

IN THEM DAYS
The Breakdown of a Traditional Fishing Economy
in an English Village on the Gaspé Coast

Roger Clarke

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes economic decline in a fishing village, set against its historical and regional perspective in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Using as framework the "core-periphery" concept, change in the regional economy is seen as a response to the relationship between the periphery and metropolitan centres. In the "traditional economy" period ending in the 1930s, the people of the community, though in part dependent upon fish merchants, pursued a balanced exploitation of local environmental resources. Since World War II these resources have no longer satisfied their needs, and they have become largely dependent upon government "transfer payments". "Regionalization" is an important feature of economic change, and a major strategy in government development plans. Finding themselves a minority amongst a French majority, English people are isolated from many aspects of regional life. Thus a sense of alienation and frustration compounds the economic difficulties of the community.

Ph.D.

Department of Geography

DANS LE TEMPS

L'effondrement d'une économie de pêche traditionnelle dans un village anglais de Gaspésie

Roger Clarke

RESUME

Cette thèse a pour objet l'analyse du déclin économique d'un village de pêcheurs, dans le contexte historique et régional du golfe St-Laurent. Le concept théorique "noyau-périphérie" a été utilisé ici, ainsi, l'évolution de l'économie régionale est analysée comme une réponse à la relation qui existe entre la périphérie et les centres urbains. La période d'"économie traditionnelle" s'arrête dans les années trente. Durant cette période, bien que les habitants du village dépendaient en partie des négociants de poisson, ils s'adonnaient à une exploitation équilibrée des ressources du milieu local. Depuis la deuxième guerre mondiale, les ressources ne satisfont plus les besoins de la population locale, qui dépend en grande partie de "paiements de transfert" gouvernementaux. La régionalisation est une caractéristique importante de l'évolution économique, et l'une des stratégies majeures adoptée par le gouvernement en matière de développement économique. En situation de minorité au sein de la majorité française, les anglais sont isolés de nombreux aspects de la vie régionale. Par là même, un sentiment d'aliénation et de frustration vient se mêler aux difficultés économiques du village.

Ph.D.

Département de Géographie

IN THEM DAYS

IN THEM DAYS

The Breakdown of a Traditional Fishing
Economy in an English Village on the
Gaspé Coast

Roger Clarke

A thesis presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research, McGill University, in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Geography
McGill University
Montreal

September 1972

Preface

People in rural communities are always deeply conscious of the past. The fact that they have deep roots in one place is envied by the mobile elite of an urbanized society. Rural life conveys a sense of continuity in the face of a changing external world. Frequently the rural people look back to what they regard as happier or more prosperous times past. "In them days, mister, there was thirty boats in that cove" the people of the fishing village declared, pointing to an empty bay. This study shares the perspective of the people as it views the contemporary life of the village against the background of economic and social changes over a long span of time. It analyzes some of the transformations that have taken place on the Gaspé Coast in the past 50 years. Our discussion of the activities of the present population is based on an understanding of what life was like "in them days".

In the study of a fishing village this research elaborates on certain general themes within the regional context of the Gaspé Coast. There are two ways in which it is hoped to make an original contribution to knowledge. Firstly, the thesis describes the adaptive strategies devised by a rural population to cope with economic change at the periphery of a developed economy. The peasant economic organization developed by the people of the Gaspé Coast is similar to other peasant societies at the margins of Western countries and in the Third World. Secondly, in describing an English-language village in a French-speaking region, the thesis assesses the significance of cultural and linguistic variables

as they affect economic change. This is the first study of the English on the Gaspé Coast, and has considerable relevance to the position of official-language minorities elsewhere in Canada.

The main part of the fieldwork for the thesis was carried out in the summer months of 1970 and 1971. Shorter visits were made to the research area in the winters of 1970-71 and 1971-72. In all, approximately eight months were spent in fieldwork. Most of the work was done in a single village of about 65 households. It was based on a detailed household survey. An attempt was made to interview all heads of household, using as a framework a prepared, standard questionnaire. The questionnaire frequently served as a stimulus to further, more free-ranging discussion. To supplement the household survey, it was necessary to build up a historical picture of community life. This was done by interviewing a small number of old people who had been resident in the village for at least 65 years. In addition to the general historical material, information was collected for a particular year - 1925 - on all the households in the community at that time. The information provided by the old people was cross-checked against the municipal census for that year. Further interviews were carried out with people involved in key economic and social institutions in the community - school, church, fish processing plant - and with others who were particularly well informed about community life. A further task was the construction of a genealogy for the village, showing the various patterns of kinship linkages. Although this material was not directly relevant to the subject of the thesis, it was vital to building up a clear picture of the social structure of the community.

7

The fieldwork in the community was largely, but not entirely, successful. In the initial stages the research was regarded with great suspicion by the local people. Progress with the household survey was slow. However, entry into the community was helped immeasurably by the hospitality of several long-established residents. First among these was Austin Girard, a former entrepreneur and a prominent figure in the locality. His help in providing accommodation, information, and introductions to many people was invaluable. More rapid progress was made with the household survey in the winter months, when people had time to spare. However, in the summer of 1971, it became clear that there was a substantial group of people who were less willing to respond to interview. Many of these people were embarrassed by their social situation, which chiefly meant being poor, and receiving welfare payments. Rather than risking rejection by the community as a whole, no pressure was put on these people to respond to interview. Instead, some information on all households was obtained from various other sources. About 50 of the 66 heads of household were interviewed directly. The other types of information, such as the historical survey, which were obtained from a few selected informants, presented no problem. In general, the people of the village were very hospitable and endured persistent questioning with a great deal of patience.

Outside the community, about 20 interviews were carried out with regional leaders and officials. These included Church and School Board personnel, retired fish merchants, and officials of the Canada Manpower and Quebec Social Aid offices. Visits were made to a large number of other villages in the region. In one of these, with the assistance of Syd Cass,

7

retired farmer, churchwarden, and school board secretary, a detailed survey was made of community life on the same lines as the principal community study.

Preliminary drafts of some chapters of the thesis were made during fieldwork in the summer of 1971. The thesis was written, and twice revised, in the winter of 1971-72. During this time a further brief visit was made to the community. A visit was also made to Memorial University, St. John's, for discussion of the work with members of the Institute for Social and Economic Research. The thesis was typed in August 1972.

The information for the community at the present time, as far as possible, is standardized to a 1970 dateline. This standardization was assisted by a municipal census for that year. In the thesis, all present-day events are referred to in the present tense, whereas historical material is referred to in the past tense. Standardization of place names presented a considerable problem. As elsewhere in the Province of Quebec, many place names have both an English and a French version. In some instances they are widely divergent: for instance Coin-du-Banc in French is Corner of the Beach in English. Throughout the thesis, the local English usage is preferred. This is different not only from the French, but also from the "official English": for instance, "the Gaspé Coast" is used and not "the Gaspé"; "Grand Valley" and not "Grande-Vallée". In Appendix A is given a list of all the region's place names as used in the thesis, with their official French equivalent. Canadian spelling seems to represent an uncertain compromise between British and American usage. In this

thesis, although normal Canadian vocabulary is used - "gasoline", not "petrol"; "truck", not "lorry", - the spelling is largely British. If divergences occur - such as the use of "z" rather than "s" in words such as "colonization" - it is to be hoped that they are at least consistent within the thesis.

