is important for me to know about your life in a fishing household, use the reverse side if required.

Appendix 2**Consent to Participate**

I have read the information letter describing the purposes and the tasks involved in participating in a study on Women of the Fishery in Prince Edward Island which is being conducted by Dianne Porter of the School of Canadian Studies at Carleton University. I further understand that should the information I provide be used in publications or for teaching purposes, my identity will be protected. I acknowledge that I may withdraw my consent to participate at any time.

This study has been reviewed by, and has received ethics clearance, through the School of Canadian Studies. This office will receive any complaints or concerns with regard to your involvement in this study.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Witness' Signature: _____

Date: _____ / _____ / 1998
 day month

Student's Name: Dianne Porter

Graduate Supervisor's Name: Pat Armstrong

Telephone Number: (613) 520-2366

PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN WITH THE COMPLETED SURVEY

Appendix 3

ID# _____

TOPIC 1 FISHING INCORPORATION

1. Do you live in a fishing community?

(1) YES (2) NO

2. What port does your husband fish from?

3. What species does he fish?

H ... L ... G ... M ... Sc ... T ... Moss ... Oysters

4. To whom does he sell the fish?

5. How long has he been fishing?

YEARS

6. How long have you and your husband been married?

YEARS

7. Was your father a fisherman? (1)YES (2) NO

1. IF NO

2. What was his occupation?

c. Was your grandfather (father's father) a fisherman? (1) YES (2) NO

IF NO

4. What was his occupation?

e. Was your husband's father a fisherman? (I)YES (2)NO

f. IF NO

What was his occupation?

7. Was your husband's grandfather a fisherman?

IF NO

h. What was his occupation?

8. a) What was your mother's occupation?

b) What was your husband's mother's occupation?

9. Do you have any children?

a. (1) YES (2) NO

2. IF YES

What are their ages ? BOYS GIRLS

10. Does anyone else live at your house?

(1) YES (2) NO

IF YES

ADULT CHILD

What is the highest grade (or year) of secondary (high) or elementary school you ever attended?

(or never attended school)

1. GRADE

(IF GRADE 9 OR LESS DON'T ASK UNIVERSITY)

2. Have you attended university?

(1) ... YES (2) NO

IF YES

3. How many years?.....

d. Have you attended an institution other than a university, secondary or elementary school?

(SUCH AS HOLLAND COLLEGE, NURSING SCHOOL)

(1) YES (2) ... NO

5. IF YES

How many years?.....

f. Have you taken any out-of-school courses?

(1) ... YES (2) ... NO

IF YES

g. Who offered the courses (Community School, etc.)

12. Often members of a fishermen's family do jobs connected with fishing. Here is a list of several record keeping jobs.

Do you do any of them?

IF YES, WHO HELPS?

1. SELF

2. HUSBAND

3. OTHER FAMILY MEMBER

4. OTHER PERSON

(1) YES (2) NO (3) WHO

Do you

- (1) Keep the books (for the fishing)...
- (2) Prepare income tax returns...
- (3) Keep records of the catch...
- (4) Pay the fishing bills...
- (5) Arrange for credit and financing...
(i.e. borrow money if needed)

13. Do you do any of the following other jobs connected with fishing

(1) YES (2) NO (3) NA

- (1) Go for parts for truck, boat, gear
- (2) Check mail and take telephone messages
- (3) Knit heads for lobster traps, sew heads into traps
- (4) Repair the fishing equipment
- (5) Paint the boat and buoys
- (6) Any other work connected with fishing (specify)

14.a. What time does your husband get up to go fishing?

b. Do you get up then? (1)YES (2)NO
IF YES

3. Do you prepare his breakfast? (1)YES (2)NO

d. Do you make lunches for those who go fishing?
(1)YES (2)NO

15. Where does your husband work on the traps, boat, and gear?

- (1) SHORE
- (2) HOME
- (3) OTHER (specify)

16. Are you actively involved in fishing, that is, do you go out on the water in a fishing boat?

1. YES
2. NO. IF NO GO TO Q17

IF YES< Do you fish with your husband (1)
or with someone else (2)

c. How long have you been fishing?
YEARS

d. Do you have any licences in your own name?

- (1). YES
- (2). NO

e. IF YES, what licences?

f. What jobs do you do when you are out on the boat fishing?