Many people have assisted me in the course of the research, though the final responsibility for the contents of the thesis remains mine. I carried out nearly all my fieldwork with Raymond Mougéon, a Ph.D. student in the Department of Linguistics at McGill University. His study is concerned with the local English dialect, and with some of the social aspects of language use: for instance the way in which French and English are perceived by the local population. To Raymond I owe an increased awareness of the importance of language use in a multilingual situation. More important, we shared all the hopes and frustrations of carrying out fieldwork: by combining our highly divergent gifts we were able to gain a much greater understanding of local society than would have been possible as individuals. My deepest debt is to the many people of the Gaspé Coast, too numerous to name, who helped in the research by providing information and assistance. To mention some of them implies omitting others whose contribution was also valuable. However, I am particularly grateful to the Catholic priest, M. l'Abbé Jiona, and to the Anglican minister, Rev. David Belden. Among local people, Syd Cass, Austin Girard, Vane LePage, Eugene Chicoine, Leonard Girard, Lionel Thibault, and members of their families were outstandingly generous. In the university world, various people have read the thesis during its preparation

and provided helpful criticism: notably Jim Gilmour, Paul Collier, Felicity Leckenby, Susan Barton, and John Clarke. Harold Brookfield, who read the thesis twice, has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. I have received most assistance from my supervisor, Eric Waddell. He has always been accessible and willing to help. He has provided a good deal of patient criticism and has cheered me in the darker days. We have explored together the world of Atlantic Canada, so that this study is in some ways a preliminary to his own work in the Magdalen Islands and Newfoundland. I shall miss our most enjoyable personal and intellectual collaboration. Finally, I am grateful to the Federal Government for a Commonwealth Scholarship which enabled me to study and to carry out research in Canada, and to McGill University for a summer travel grant in 1971. Without all these, the research would have been impossible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	ii
List of Diagrams	xi
List of Maps	xiii
List of Plates	xiii
Introduction The Purpose of the Thesis	1
PART I. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH	7 ✓
Chapter One The Periphery: A Theoretical Framework	8 ✓
Cores and Peripheries	
Colonial Enterprises	
The Response of the Local People	
Chapter Two Levels of Analysis	43 ✓
Community Study	
Regional Survey	
Chapter Three Community and Region	55 ✓
Choice of Study Area	
A View of the Gaspé Coast	
PART II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REGIONAL ECONOMY	71 ✓
A Theoretical Framework: Enterprises at the Periphery	
Chapter Four The Jersey Regime	80
The Gaspé Coast as an Export Enclave	
The Arrival of the People	
Chapter Five Changing Types of Enterprise	95
The Problems of the Salt Fish Industry	
The Withdrawal of the Jersey Merchants	
Concentration in the Fishery	
Other Forms of Centralization	
Chapter Six Centralization and the People	118
Population Change	
Regionalization and Employment	
The Intervention of Government: Two Contradictory Policies	

PART III.	A COMMUNITY RESPONDS TO CHANGE	148	✓
	A Theoretical Framework: Peripheral Populations		
Chapter Seven	The Traditional Economy	156	✓
	Occupational Pluralism and Risk Minimization		
	The Merchant and Risk Sharing		
Chapter Eight	The Main Themes of Change	171	
	The Decline of the Traditional Economy at the Local Level		
	The Consequences of a Regional Economy		
	The Composition of the Local Population: the Linguistic Implications of Centralization		
	Government and the People		
Chapter Nine	The Contemporary Community	206	
	The New Local Adaptation		
	Subsistence-Based Pluralism		
	Seasonal Employment		
	Full-Time Employment		
	Reliance on the State		
	The Survival of Mal Bay		
PART IV.	THE FUTURE OF THE PERIPHERY	238	
Chapter Ten	Understanding the Periphery	239	✓
	The Core-Periphery Framework: Elaboration and Assessment		
	A Comparative View: Populations at the Periphery in Atlantic Canada		
Chapter Eleven	Proposals for Change	265	
	Reconciling Government and People: Alternative Policy in Development		
	Development Policy and the English Minority		
	The Way Forward		
APPENDICES		281	
Appendix A	Place Names	282	
Appendix B	A Critique of Census Data	284	

Appendix C	A Critique of Fieldwork Data	286
Appendix D	The Structure of Unemployment and Welfare Benefits	294
References		296

List of Diagrams

1. The Effect of Closure of Industry	35
2. The Control of Supply and Production at the Periphery by a Single Colonial Enterprise	74
3. The Evolution of Control at the Periphery	77
4. Volume of Production and Market Value of Codfish in the Province of Quebec, 1910-1970	97
5. Options for the Traditional Fish Merchants	108
6. Population Change on the Gulf Shore	120
7. British Isles and French Ethnic Origin on the Gulf Shore	121
8. The Changing Size of the Three Groups on the Gulf Shore	123
9. Retention Ratios on the Gulf Shore	124
10. Population Composition and Bilingualism	127
11. Population Change in Gaspé	129
12. Population Change in St. George	131
13. The Evolution of Occupations through a Man's Lifetime	159
14. Seasonal Household Economic Organization	161
15. Ethnic Origin of Heads of Household	188
16. Heads of Household by Language and Religion	189
17. Occupations of Heads of Household by Language/Religion Group, 1925	190
18. Percentage of Heads of Household Bilingual	194
19. Occupations of Heads of Household by Language/Religion Group, 1970	207
20. Occupation, Age and Household Size, 1970	207

21. Farmers, 1970	208
22. Work Experience of Heads of Household	208
23. The Future of the Inshore Fisherman	216
24. The Landed Price of Codfish	218
25. Quantity of Codfish Landed, Mal Bay and Quebec Province	227
26. Interviews of Heads of Household in Mal Bay	289
27. Questionnaire Used in Household Survey	292

List of Maps

1. The Gaspé Coast in the Gulf of St. Lawrence	56
2. The Gaspé Coast in the Province of Québec	57
3. Mal Bay	59
4. The Gaspé Coast: Community and Region	61
5. Trading Patterns of Company Schooners in the 19th Century	86
6. The Gulf Shore	91
7. Centralization in the Fishery	107

List of Plates

1 and 2. Summer and Winter: The Fish Plant at Mal Bay . .	147	following
3 and 4. Mal Bay Wharf: Refuge and Moorings	147	
5. On the Flakes: Codfish Drying at Mal Bay	147	
6. The Cove at Belle Anse	147	
7. Robins Store at L'Anse à Beaufils	147	
8. Percé: Tourist Centre around the Rock	147	

Introduction

THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

This study investigates the way in which a rural population adjusts to change. The region where these people live is part of the Canadian periphery, distant from the main areas of economic activity. Its peripherality is defined first in geographical or spatial terms, in that it is physically remote from large centres. Second, and more importantly, it is economically peripheral in that its industries have always been controlled from the metropolitan areas. This may be called a structural peripherality. The region's economic organization has thus been developed in response to the structural relations existing between the rural population and the controlling enterprises in the metropolitan regions.

The rural population is located on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Throughout its history it has been concerned with the exploitation of the primary materials of land, sea, and forest, of which the marine resources have been the most important. Like many other parts of Atlantic Canada, the population has played a small but significant part in the international cod fisheries. Over the years, the natural environment has remained as a constant. The people too, in the face of an uncertain external world, have followed a consistent strategy of maximizing opportunities for employment while minimizing risk in commitment to any of them. However, the organization of the economy, which is an expression of the structural relations between the population and the controlling enterprises of the metropolis, has changed. It has evolved in response to such things as new market conditions, higher standards of living, and techno-

logical developments. One of its main features has been greater investment in the productive process - bigger boats and fish plants - and centralization of production to a few ports. With the changing organization of the economy has come a shift in the structural relations between metropolis and periphery. Previous to about 1930 the local economy was integrated into a European-based fishery and trading world. Since 1930 it has come under the control of Canadian-based enterprises. With the move from one controlling metropolis to another has come a change in orientation from a maritime to a land-based economy.

The study does not attempt to examine in depth the relationship between metropolis and periphery. It does not pretend to examine the origin of many vital changes - for instance the fluctuating conditions in world fish markets or the improvement in radio and television communication - but it does attempt to assess the impact of these changes on the rural population - the decline of the local fish company, or the attitudes and decisions of people with regard to rural and urban lifestyles. Its primary concern is with a population, and with the way that population has reacted and adjusted to changes coming from the outside. Substantial research has been done with the local people, and most of the data has been derived from this work. The viewpoint is thus very much that of the people themselves. The first task has been to try to understand how the people see, and act in, their world: the second task to analyze and to interpret their perception and behaviour.

The way in which the people have responded to economic change is a function of the composition of the population. The internal demographic dynamics of the population affect its capacity to absorb and to

adjust to change, so that analysis of these dynamics is an important part of the study. The particular population under review is an English-speaking minority in a French-majority region and province. Hence, linguistic issues such as assimilation, bilingualism, and language status become important in assessing how these people respond to change in a way that is different or distinct from other people in the same region. The particular consequences of linguistic minority status are of concern throughout the thesis.

Part I elaborates on the background to the research. In order to provide perspective in which to view the reaction of a peripheral population to economic change, a theoretical framework is used. This framework is taken as "given" and the thesis does not attempt to "test" it in any real way. The framework is derived from the "core-periphery" or "metropolis-satellite" model of economic development which accounts for the underdevelopment of peripheral regions in terms of their relationship with economic core regions. The core-periphery model is developed at length in Chapter One. Following from this model, theoretical statements are made at the beginning of Parts II and III about the nature of economic and social organization at the periphery, which help to select and to define the substantive information.

The methodology used to gather much of the information about the rural population was that of "micro-study". This was found to be the only way to carry out detailed examination of local dynamics - both of the population and of economic organization - that would permit a sufficient understanding of how the people reacted to economic change. The micro-study was supplemented by a regional study. The two scales of analysis -

community level and regional level - are examined critically in Chapter Two. Chapter Three discusses the selection of region and of community, and provides a preliminary description of the chosen area.

Part II provides a view of the economic changes that have taken place at a regional level. Its approach is historical, beginning with the early days of the fishery and ending with a discussion of contemporary government policy for economic development. It is selective rather than comprehensive. Chapter Four describes the establishment of the fish companies and of the early settlers. Chapter Five deals with the changing types of enterprise in the peripheral region, providing some explanation for the evolution from European-based salt fish merchants to Canadian-based fresh fish corporations. Technological rationalization, and the centralization of production, are major themes. The discussion is extended to cover industries other than the fishery. Chapter Six deals with the people at a regional level: with population change, and with the consequences of industrial rationalization for employment. This is followed by a critical analysis of the conflicting economic and social development policies pursued by the government.

Part III is based on the micro-study and describes in detail the response to change in a single fishing village. As with the regional survey, the account of the community is presented in chronological sequence. The economic and social characteristics of the population in times past greatly affect its capacity to adjust to changes at the present. For instance, since past conditions did not require the English minority to become bilingual but permitted them to use English only, they experience difficulty in adapting to a new situation which requires them to operate in

French. An old economic order which placed low value on formal education but a high value on inherited skills in inshore fishing is inadequate training for a deep-sea fishery which requires the use of sophisticated equipment.

Chapter Seven provides a base for discussion of change by analyzing the "traditional economy" of the community. The organization of the fishing companies and of the local economy changed little between 1780 and 1930. This chapter describes the "peasant strategy" used by the people during this period to cope with the uncertainties of their existence at the periphery. Chapter Eight investigates the impact of the changes, already outlined at the regional level in Part II, on the community in the past fifty years. It puts forward reasons for the decline of the traditional economy, and assesses the significance of minority status in the population's adjustment to the new economic situation. Chapter Nine gives a picture of the contemporary community. It shows how the people have developed new strategies to cope with the changing economic situation which allow them to preserve to a large degree the social fabric of their traditional village. ✓

Part IV draws together the various threads of the thesis. In Chapter Ten there is an assessment of the effectiveness of the core-periphery model in providing a framework for the understanding of the economic organization of the periphery. This is followed by a comparative view drawn from research elsewhere in Atlantic Canada. This serves to restate the main themes of the population's response to change. Following from criticism earlier in the thesis of government planning, Chapter Eleven puts forward an alternative strategy for development at the periphery. The main need is

for the reconciliation of government and people so that they share common objectives in promoting economic and social change. It is at this point that the researcher finally puts aside the cloak of objective analysis and reveals the nature of his commitment to a more humane society.

PART I

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

Chapter One

THE PERIPHERY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The task of this thesis is to examine the response of a rural population in a peripheral region to economic changes impinging on it from the outside. Chapter One provides a theoretical framework against which to view the study of the population, by defining some of the concepts associated with the periphery. It does not attempt a critical examination of the core-periphery or metropolis-satellite model: such a critique is beyond the scope of the present study. Nor does it seek to test the model: in order to do this, it would be necessary to study at a macro-level the linkages of core to periphery, whereas this investigation looks only at a peripheral region. Rather, Chapter One tries, through a summary of generally accepted economic and socio-economic theory, to furnish a series of concepts relevant to the handling of material in later chapters.

Chapter One falls into three parts. The first deals with economic models of core and periphery developed to explain the inequalities of wealth between places. It focusses on economic relationships. The second and third parts follow from the first and deal with the socio-economic characteristics of the periphery. The second part examines colonial enterprises; the third looks at peasant societies and some of their main features - combinations of subsistence and commercial production, insecurity of employment, rural-urban migration, and so on. Theoretical discussion at this stage of the thesis makes it possible to state more explicitly what characteristics are expected of the populations described at later stages.

Cores and Peripheries

The existence of inequalities in wealth or in prosperity between countries or between regions of the same country has long been recognized. Throughout history, prosperous regions have been bounded by poor regions, even though social and technical change has continually modified the distribution of the two types of zone. Most writers on economic development begin by recognising the fact of disparities. However, traditional economic theory, based on equilibrium-seeking models, has viewed spatial disequilibrium or disparity as a temporary stage which would be eliminated at higher levels of modernization. Now that the persistence of disparities is generally accepted, the relevance of traditional theory has been questioned.

Brookfield comments:

Until very recently, even the fact of spatial disequilibrium as a persistent rather than a transitory phenomenon seems to have been doubted. However, it is no longer possible to question the presence of deviation-amplifying forces which create, sustain and entrench the centre-periphery pattern, or to assume that these forces can be reduced simply to excessive population growth which absorbs the benefits of spread effects; the evidence within Western countries from areas such as Ireland, Appalachia and the eastern regions of Canada should be sufficient.

(Brookfield, 1972: 9-10).

Discussion of development and aid for the "Third World" of Africa, Asia and Latin America is aimed at action to reduce these persistent inequalities. As Brookfield points out, the same types of inequality exist also within Canada, broadly speaking between the rural regions of the east and the Prairies on the one hand, and the metropolitan centres of Montreal, southern Ontario, and the west on the other. The disparities in regional prosperity have been documented by the Federal Government in a graphic

series of maps (Canada. Department of Forestry, 1964)

and development programmes under the ARDA (Agricultural and Rural Development Act) scheme are attempting to counteract those which exist in rural areas.¹

While the existence of international and intranational inequalities has been interpreted in various ways, all the studies examined here have a common theme: the inequalities are seen as a function of the type of relationship existing between the wealthy "core" regions and the poorer "peripheral" regions. Having recognized the persistence of disparities, Brookfield continues:

It is but a short step hence to the view that under-development is so far from being a transitional condition as to be the very creation of external penetration of a traditional economy. An "open economy" is formed, dependent on remote markets and centres of supply, subject to variations in the terms of trade which it cannot control, and which frequently move against it ...

(Brookfield, 1972: 11).

A major feature of peripheral regions, therefore, is that their economies - particularly those sectors producing for export - are controlled from the core regions. This is most obviously true of the political colony. In the nineteenth century sense of the term, colonies were seen as economic investments producing raw materials for the developing industries of the mother country. Colonial policy was based on the quest for spheres of economic influence. Development took place through private companies under the political and military protection of the metro-

1. Brewis (1969) provides a comprehensive analysis of the various regional development policies of the Canadian Government.

politan power. Sometimes, as in the case of the East India Company or the Hudson's Bay Company, the companies operating in the colonies exercised political power of their own. The rapid progress of political decolonization since World War II has not been accompanied by economic decolonization: frequently, enterprises in peripheral regions remain controlled from metropolitan regions, although the nature of the enterprises and the location of the metropolis may change.