(1) YES (2) NO (3) NA

- (1) haul the traps - - - -
- (2) bait the traps- - - - -
- (3) steer the boat- - - - -
- (4) other (specify)- - - - -

GO TO Q18

17. Do any of the following prevent you from doing fishing work:

(1) YES (2) NO (3) NA

- (1) lack of physical strength - - -
- (2) lack of confidence-- - - - -
- (3) lack of skill or knowledge - -
- (4) other work commitments - - - -
- (5) child care-----
- (6) lack of interest- - - - -
- (7) it's a man's job- - - - -
- (8) seasickness - - - - -
- (9) other (explain)- - - - -

18. Does your husband have any long-term disabilities or handicaps?

(1) YES

(2) NO

19. Has your work connected with the fishing (1) increased or (2) decreased over the last three years? (1) INCREASED (2) DECREASED (3) STAYED THE SAME

20. Do you think the fishing operation could operate effectively without your contribution?

(1) YES

(2) NO

21. a) How many weeks of the year is your husband involved in fishing?

WEEKS

b) How many weeks of the year are you involved in fishing?

WEEKS

22. Did your husband work at a paid job other than fishing last year?

a. (1) YES (2) NO

IF YES

b. What job was that?

c. For how many weeks?

ID# _____

TOPIC 3- HOUSEHOLD WORK

23. Now I'd like to ask about housework.

Do you do these tasks ? Who else does them or helps you?

USE THIS CODE FOR ALL HOUSEWORK "WHO" QUESTIONS

(1) SELF (2) HUSBAND (3) FAMILY MEMBERS (4) OTHER

(1) YES (2) NO CODE DK/
WHO

- (1) prepare breakfast.....
- (2) prepare a meal at noon.....
- (3) prepare the main meal for the day.....
- (4) prepare Sunday dinner.....
- (5) prepare meals for guests.....
- (6) wash dishes.....

24. How often do you have a sit-down meal, that is when everyone eats at the table together? (code)

- (1) more than once a day
- (2) once a day
- (3) two or three times a week
- (4) Sunday dinner
- (5) special occasions
- (6) never

25a. Do you have home made canned food, pickles, and jam?

(1) YES (2) NO

b. IF YES, who does the canning? ()

c. Do you have home frozen foods? (1)..YES (2) ... NO

IF YES

d. Who does the freezing? ()

26.a. Do you do the grocery shopping? ()

IF YES

b. Who helps? ()

27. How far is it from your home to where you do your shopping?
_____miles

28a. Do you keep any chickens or animals for family food?

(1) YES (2) NO

b. IF YES, who looks after them? ()

c. Do you have a vegetable garden?

(1) YES (2) NO

d. IF YES, who does the work? ()

e. Do you have a flower garden?

(1) YES (2) NO

f. IF YES, who keeps it? ()

g. Do you do the laundry at home?

(1) YES (2) NO

h. IF YES, who does it? ()

i. Do you tidy and clean the house?

IF YES

j. Who does it? ()

k. Does someone in the home look after home repairs?

(1) YES (2) NO

l. IF YES, who? ()

m. Does someone in the family do painting, wall papering, and home decorating?

(1) YES (2) NO

n. IF YES, who? ()

29. Clothing the family also involves work and expense.

Do you

a. Knit

(1) YES (2) NO

b. Sew, make clothing

(1) YES (2) NO

c. Do you buy second hand clothing?

(1) YES (2) NO

d. Do you buy new clothing?

(1) YES (2) NO

e. Do you use hand-me-downs?

(1) YES (2) NO

30. Where did you learn these tasks of "women's" work?

(1) mother

(2) grandmother

(3) school

(4) other

31. Are you personally involved in any money raising activity at home?

(1) YES (2) NO

(1) YES (2) NO

(1) Craft production for sale....

(2) Bed and breakfast....

(3) market gardening....

(4) other (specify)....

ID# _____

TOPIC 4 PAID WORK

Next I have a few questions about work you get paid for:

32a. Are you presently employed at a paid job?

(1) YES

(2) NO

IF YES,

b. What job is it?

c. For whom do you work?

d. How long have you had this job? YEARS

e. How far do you travel to this job? miles

33a.. Is it

(1)..full time (28 hours per week or more) or

(2)..Part time (less than 28 hours per week)

b. Is it

(1)..seasonal or

(2) year round

GO TO Q35

IF NO

34.a. Have you ever worked at a paid job?