Levitt (1970) argues that, even in a country such as Canada, which has long been politically independent, the process of economic colonialism has continued. The subsidiaries and branch plants of American-based multi-national corporations have replaced the earlier European-based mercantile venture companies in extracting raw materials and organizing the supply of manufactured goods. In the new colonialism, as in the old, the corporation based in the metropolitan region acts as entrepreneur in providing capital and management, and in return collects a profit from its investment.

From his work in Latin America, Frank (1969a) stresses the persistence through time of control of the economy of the periphery by the metropolis. As an important part of a model of underdevelopment, he identifies the possibility of structural change both in the location of the metropolis and in the manner in which control is exercised. One metropolis may replace another, as the United States has replaced Spain in the economy of South America. Transformations, such as the industrialization of the plantation, may take place within the system. Nevertheless, external control of the periphery remains, and often intensifies rather than weakening.

Peripheral regions are usually concerned with the production of

primary products for export. The most important statement of the significance of primary products has been that of the Canadian "staple theorists", particularly in the writings of the economic historian Harold Innis. Although Innis' work is now over thirty years old, his ideas are highly topical. Levitt (1970: 46) points out that Innis was the forerunner of the Latin American economists in developing a core-periphery approach to staple economies. He shared with them the attempt to widen analysis of the periphery to include social and political as well as economic categories.

Innis (1967: 18) saw Canadian economic history as being dominated by the discrepancy between the centre (i.e. Western Europe) and the margin (i.e. Canada) of western civilization. Canadian energies were directed towards the exploitation of staple products. The raw materials thus exported stimulated manufactures of the finished product in the mother country. At the same time the industries of the mother country were expanded to produce goods which were in demand in the colony. As trade expanded, more and more people were drawn into production of the staple: directly, in primary industry; indirectly, in developing facilities such as transportation and marketing to service the primary industry. This pattern worked to the advantage of the mother country, which was able to develop further its manufacturing industries. The economic life of the colony - agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance, and governmental activity - was subordinated to the production of staples for the metropolis.

The staple theory thus recognizes the export of primary products as the leading sector of the economy. Watkins provides an exegesis in economic terms:

The limited - at first possibly non-existent - domestic market,

and the factor proportions - an abundance of land relative to labour and capital - create a comparative advantage in resource-intensive exports, or staples. Economic development will be a process of diversification around an export base. The central concept of a staple theory, therefore, is the spread effects of the export sector, that is, the impact of export activity on domestic economy and society.

(Watkins, 1967: 53-54).

These spread effects are to be found in terms of investment in the home production of inputs for the export sector (backward linkage); investment in industries using the export product as an input, "adding value" (forward linkage); and investment in domestic industries producing consumer goods for the home market created by the export sector (final demand linkage). Prosperity depends on the extent of the spread effects, which in turn depend on the nature of the staple and the way in which it is produced. However, export of the same staples produced in the same way tends to become unprofitable in the long run because of competition from cheaper sources of supply, changing tastes, and so on. In order to avoid economic stagnation and to promote economic growth, it becomes necessary either to produce old staples in new ways (technological modernization) or to shift to new staples. Without these adjustments, regions producing staples tend to develop weak spread effects and suffer from declining prosperity.

Foreign ownership, or control of the periphery from the metropolis, of enterprises producing a staple for export frequently acts to discourage spread effects and thus to contribute to the long-term stagnation of the peripheral region. Often it is in the interest of the foreign owners not to permit development of the domestic economy at the periphery, because possible opportunities in the domestic economy may discourage the

people of the periphery from taking part in export production, and because the development of domestic industry may reduce the need for imports which are furnished by the same company as is concerned with the export trade.

The increasingly unfavourable economic position of regions concentrating on the production of staples is aggravated by the change in the terms of trade between metropolitan and peripheral regions. This point has been emphasized in particular by the Latin American economist Raul Prebisch. Prebisch (1950: 1) points out how, under the theoretical scheme of the international division of labour, the specific task that fell to Latin America, as part of the periphery of the world economic system, was that of producing food and raw materials for the industrial nations. However, the benefits of this specialization have only been felt within the industrialized countries themselves. Though the real costs of industrial production have fallen, the gains through the cutting of costs have been retained entirely by the developed countries through wage and profit increases. There has been a long-term deterioration in the terms of trade from the point of view of the underdeveloped countries. Thus, he concludes, "while the centers kept the whole benefit of the technological development of their industries, the peripheral countries transferred to them a share of the fruits of their own technical progress" (Prebisch, 1950: 10).

Not only have price levels of export products deteriorated in the long term from the point of view of the peripheral regions; in the shorter term they have frequently been exposed to wide fluctuations. Specialization on a narrow range of export products entails economic insecurity for the peripheral regions in relation to a world market over

which they have no control. Brookfield describes the position of Melanesian exports:

Being part of an outermost ring¹, Melanesia is in competition for the "central city" market with a great many other places similarly situated. The effect of this situation is to be seen in the violent fluctuations which beset Melanesian exports Melanesian production is insufficient for variations in its own costs to have much effect on world prices....

(Brookfield with Hart, 1971; 209).

The core-periphery relationship is hierarchical in that it develops not only between countries but between regions within the same country. This consideration was an important omission from Levitt's (1970) work on the Canadian economy. While concentrating on the control of Canada by the United States in what she termed a "branch-plant economy", she did not mention the existence of far greater disparities of wealth within Canada related to the control of the Canadian periphery from Canadian metropolitan centres. In South America, Frank (1969b) shows how the national capital of a colonial country may function as a metropolis for its hinterland within that country, while at the same time it is subordinate to control from world metropolises in other countries. Thus "a whole chain of constellations of metropolises and satellites relates all the parts of the whole system from its metropolitan center in Europe or the United States to the farthest outpost of the Latin American countryside" (Frank, 1969b; 6).

A further body of ideas associated with the core-periphery model concerns the way in which growth in some areas affects the develop-

1. Brookfield views the position of the underdeveloped countries in terms of the von Thünen model of agricultural development, which is described by Chisholm (1962).

ment of other areas. Its positive results, as discussed in connexion with the staple theory, are described as "spread effects"; its adverse results, as "backwash effects". The first important statement of the localized nature of growth was that of Perroux (1964; 142ff.) with the concept of the "pôle de croissance". Following from this, Myrdal (1963) went beyond the definition of growth poles to suggest that expansion in one locality had "backwash" effects in other localities.

Myrdal proposes a model of "cumulative causation" which shows how industrial development creates further prosperity through a "multiplier effect". He also describes the opposite situation, in which the backward regions tend to become more backward. Selective migration attracts young people from the poor regions to the rich regions, and leaves the poor regions with an unfavourable age distribution. Capital movements tend to take place towards the rich regions where the most profitable investments are to be made. In the poor regions there is a continuing lack of capital. Likewise the development and freeing of trade confers competitive advantages on industries in expanding centres, which are working under conditions of increasing returns, so that industries in the poorer areas are put out of business. Thus the poorer regions continue to specialize in primary production.

Building on Myrdal's concepts and on his own work in Venezuela, Friedmann states that the same type of relationship exists between city and hinterland as between developed and underdeveloped countries. He describes the structural relations between core and periphery:

The center-periphery relation may be described as essentially a "colonial" one. This means that the periphery tends to contribute more to the growth of the center than it receives

in return. Over extended periods of time, it will tend to have a negative balance on its accounts of labor, capital, balance of payments, and materials. The emergence of a polarized structure is accompanied by a series of shifts from the periphery to the center, involving the principal factors of production: labor, capital, entrepreneurship, foreign exchange, and raw materials in unprocessed form.

(Friedmann, 1963: 45).