(1) YES

(2) NO

IF "NO" GO TO Q36

a. IF YES, are you planning to work at a paid job again?

(1) YES

(2) NO

b. IF YES, what job?

c. Will it be:

- (1) full time or
- (2) part time

e. Is it

- (1)..seasonal or
- (4) year round

f. Have you worked at this job before?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

g. IF YES, how long? years

h. How far will you travel to this job? miles

35. Approximately how much of your wages ALL HALF NON
E

- (1)..goes into the fishing operation,
- (2)..how much into household expenses, and
- (3)..how much do you use for something else?

36. If you had a choice in how you divide your time among the following work areas, where would you choose to spend your time?

- (1) Family and household work
- (2) Work at home connected with fishing
- (3) Fishing - as helper or second man
- (4) In a paid non-fishing job
- (5) In a fish processing plant

First choice ()

Second choice ()

Third choice ()

ID# _____

TOPIC 5- PLAY

We are interested in what sorts of things you do for fun, recreation and play rather than work.

37. Which of the following have you done in the last six months ?

YES NO

(1) (2)

Gone to

- (1) movies
- (2) dancing
- (3) museum
- (4) played bingo or
- (5) taken a trip off PEI
- (6) visited with friends or relatives at your house
- (7) at their
- (8) gone to a club or Legion

38.

YES NO

(1) (2)

1. Have you read any books in the
last six months? _____ ()

2. What type of books do you read most?

3. Have you read any magazines in the
last six months? _____ ()

4. If yes, what ones?

5. Do you read any newspapers regularly? ()

6. IF YES, what ones?

39.

YES NO

(1) (2)

Have you taken part in sports as a

- (1)..Player
- (2)..spectator
- (3)..coach, manager, etc.

40. Do you do any of these activities for relaxation and pleasure ?

YES NO

(1) (2)

- (1) Watch television?
- (2) Do you watch the stories "the soaps"?
- (3) family
- (4) sport
- (5) news
- (6) documentaries?
- (7) movies?-
- (8) any other shows?
- (9) Do you listen to music, radio

- 41. a. Do you ever go out in the fishing boat? (1) YES (2) NO
- b. Do you enjoy it? (1) YES (2) NO

42. Do you enjoy outdoor activities such as walking, swimming, or biking? (1) YES
(2) NO

43. Do you do (2) some, (1) most, or (3) only a few of your leisure time activities
with your husband?

(1) (2) SOME (3) ONLY A FEW

44. Do you have any other interests, hobbies, or crafts on which you spend much time
or is there anything else you like to do with your leisure time?

(such as knitting, sewing, quilting, pottery, writing letters or other writing, gardening, or
photography)

If yes, WHAT

45. Which of your free time activities do you enjoy most?

ID# _____

TOPIC 6- RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Now, about your house

46a. How long have you lived in the house where you now live
..... YEARS

b. Do you own or rent your home?

(1) Own

(2) Rent

c. IF OWN

Who built your house? ()

(1) Built by yourselves

(2) Built by contractor or carpenter

(3) Given to you

(4) Inherited

(5) Moved and renovated

(6) Other

d. Do you have a mortgage on your property?

(1)..YES

(2) NO

47a. Do you have a car?

(1) YES

(2)..NO

b. A truck?

(1) YES

(2)..NO

c. A tractor?

(1)..YES

(2)..NO

d. A work horse?

(1)..YES

(2)..NO

- e. Snowmobile
(1)..YES (2)..NO

48a. What fuel do you use for cooking?

b. What fuel do you use for heat?

49. Do you have any of the following pieces of household equipment
(1).YES (2)..NO

- (1) refrigerator
- (2) freezer
- (3) washer
- (4) dryer
- (5) microwave oven
- (6) dishwasher
- (7) water heater
- (8) sewing machine
- (9) knitting machine

50. Do you have any of the following pieces of home entertainment equipment?

(1)..YES (2)..NO

(1) YES (2) NO

- (1) color TV
- (2) B/W
- (3) cable TV or set
- (4) VCR
- (5) stereo
- (6) home computer
- (7) radio

51. Do you have a savings account, savings bonds or other investments

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

52a. Does your husband have a Will?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

b. Do you?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

53. Now let's see what makes up your family income right now? Does any of it come from ...

(1) YES (2) NO

- (1) fishing
- (2) husband's paid job
- (3) your paid job
- (4) other work
- (5) UIC
- (6) welfare
- (7) pensions and Family Allowance
- (8) other specify

54. Comparing your family income with others,...

Would you say that your family income is higher, lower, or about the same?

a. as your relatives and friends?

Is It

- (1) higher
- (2) lower
- (3) about the same as

b. compared with other fishermen's families in your community

Is it

- (1) higher
- (2) lower
- (3) about the same as

c. Last year was your net fishing income (for example as reported on your 1985 income tax return)

- (1) under \$7999
- (2) between \$8000 and 11,900

- (3) between 12,000 and 15,900
- (4) between 16,000 and 19,900
- (5) between 20,000 and 24,900
- (6) between 25,000 and 29,900
- (7) over 30,000

55. Here is a list of things you might do if times were bad to pay the bills concerned with the fishing operation. Would you:

(1) YES (2) NO

- (1) Get another loan
- (2) Sell one of several fishing licences and gear
- (3) Sell other assets such as land, automobile, etc.
- (4) Take non-fishing job yourself
- (5) Your husband take non-fishing job?
- (6) Become more active in fishing operation yourself
- (7) Other

(Please specify)

56. During the past year how would you generally describe your fishing operation? Has it:

- (1) Decreased greatly
- (2) Decreased somewhat
- (3) Stayed the same
- (4) Increased somewhat
- (5) Increased greatly

ID# _____

SATISFACTION

57. How important is it for your family for these tasks to be done at home? Is it (read options)

(1) VERY IMPORTANT	(2) IMPORTANT	(3) NEITHER
(4) UNIMPORTANT	(5) VERY UNIMPORTANT	

1. Baking bread
2. Canning, preserving, freezing
3. Preparing meals at home
4. Making clothing
5. Keeping a vegetable garden
6. Doing home decorating and repairs

58. Now, about the less pleasant aspects of all your work:

an. How often do you have to work under pressure of time?

OFTEN SOMETIMES NEVER

ao. IF EVER work under time pressure:

When you're working under time pressure, does this involve

YES	NO
(1)	(2)

- (1) working longer hours
- (2) heavier physical work
- (3) faster physical movements
- (4) faster thinking

c. Do you ever get dirty doing your work?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

d. If yes, how dirty?

VERY MOD A LITTLE

- e. Are you ever held responsible for things really outside of your control? (Do you ever feel that you're blamed for things beyond your control?)

OFTEN

SOMETIMES

SELDOM
OR NEVER

59a. How would you rate your present housing?

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just ok

Prompt:

- a. inadequate- over crowded, cold, run-down
- b. barely adequate for health and safety;
- c. as good as your neighbours
- d. comfortable and pleasing
- e. decorated the way you like it to be

b. How would you rate your clothing?

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just ok

Prompt:

- a. inadequate, worn, fits poorly, not warm enough
- b. it is barely adequate for health and comfort/safety;
- c. that it is as good/fashionable as your peers
- d. attractive and pleasing
- e. the way you like it to be for your own self esteem

c. How would you rate the food you and your family have?

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just ok

Prompt:

- a. not adequate for good nutrition
- b. is barely adequate for health and safety;
- c. that it is as good as your neighbours
- d. usually good tasting
- e. fresh and delicious the way you like it to be

d. Would you rate your present kitchen appliances (technology) as

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just O.K.

Prompt:

- a. inadequate
- b. barely adequate for safety;
- c. as good as your neighbours

e. Would you rate the present fishing boat and gear as

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just O.K.

Prompt:

- a. inadequate
- b. barely adequate for safety;
- c. as good as other fishermen in your community

f. Would you rate your car as

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just O.K.

g. Would you rate your truck as

- (1) good
- (2) bad
- (3) just OK

60a. Are you satisfied that you have enough time for leisure activities?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

b. Are you satisfied that you have enough money for leisure activities and hobbies?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

61. Do you ever have difficulty meeting your monthly payments?

OFTEN SOMETIMES SELDOM NEVER

(We have about 10 minutes left. Would you like to take a break to stretch for a minute?)

ID# _____

**TOPIC 7
CHILDREN****IF NO CHILDREN GO TO Q70
IF NO CHILDREN UNDER 12 GO TO Q64**

62a. Do you have any help from your husband with child care

(1) YES (2) NO

b. How much in SUMMER

- (1) A lot
- (2) Some
- (3) Not much
- (4) NONE

c. How much in WINTER

- (1) A lot
- (2) Some
- (3) Not much
- (4) NONE

d. Does anyone else help with child care? (1) YES (2) NO

IF YES

WHO?