Some contemporary writers - notably Hirschman (1958) and Myint (1971) - have criticized the core-periphery analysis. While recognizing the existence of disparities, they point out that the emergence of growth points and therefore of differences in development between regions and between nations is inevitable and is a condition of further growth anywhere. Attempts to counter disparities by imposing economic equality are likely to eliminate growth points and stifle further economic development. It is not the purpose of this thesis to assess the merit of these criticisms. However, the history of capitalism has shown that to leave economic development to the "free play of market forces" is unlikely to bring economic benefit to the mass of the people. Even the massive intervention of government in aid and development programmes has failed to prevent the gap between rich and poor regions - whether at a national or an international scale - from growing wider. At the present time it seems entirely adequate to take the core-periphery model as a framework for the study of a rural population.

The main concepts involved in the core-periphery framework may be summarized as follows:

- (a) enterprises at the periphery are controlled from the core: this control persists despite changes in political organization and in the location of the metropolis; and despite

changes in the export commodity and the way in which it is produced

- (b) cores and peripheries are arranged hierarchically: the causes of disparities within a country and between countries are fundamentally the same
- (c) enterprises at the periphery specialize in primary products for export: unless there are substantial spread effects, the declining position of primary products on the world market will lead to a long-term decline in the prosperity of the periphery
- (d) development at the core has backwash effects at the periphery, involving movement of capital, labour and enterprise from *periphery* to core, with the consequent impoverishment of the periphery.

This framework is now taken as given, and is used to look in greater detail at one segment of the periphery. The remainder of Chapter One deals with colonial enterprises and with the response of the local population.

Colonial Enterprises

The chance of financial gain has been the spur to most colonial development. The early merchant venturers sought large profits, accepting a high degree of risk, by trading at the frontiers of the known world. They exchanged the products of the metropolitan country for commodities such as furs or precious metals furnished by the local people. Later, merchants began to organize the production of export commodities in the colonial region themselves. By promoting settlement in the colony they

became "planters"; from the early plantations arose the need for political colonization. The "plantation" has subsequently come to refer to a specialized type of agricultural production in tropical regions. Direct political control of the colonial area from the metropolitan country has become unfashionable, and many former colonies have gained at least a nominal political independence. However, the nature of colonial enterprise - whether in tropical, temperate or subarctic regions - has not changed, and economic control from the metropolis remains a major feature of life at the periphery.

Colonial enterprises organize large-scale production of one or more commodities for export. This production has sometimes been carried out in a way that has been completely controlled by the enterprise: production on company land using company equipment under close supervision. This has been the method of the traditional tropical plantation. Under a highly regulated system it has produced commodities such as rubber and sugar, often having a much greater investment in technology than indigenous enterprises. In other circumstances local producers have furnished the export product, while its collection, processing and marketing have been organized by the colonial enterprise. This was the pattern with the early merchant venturers: it was also used in the production of cotton by share-croppers in the American South, where it resulted from the breakdown of a more rigid plantation system. A compromise between the plantation and the independent producer was to try to bring the independent producers under company control. One way of doing this was for the colonial enterprise to furnish production equipment in return for a share in the export commodity. This was the method often used by fishing companies in the

North Atlantic.

Enterprises in the colony are controlled and financed from the metropolitan country. The entrepreneurs provide capital for equipment and supplies, they furnish skills in organization and production for the enterprise, and they arrange for the marketing of the export product. In return they receive the right to dispose of the proceeds of the enterprise. In part, profits are invested in expanding production, or in related activities in the colonial area. More controversially, profits are repatriated as dividends for investors in the metropolitan country, and all benefit to the colony is lost.

The entrepreneurs, in order to ensure the stability of the colonial enterprise and thus the security of their investment, often extend their operations beyond the simple production of an export commodity to include several forms of control over the local population. One of the most important forms has been the credit mechanism. In situations where local producers exist independent of the company, such as the fishermen of Atlantic Canada, it has been necessary to try to ensure that these producers will continue to supply the colonial entrepreneur with the export commodity, and not turn aside into other forms of production. Since local producers often lack the equipment needed for production - for example fishing gear - or lack essential supplies, such as foodstuffs or tools, which cannot be locally produced, these have been supplied on credit by the entrepreneur against his receiving payment in the export commodity. Such credit arrangements have continued over many years and the "company store", whether in the Arctic or in the tropics, has become a central feature of the colonial landscape.

The credit mechanism was characteristic of the American South, where most farmers needed credit to finance production of their cotton crop. Contemporary observers described the system as it operated in the 1930s:

Any cotton-farmer who lacks the capital necessary to finance his crop can mortgage the ungrown crop and his livestock to a landowner or merchant. The landowner or merchant then advances to the farmer, from time to time, whatever food, seed and other supplies are needed to support him and to 'make' the crop. When the crop is sold, the mortgager is repaid his loan with interest, and the farmer receives the balance.

(Davis, Gardner B., and Gardner M., 1941: 343)

By confiscating the property of the farmer, the merchant was able, at least in part, to insure himself against any failure to produce the crop.

Another means by which colonial entrepreneurs are able to exercise control over the population at the periphery is by providing social services - education, housing, medical care, etc. - which would not otherwise exist. For example, in Saint-Pierre, off the coast of Newfoundland, the salt fish company "Morue Française" "was the largest single employer on the island; its interests included the packet boat, fishing ships, the telephone company, buying and treating the fish from local dories, retail commerce, smithies, and bakeries" (Christian, 1969: 18). By providing a wide range of facilities outside the fishery which was its main concern, the company was able to ensure that control of most economic and social organizations - and hence political power - remained in its hands.

Colonial enterprises often try to shape the attitudes of the people by promoting an ideology favourable to the enterprise. This ideology may best be described as "corporatism", similar to the "corporate state". At a personal level corporatism is promoted by face-to-face relationships between the company's representatives and the local people. These relation-

ships - often developed through the negotiation of individual credit arrangements - are unequal but still personal. Since each worker has a personal relationship with the company, class solidarity between the workers is discouraged. At a community level, corporatism is promoted by the enterprise through the concept of the community as a harmonious working unit, similar to the family, which is bound together by mutual obligations. Conflict or political discord is held to be the result of outside provocation by disloyal elements. Corporatism serves the purposes of the company by diverting attention from the existence of wide discrepancies in wealth and power within the colonial community.¹

While the fundamental structure of colonialism remains unaltered, there have been some changes in enterprises at the periphery. The long-term comparative decline in the prices of primary products, the disappearance of political colonialism, and the emergence of new centres of economic colonialism have modified the economy of the periphery. In Canada, for instance, subsidiaries of American-based corporations have replaced European-based mercantile companies as the main exploiters of raw materials. Throughout the world, multi-national corporations have gained a great deal of economic and political autonomy:

They are manifestations of a new mercantilism of corporate empires which cut across boundaries of national economies and undermine the national sovereignty of the hinterland countries in which their subsidiaries and branch plants are located.

(Levitt, 1970: 3)

1. Corporatism is analyzed in detail in Saint-Pierre by Christian (1969). In the West Indies, Beckford (1972) provides a superb account of the way in which large corporations control the local society.

Frequently the power of the multi-national corporations is such that the governments of the peripheral countries are unable to exercise effective control over them.

The new colonial enterprises are much larger than the old. In order that primary products be more efficiently produced, there has been "rationalization" of production methods. This has meant greater capital investment in the productive process, particularly in new machinery and in the development of new techniques. It has implied a higher ratio of capital to labour and a reduction in the labour force. Fewer processing plants are required: therefore there has been consolidation into a small number of large plants and the closure of other installations. Large, capital-intensive processing plants require a strict control over the level of production of the raw material. Previously, the output of agricultural commodities by sharecroppers or by local peasants varied both according to the uncertainties of the natural environment over which there was very little control; and also according to the economic opportunities perceived by the peasants, of which production of a particular export commodity was only one. Now, the enterprises at the periphery attempt to determine production according to market needs by control over the environment (e.g. breeding better species, more wide-ranging fishing operations) and over the producers (employing them as wage labourers). This too has meant a smaller, more regulated, more skilled work force.