IF NO, GO TO 63 OR 64

- (1) Other family member
- (2) Other household member
- (3) Other
- (4) NO ONE

e. How much in summer?

- (1) A lot
- (2) Some
- (3) Not much

f. How much in winter?

- (1) A lot
- (2) Some
- (3) Not much

IF WORK OR FISH

63. If you have children under 12, who looks after them when you are busy with fishing or working at a paid job away from home? (open)

- (1) a relative
- (2) a friend
- (3) children go with you
- (4) take them to a baby sitter
- (5) take them to a day care
- (6) leave them at home with the hired hand or second man (if live in)
- (7) other – specify

64. Are there any child care facilities in your community

(within 5 miles)?

(1)..YES (2)..NO

65. Who drives the children to their activities

- (1) Self
- (2) Husband
- (3) Other

66. How much time do you spend talking or playing with your children? Would it be 2 or 3 hours a day or 2 or 3 hours a week? Or more or less?

Hours per week

67. Are there any activities that you and your children take part in together such as picnics, country roading, biking, go to church?

(1)YES (2)..NO

68. Do you and your partner agree on child rearing practices such as

(1)..YES (2) NO

(1) discipline ()

Do you agree

(2) on goals for your children? ()

What about

(3) plans for education for your children? ()

69.a. Do you hope any of your children will go into fishing as an occupation?

(1)..YES (2)..NO

b. Does your husband want them to?

(1)..YES (2)..NO

HUSBAND

70a. How much time last week did you spend just sitting down and talking with your husband?

HOURS PER WEEK.....

b. How much time do you usually spend talking together:

In the summer?

HOURS PER WEEK.....

c. In the winter?

HOURS PER WEEK.....

Prompt:

More than 2-3 hours in a week?

Or less?

EVERYONE DO

71. Here are 8 desirable characteristics for children. (READ)

VERY IMP

VERY UNIMP

How important is it for children always:

- (1) to be considerate of others
- (2) to be responsible
- (3) to be neat and clean
- (4) to be obedient to their parents
- (5) to be honest
- (6) to have good sense and sound judgment
- (7) for boys to act as boys and girls to act as girls
- (8) to try hard to succeed

FRIENDS

72a. Do most of your friends live in your home district or somewhere else?

- (1) Home
- (2) Elsewhere

b. How many times in a month do you get together with friends?

- (1) Summer..TIMES PER MONTH.....
- (2) Winter..TIMES PER MONTH.....

c. Do you mostly get together with your friends alone or do you and your husband go out together?

- (1) Alone
- (2) Together

73.a. How frequently do you visit with your mother or other relatives?

Times per month

b. Do you visit

- (1) in person
- (2) on the phone

74a. Are there any elderly family members living with you who require special care?

- (1) YES
- (2) NO

IF YES

b. Who cares for him/her them?

- (1) Self
- (2) Husband
- (3) Other family member
- (4) Other (specify)

75a. Do you belong to any of these community groups and organizations (READ LIST)

(1)..YES (2)..NO

- (1) WI
- (2) CWL
- (3) Church groups, church choir, other choir
- (4) 4H
- (5) Red Cross
- (6) Sports groups, fitness classes
- (7) Other recreation groups
- (8) Home and school
- (9) Fishing organizations
- (10) Political organizations

b. Which of these organizations do you most enjoy?

c. Do any of the following affect your taking part in community organizations

(1)..YES (2)... NO

1. Lack of	(1) YES	(2) NO
2. Lack of interest		
3. Lack of confidence in your ability		
4. Irregular hours of fish work or other work		
5. Lack of transportation		
6. Lack of information about activities, time, place, etc		
7. Cost of baby sitters		
8. Other		

d. On the average how many hours per month would you spend in community and other organizations? (include travel time, committee work, telephoning, etc.)

In the summer? HOURS PER MONTH.....

e. In the winter?...HOURS PER MONTH.....

WORLD VIEW

76. Next I will read some statements dealing with your beliefs and feelings. How much would you agree or disagree with this statement?

STRONGLY
AGREE
I

STRONGLY
DISAGREE

1. "The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents"

What about this one?

2. Young people should not be allowed to read books that are likely to confuse them

And this?

3. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong

How much would you agree that

4. In this complicated world, the only way to know what to do is to rely on leaders and experts

And this?

5. Any good leader should be strict with people under him or her in order to gain their respect

And

6. It's all right to do anything you want as long as you stay out of trouble

7. If something works, it doesn't matter whether it's right or wrong
8. It's all right to get around the law as long as you don't actually break it
9. There - are some things that are wrong even if they are legal

And the last one

10. It generally works out best to keep on doing things the way they have been done before

77 a. Are you generally

- (1) ... one of the first people to try out something new or
- (2) ..do you wait until you see how it's worked out for other people?

b. Are you the sort of person who

- (1) ..takes life as it comes, or
- (2) ..are you working towards some definite goal(s)?

78. Next are some statements about how you feel about yourself

Do you think that you usually

USUALLY SOMETIMES SELD

- (1) take a positive attitude towards yourself
- (2) feel that you are a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others
- (3) Do you feel that you are able to do most things as well as other people can
- (4) Do you generally have confidence that when you make plans you will be able to carry them out

79. All of us have times when we don't feel so good about ourselves. Do you ever say to yourself

OFTEN

SOMETIMES

NEVER

- (1) I wish I could have more respect for myself
- (2) At times I think I am no good at all
- (3) I feel useless at times
- (4) I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be
- (5) There are very few things about which I am absolutely certain

80. Do you ever feel that

OFTEN

SOMETIMES

NEVER

- (1) You are about to go to pieces
- (2) feel downcast and rejected
- (3) find yourself anxious and worrying about something
- (4) feel uneasy about something without knowing why
- (5) feel so restless that you cannot sit still
- (6) find that you can't get rid of some thought or idea that keeps running through your mind?
- (7) feel bored with everything
- (8) feel powerless to get what you want out of life
- (9) feel guilty for having done something wrong?
- (10) feel that the world just isn't very understandable
- (11) feel that there isn't much purpose to being alive

81 a. When things go wrong for you how often would you say it is your own fault?

- (1) VERY OFTEN
- (2) OFTEN
- (3) SOMETIMES OR OCCASIONALLY
- (4) SELDOM
- (5) NEVER

b. Do you feel that most of the things that happen to you are

- (1) the result of your own decisions or
- (2) of things over which you have no control?

ID# _____

Certain barriers may interfere with the satisfaction we enjoy in our relations with family and friends, and in our daily lives. On the other hand certain things enable us to enjoy and appreciate life more. The list I am going to read to you was made up from conversations that we have had with other fisherman's wives. We would like to know your opinion:

82. For each of the following, would you say whether (3) it interferes; (1) makes life better, (2) has no effect

First,

1. the seasonality of fish work (fishing is seasonal)
2. working your own hours, not having to punch a time clock
3. having time off in winter
4. working together as a family in a common enterprise
5. having fresh fish and good food available
6. unpredictable fish prices and marketing
7. the weather
8. the drama and excitement in fishing
9. tension and up-tightness in the spring before season opens
10. competition and jealousy in the fishery

83a. What do you think is the best thing about fishing?

b. What do you think is the worst thing?

84. Next, we have some questions about your involvement in decision-making:

a. First how much are you involved in decisions about the fishing

(1)..a lot, (2) ... a little, or (3) ... not at all

b. Are you satisfied that you have a fair share in these decisions?

(1) YES

(2) NO

c. How much are you involved in decisions about the children

(1)..a lot, (2) ... a little, or (3) ... not at all

d. Are you satisfied that you have a fair share in these decisions?

(1) YES

(2) NO

e. What about household work decisions:

(1) ... a lot, (2) ... a little. or (3) ... not at all

f. Are you satisfied that you have a fair share in these decisions?

(1) YES

(2) NO

g. How about household expenditures: food, clothing, shelter, child care,

(1)... a lot. (2) ... a little, or (3) ... not at all

h. Are you satisfied that you have a fair share in these decisions?

(1) YES

(2) NO

i. How much are you involved in decisions about your paid job?...

(1)... a lot, (2) ... a little, or (3)..not at all

c. Are you satisfied that you have a fair share in these decisions?

(1) YES

(2) NO

d. And lastly, what about decisions about your social life and recreation

(1)..a lot, (2) ... a little, or (3) ... not at all

l. Are you satisfied that you have a fair share in these decisions?