With the development of larger enterprises, the face-to-face transactions that were an important part of the operations of the older companies have disappeared. With the greater regulation of production through an industrialized labour force, the need for the credit mechanism has passed:

the possibility of maintaining a hold through credit has in any case been weakened where better communications permit competitive suppliers. The opportunity for controlling the population by providing community facilities has been lessened by the intervention of government in the field of social services: however in isolated places such as mining towns the degree of control over all aspects of life may remain high. In such towns, all the land, much of the housing, nearly all of the public buildings are likely to be company-owned: the company will probably be the main, if not the only payer of local taxes and will thus control local political life. Companies in peripheral areas continue to promote corporatism, though greater education of the workers has often meant a more severe challenge from unionization.

Particularly in the more highly developed countries, government has become a major patron of peripheral regions. Government provides a wide range of benefits such as education, transportation, and social security payments. It has become an important partner in the economic development of the periphery. Though the actions of the government may be benevolent in origin, they still represent control over the periphery from the core regions. In the same way as modern colonial enterprises, government activity is impersonal, bureaucratic, and unresponsive to local opinion. Like the large corporations, governments expend a good deal of energy in promoting the acceptance of their ideology among the peripheral population.

The economic structure of the periphery remains fundamentally unchanged. The concentration on raw materials for export, the dependence on outside capital and management, the control from outside the peripheral region, and the repatriation of profits from periphery to core are still the same. It is rare that colonial enterprises by themselves stimulate much

economic development or give rise to a dynamic and diversified local economy.

The Response of the Local People

The characteristic response of local people to the impact of colonial enterprise has been to develop what may broadly be described as a "peasant economy". Peasant economy is defined as "a socio-economic system of small-scale producers with a relatively simple, non-industrial technology" (Firth, 1964: 17). Continuing, Firth points out that peasants are not necessarily agriculturalists:

In my opinion it is not necessary then to restrict the term 'peasant' only to those people who cultivate the soil, and as owners. It can usefully include other 'countrymen' also, who share the social life and values of the cultivators, so that we can speak not only of peasant agriculturalists but also of peasant fishermen, peasant craftsmen and peasant marketers, if they are part of the same social system. In any case, such people are often in fact part-time cultivators as well.

(Firth, 1964: 17-18)

Both Firth and Brookfield (1970) view markets and money exchange as an essential part of peasant economy. Peasants depend on selling part of their produce in an urban market: they thus form a peripheral but essential part of the wider society.

Peasant society has often been regarded as a stage in the transition from a primitive subsistence economy to a modern commercial economy. This perspective is not wholly accurate. Peasant society has often been created by colonial penetration. The impact of colonial entrepreneurship was usually drastic:

By breaking up the age-old patterns of their agricultural economy, and by forcing shifts to the production of exportable crops, western capitalism destroyed the self-sufficiency of their rural society that formed the basis of the pre-capitalist order in all countries of its penetration, and rapidly widened and deepened the scope of commodity circulation.

(Baran, 1957: 143)

However, as Dalton (1967: 161) points out, while communities relying on subsistence production have enlarged their commercial activities, they have not continued to change further. While primitive economies become peasant economies, frequently peasant communities then fail to develop into modern communities. Peasant economies persist over long periods of time in close proximity to modern colonial enterprises. They are the characteristic response of the local people to colonialism and are a hallmark of existence at the periphery.¹

The objectives of the peasant are partly social and partly economic: they thus differ from the theoretical objectives of firms in a market economy, which are assumed to be purely economic. The economic goals of the peasant serve to maintain the social framework. As Karl Polanyi points out, "man is not an economic, but a social being. He does not aim at safeguarding his individual interests in the acquisition of material possessions, but rather at ensuring social good will, social status, social assets. He values possessions primarily as a means to that end" (Polanyi, 1968: 65).

The social goal of the peasant has generally been to maintain his household within the context of the peasant community. In order to achieve this, the peasant attempts to find productive work for all members

1. The persistence of a peasant economy in a German peasant village close to Cologne is described by Willens (1970).

of his family. The household in peasant society is the basic economic unit: its main asset is its labour potential, its main weakness a shortage of capital. The labour input of the peasant household varies according to family size and therefore family needs. According to Chayanov¹ "the degree of self-exploitation is determined by a peculiar equilibrium between family demand satisfaction and the drudgery of labor itself" (Chayanov, 1966: 6). The relation of the family labour force to its consumer demands changes as the family develops. At first, when the children are young, there is a high ratio of consumers to workers. Later, as the children begin to contribute towards the net output of the household, this ratio decreases. "Thus, every family, depending on its age, is in its different phases of development a completely distinct labor machine as regards labor force, intensity of demand, consumer-worker ratio, and the possibility of applying the principles of complex co-operation" (Chayanov, 1966: 60).

Franklin develops a similar theme when he describes the function of the peasant enterprise as that of "creating work" for all members of the household. He states that "the whole logic of the enterprise is founded on the premise of the adjustment of the scale of operation and of the intensity of operation to the existing labour supply" (Franklin, 1965: 148). The primary responsibility of the peasant household is to provide a livelihood for all its members, not to maximize profits or regulate production according to the market. Since the peasant's labour force consists of members of his family, to hire and fire them according to market considerations

1. Chayanov's work, based on extensive research in the Russian peasantry, was first published, in Russian, in 1925.

would be at once inhuman, impractical, and irrational. Inhuman because only in exceptional circumstances are alternative employment opportunities ever/ generally available. Impractical because members of the labour force, as members of the family, are entitled to a share in the ownership of the means of production.... Irrational because the objectives of the enterprise are primarily genealogical and only secondarily economic....

(Franklin, 1969: 1)

Both Franklin and Chayanov draw attention to the pluralistic nature of peasant economy. Franklin (1969) describes how polycultural practices on the farm are well suited to the peasant's family needs. Chayanov (1966) suggests that there is a balance between off-farm employment and the level of agricultural production. The amount of land used for agriculture is a reflection of the availability of off-farm employment, in that greater possibilities for work away from the farm lead to decreased intensity of agriculture. Since comparatively few days each year can be spent on farm work because of its seasonal nature, off-farm employment also tends to be associated with lulls in agricultural activity.

In general terms, the strategy by which the peasant has sought to provide security and employment for his household has been one of "risk minimization". In peripheral regions, where markets for primary products are often highly unstable and are usually unremunerative, the peasant is unwilling to take on the risk of complete commitment to the production of one or two commodities for cash. The peasant is neither wholly committed to the market, nor is he able to exist satisfactorily without it. Instead he undertakes combinations of subsistence and commercial production, often involving off-farm work, thus maximizing his range of options and minimizing possible risks in any one of them.

Risk minimization takes several forms. The most important and obvious of these is occupational pluralism. Characteristically, the peasant is a man with several jobs. According to Brookfield

... individuals participate either serially or simultaneously in as many opportunities as possible, while retaining the security of a reciprocity-based system so far as it is feasible. The power of choice is thus maintained, at least perceptually, and partial cash activity, spread of inputs over several enterprises, circulatory movement as migrant labour, and general lack of specialization become paths wherewith to maintain choice. In the resulting partial commitment, potential returns are not maximized, but some independence is sustained in the game against an uncertain external world.

(Brookfield, 1972: 23)

On the farm, occupational pluralism is expressed in combinations of subsistence and commercial production. Subsistence forms the basis for all activity, including as it does the construction of the peasant's house, barns, boat; the repair of equipment; the cutting of firewood, and so on. Commercial activity on the farm may consist of the growing of a specific export crop, or simply in the sale in local markets of a variety of products surplus to household requirements.

Off the farm, occupational pluralism is expressed in wage labour - fishing, factory work, construction work - and in entrepreneurial activity. Where he makes a daily journey to work, the peasant is able to maintain the farm in his spare time. However, seasonal migrations are also a common feature of the peasant economy. They may take place when too little work is locally available at a particular season, or when temporary opportunities arise elsewhere in such things as lumbering or harvesting. They are made possible by the existence of a variety of labour inputs from the peasant family which permit some of its members (typically the young and unattached)

to be absent for long periods of time while others (the older married people) stay at home to carry out the farm and household tasks which continue even in agricultural slack seasons.

The most important feature of wage labour in peasant economies is that it is viewed, in the context of a more general strategy of keeping as many options open as possible, as a means of preserving the peasant on the land. Seasonal migration makes it possible for the people to remain at the periphery. Up to a point, cash earnings, far from being an encroachment on the true nature of peasant society and an evolution towards modern society, help to make peasant society more viable. For instance, from his work in Fiji, Anderson concludes that, though most models have been bi-polar, viewing the shift from agricultural to non-agricultural employment as a decisive re-orientation, in fact

In most situations where these small-farm systems exist in juxtaposition with modern urban-industrial sectors, or with agriculture organized on capitalist lines, one can expect to find a variety of forms of interaction taking place, some of which require no significant change in the individual's way of life.

(Anderson, 1968: 13)

Willens shows how, throughout its long history, a German peasant village has adapted technological and organizational innovations in order to preserve its own culture. The village showed great ability "to assimilate changes imparted by the city and to reinterpret these changes in terms of its own values" (Willens, 1970: 540). In economic terms this meant that the people "chose to become peasant-workers using industrial wages to maintain their peasant traditions, even if no economic advantage could be derived from such a choice" (Willens, 1970: 542).

Although occupational pluralism is especially important in risk-minimizing, opportunity-maximizing strategies, and wage labour has a significant place in peasant society, there are other ways in which peasants seek to maintain themselves under the economic conditions of the periphery. One of these is by a refusal to invest in the productive process. This is apparent from the "backwardness" of peasant agriculture, or the reluctance of peasant fishermen to commit themselves to new, expensive boats. The reasons for the refusal to invest are twofold. First, as has already been pointed out, the peasant seeks to create work for all members of his family. Hence, there is little point in replacing an abundant resource (labour) with a scarce resource (capital) even when from a strictly market-economy point of view it would be profitable to do so. When labour-saving devices, such as tractors, are introduced, they often seem to be conceived of as much in terms of prestige as profitability. Second, the peasant does not want to commit his scarce capital resources to purchase of equipment for production of a commodity the demand for which may be highly variable. Inevitably, investment in technology means that the resulting commodity must then be produced on a much larger scale to justify the investment. This specialization in a single commodity runs counter to the peasant strategy of involvement in as diverse a range of activities as possible.

One way to overcome shortage of capital, both for consumer goods and for investment in production, is for the peasant to share the risks of life at the periphery with his neighbours. This scheme, known as reciprocity, is seen by many observers as a key feature of the peasant economy. Mutual aid and mutual indebtedness between neighbours or between kin is an integral part of peasant organization. It enables people in a peasant society who have

suffered temporary disaster, such as the burning of their house or the loss of their boat, to draw on the help of friends to repair the damage. It has also permitted some tasks - such as sheep-shearing or crop harvesting - to be performed communally. It is still a notable feature of many peripheral rural areas in Britain,¹ where it persists even in modernized non-peasant agriculture such as that in Cumberland (Williams, 1956). As Polanyi (1968) points out, reciprocity has a social as well as an economic function. Brookfield (1970) goes further than this, stating that, in peasant societies, reciprocity is often the most important principle in social and economic organization, providing the "glue" which gives the society its cohesion.

A further way of overcoming the shortage of capital is for the peasant to share risks with a merchant. Under this scheme, the merchant supplies foodstuffs or production equipment that cannot be furnished locally, in return for a share in the peasant's production of an export commodity. This system has usually meant the long-term extension of credit and postponement of debts. Although in theory it makes for a flexible mutual interdependence between merchant and peasant, in practice it has often given the merchant complete control over everything that the peasant owns: not only his crop, but his land, his house, and his labour. Sometimes the peasant has then become a pauperized, landless rural labourer.

Examples of the function of the merchant in a colonial region are found throughout the world. The American South up to World War II was typical of the credit system. Here, the income from cotton was so inadequate that

1. For instance in Firbank's (1940) description of a Welsh hill farm, or Geddes' (1955) description of the crofting system in the Hebrides.

the tenant was obliged to sell not only his cotton but his food crop as well. Selling food with prices at their lowest, and buying food when prices were at their highest, the tenant was at the mercy of the landlord to whom he was indebted. The landlord was able to confiscate the property of the tenant as security against his advances, and to cover further any losses he raised the price of goods in his store (Johnson, 1966).

In Saint-Pierre Christian describes how the need for credit develops in a single-staple economy, in this case based on fishing:

Like other such economies ... there is a great need for sources of credit to cover the failures of unproductive seasons. On Saint Pierre, unless the government steps in to fill the gaps, dependent relations based on credit are set up between the merchants and the sailors and fishermen. In times of economic decline such relations can easily turn sour, leading to exploitation of the sailors and fishermen, bankruptcy of the merchants, or both.

(Christian, 1969: 3)

Peasant producers have to contend with colonial enterprises in three ways in order to secure a cash income:

Thus in a typical process of 'development', the backward peoples have to contend with three types of monopolistic forces: in their role as unskilled labour they have to face the big foreign mining and plantation concerns who are monopolistic buyers of their labour; in their role as peasant producers they have to face a small group of exporting and processing firms who are monopolistic buyers of their crop; and in their role as consumers of imported commodities they have to face the same group of firms who are the monopolistic sellers or distributors of these commodities.

(Myint, 1971: 80)

The peasant is particularly vulnerable when, as Myint suggests, he is dealing with the same enterprise as both buyer and supplier. It is in this situation that credit relationships develop. The price paid by the peasant for the small cash earnings that are indispensable to him, then, is frequently high.

The conditions which peasants have had to confront have not remained constant. Changes in the metropolitan centres have made an impact on the peasants at the periphery, whether through modifications in the colonial enterprises at the periphery or through modifications in the expectations and attitudes of the peasantry with regard to their peripheral existence. To the extent that changes do not generally originate in the peripheral regions but impinge on them from the metropolitan region, they may be described as "externally controlled".

Modifications in the structure of colonial enterprise are often caused by changing demand in the metropolis for the products of the periphery. The demand for peripheral products may vary cyclically; the price of primary products may also suffer from long-term stagnation or decline. In order to counter this situation, colonial enterprises reduce or rationalize their operations. One of the chief ways of doing this is by the introduction of greater mechanization in larger enterprises in fewer places, thus reducing the need for a local, unskilled labour force. Further, in times of economic depression, it is the workers in peripheral regions who are likely to feel the effects of retrenchment:

When corporations plan their operations to reduce or eliminate uncertainties, these are not so much removed as shifted to all those who stand outside the protection of the corporate system: small entrepreneurs, unorganized workers, inhabitants of urban ghettos and decaying rural areas, and the entire populations of peripheral or hinterland countries.

(Levitt, 1970: 112)

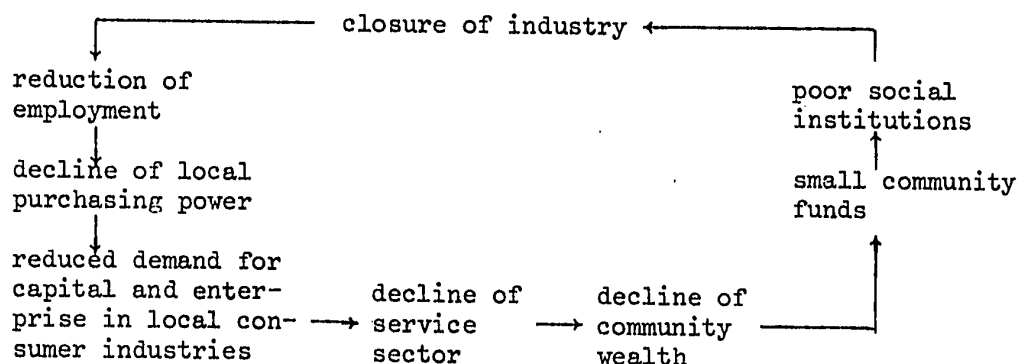
The people of peripheral regions thus often experience a reduction in the range of economic opportunities open to them. In some societies there is a movement back from commercial production to subsistence production. Eric Wolf describes how there were some Latin American peasant groups "which

were once in the mainstream of commercial development, only to be left behind on its poverty-stricken margins" (Wolf, 1967: 515). Because of fluctuations in the profitability of primary products, "entire communities might find their market gone overnight, and revert to the production of subsistence crops for their own use". Therefore, Wolf continued, "we must allow for the cyclical alternation of the two kinds of production within the same community and realize that from the point of view of the community both kinds may be alternative responses to changes in conditions of the outside market" (Wolf, 1967: 516).