(1) YES

(2) NO

85. Now, I have a list of events that can add stress to your life. Have you experienced any of them recently?

YES	NO
(1)	(2)

1. Gaining a new household member (birth, adoption, family member moving in)
2. (If older children) son or daughter leaving
3. Retirement, you or your husband
4. Major personal illness or injury
5. Serious illness or injury of close family
6. Death of a close family member or close
7. Trouble with in-laws
8. Family violence or problems related to drugs or alcohol
9. Marital difficulties
10. Change in financial status to become a lot better off
11. Borrowing large amount of money
12. Mortgage or loan foreclosure
(Loan called in)

86. When you want information or advice or have problems, you might go to (1) family, (2) friends, (3) neighbour, (4) your boss, or (5) to professional workers such as a district home economist, clergyman, or teacher.

(1) Family (2) Friends (3) Neighbour (4) Your boss (5) Professional or NA

1. Who do you go to for money or things you need (borrowing)? ()
2. For advice about health?()
3. For advice about family problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, family violence, or any other problems?()

Who do you go to for problems about

4. housework ()
5. with fishing (e.g. income tax, Unemployment Insurance) ()
6. with your paid job()
7. with your marriage()
8. about childcare ()
9. about your children's school ()

87 When the demands of your life are very heavy, which of these would you do to cope?

YES	NO	NA
(1)	(2)	

1. Cut down on the amount of "outside" activities in which you are involved
2. Work out a fair schedule of household tasks for family
3. Hire outside help for housework
4. Hire outside help for child care
5. Plan time for yourself
6. Yell or shout to let off steam
7. Lower your standards of how well household tasks must be done

8. Buy more goods and services rather than do things yourself at home

9. Eat out

88. If you have a little disagreement with your husband, how often do you

OFTEN

SOMETIMES

SELDOM/N
EVER

(1) keep out of his way for a while

(2) give in more than half way

(3) just keep hurt feelings to yourself

ID# _____

**DEMO
GENERAL**

This is the last set of questions. They are just some factual things we need to know to set up the data.

ASK ONLY THOSE QUESTIONS FOR WHICH THE INFORMATION HAS NOT BEEN GIVEN. OTHERWISE, SIMPLY FILL IN THE DATA.

89. Which of the following categories best describes your marital status:

- (1) Married and living with husband
- (2) Single- separated , widowed, or divorced

If widowed: how long have you been widowed? yr

If separated or divorced, how long? yr

90a. Where were you born? (What province of Canada, or other country)

b. Where did you grow up ?

- (1)...city, (2)...town,(3)...village, (4)....fishing community, (5)...farming community,
(6)...other

91. Where did your husband live until he was 16?

- (1)...city, (2)...town, (3)...village, (4)...fishing community,(5)...farming community,
(6)...other

92. Were your ancestors mostly English, Scottish, Acadian, or something else?

- (1) Acadian
- (2) French
- (3) English
- (4) Irish
- (5) Scottish
- (6) German
- (7) Dutch
- (8) North - American Indian

(9) Other (specify)

93. What about your husband- what is his ethnic background ?

- (1) Acadian
- (2) French
- (3) English
- (4) Irish
- (5) Scottish
- (6) German
- (7) Dutch
- (8) North American Indian
- (9) Other (specify)

94.a. What is the language you first learned in childhood and still understand?

- (1) ENGLISH
- (2) FRENCH
- (3) OTHER

b. What language do you speak at home now?

- (1) ENGLISH
- (2) FRENCH
- (3) OTHER

95. What was your age at your last birthday?
Are you in your 20's, 30's, 40's, etc?

- (1) UNDER 25(2) 25-34
- (3) 35-44
- (4) 45-54
- (5) 55-64
- (6) 65-74
- (7) 75 OR OVER

96. What is your husband's age?
Is he in his 20's, 30's, 40's, etc?

- (1) UNDER 25(2) 25-34
- (3) 35-44
- (4) 45-54
- (5) 55-64
- (6) 65-74
- (7) 75 OR OVER

97a. What, if any, is your religious preference?

- (1) Roman Catholic
- (2) Anglican
- (3) Baptist
- (4) United
- (5) Presbyterian
- (6) Jewish
- (7) Other
- (8) None

b. Would you say you go to church (or synagogue)

- (1) every week
- (2) almost every week
- (3) once or twice a month
- (4) a few times a year
- (5) never

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