Myrdal, in his model of "cumulative causation", points out that the closure of industries in peripheral regions not only has the direct effect of reducing employment opportunities in these industries, but also has indirect effects on all kinds of other economic and social institutions at the periphery. The process of "rationalization" applies not only to industry but to all the organizations affected by the financial weakness of the periphery: schools, churches, local government, and so on. As Fig. 1 illustrates, communities at the periphery are likely to suffer from cumulative impoverishment.

Fig. 1

The Effect of Closure of Industry^a



^aa model of cumulative causation based on Myrdal (1963, Ch. 3) and Keeble (1968: 258)

One channel for change at the periphery has been through modifications in the structure of colonial enterprise. The other important channel has been through modifications in the attitudes of the people with regard to their peripheral existence. These latter modifications are best summed up under the heading of the "revolution of rising expectations". There has been a rapid development of metropolitan centres, and this has been accompanied by a rise in urban standards of living so that they are now markedly higher than the living standards of rural regions. At the same time, the means of communication have improved so that people in rural regions have become increasingly aware of the existence of disparities in wealth. Thus people at the periphery aspire to urban standards of services and material wealth. To achieve these they need a much larger cash income. They become increasingly frustrated when the sources of employment available at the periphery fail to provide the greater prosperity that they seek, and frequently demand that the government improve their standard of living.

Understanding the "revolution of rising expectations" in peripheral regions is in many ways a precondition to the understanding of change in colonial enterprises. The twin themes of urbanization and communication in shaping the attitudes of people at the periphery recur in many accounts. For instance Hirsch, analyzing regional disparities in the Province of Quebec, describes how

... deux changements fondamentaux ... paraissent avoir bouleversé depuis moins d'un siècle l'attitude des groupes face aux problèmes régionaux, affectant aussi bien leurs habitudes de vie que leur mentalité: l'urbanisation et le développement des moyens d'information.

(Hirsch, 1967: 6)

These changes were parallel, and closely linked, to technological and

organizational developments in the economy. The new outlook and way of life of the people means that "la satisfaction des besoins 'essentiels', obtenue jusqu'alors sans recours à des moyens monétaires importants, devient ... indissociable de l'obtention d'un emploi rémunéré" (Hirsch, 1967: 7).

In the long term, the main casualty of the "revolution of rising expectations" is subsistence production. The goal of the peasant economy is the maintenance of the traditional family and village structure of peasant society. While the economic objectives that this society defines are still quite limited - that is, there is no social pressure to invest in items such as expensive clothes, foodstuffs, or other consumer goods - subsistence remains a viable alternative. At this stage, as Anderson (1968) suggests, the availability of off-farm employment is valuable in that it enables people to remain on the land. In other words, the limited cash needs of the peasant may be met by temporary wage labour away from the farm while most necessities - food, shelter, and possibly clothes - can be produced on the farm.

When the socially-defined economic needs of the society change - and they are changed concurrently by the dissemination of information about urban consumption patterns and by the more ready availability of imported goods in the store - then home-produced commodities become much less attractive. There is a move towards activities producing higher cash income in order to conform to the new consumption patterns. This process is aided by the break-up of the family as an economic unit: an arrangement which was, as we have seen, at the core of the subsistence economy. Smaller rural families, and the introduction and extension of compulsory schooling, often at a considerable distance from home, have reduced the ability of children to participate in the subsistence enterprise.

The quest for a higher level of cash income is resolved either by turning more towards full-time wage employment off the farm, or by adapting the farm enterprise itself so that it becomes orientated towards the production of crops for the market. As Franklin (1969) points out, agricultural specialization brings a direct conflict between commitment to commercial farming and commitment to maintaining the family on the land. The peasant has insufficient capital to conduct a profitable farming enterprise while retaining his old labour force. Formerly, when land and labour were the major factors of production, it was possible to provide work and income for all members of the family. At current levels of investment in the farming industry, the peasant is forced to consider his labour supply from the point of view of its productivity and in terms of profit and loss common to industrial society.

Under the traditional peasant economy, where cash needs are small, subsistence activity provides security even in the worst economic conditions. Franklin points out "the importance of the peasant household's residual function, which combined with the labour commitment of the enterprise ensures that a minimum of work, and therefore income, will be available in some degree for as many as possible, in the very worst of circumstances" (Franklin, 1969: 16). With the "revolution of rising expectations", this is no longer possible. Once the rural dweller has become accustomed to consumer expenditure associated with a high level of cash income, subsistence production is of little use to him even in times of economic depression when commercial activities fail. When he is unable to obtain his normal cash income, subsistence production does not cover his consumption needs. Devoting labour to subsistence production does not enable him to pay his television rental or electricity

bill, or to buy imported foodstuffs. As a result of this, the state often emerges as the provider of security through long-term subsidization of peripheral regions, through social security payments and economic development projects. Following changes in enterprises at the periphery, the state also assumes the aspect of risk-sharing formerly undertaken by local merchants. Through schemes such as interest-free loans to farmers, or subsidies for boat-building to fishermen, the state emerges as the major source of long-term credit.

The inability of the peasant household to provide work for all the members of the family at the new and vastly increased level of expectations leads to extensive migration away from rural areas towards urban centres. Franklin cites "low living standards, low incomes, personal frustration, the absence of hope and prospects, unmitigated routine and drudgery, the conflict of the generations, a sense of inferiority" (Franklin, 1969: 12) as among the factors discouraging the people from staying on the land. The proportional and absolute decline in the rural population of most western countries is conclusive evidence for this trend.

Migration does not attract all sections of the population in equal proportion, but affects principally those who are young and those who are better educated. Selective outmigration - selective by both age and ability - and its consequences are constantly stressed in studies of rural communities. For instance, in the Welsh village of Llanfihangel, Rees comments that "the modern system uproots the ablest members of the community, educates them, and scatters them indiscriminately into official positions up and down the country" (Rees, 1951: 165).

In the peripheral region the consequences of selective outmigration

are felt through the loss of most of the people with skills or with entrepreneurial ability. Friedmann describes this process in Venezuela:

The selective nature of internal migrations tends to deprive the periphery of its youngest, most enterprising, and most educated populations. Moreover, concentrated out-migration from small communities may destroy the possibility of dynamic local leadership capable of forcing those adjustments which might lead to recovery and subsequent growth on a sustained basis. Community leadership will tend to remain in the hands of traditionalists.

(Friedmann, 1963: 51)

Migration does not solve the problems of rural areas by leading to a more equitable balance of population and resources. As Myrdal (1963) points out, the process of underdevelopment is cumulative. Hirsch describes this process in the Province of Quebec:

Les régions sont pauvres parce qu'elles ne parviennent pas à entretenir ou attirer des industries hautement productives et rémunératrices, en l'absence de main-d'oeuvre instruite et spécialisée. Inversement, la main-d'oeuvre qualifiée ~~des~~ des régions défavorisées, répondant à l'appel des zones industrialisées par une émigration permanente, contribue à maintenir les niveaux de vie de ces comtés à leur point le plus bas. Loin de se réduire, les écarts de revenus se perpétuent de comté à comté - quand ils ne vont pas s'accusant - illustrant le cercle vicieux de l'appauvrissement ou de la stagnation.

(Hirsch, 1967: 110)

High levels of unemployment and low standards of living continue to be characteristic of peripheral regions.

The end result of the economic decline of the periphery is the structural disintegration of many rural communities. Having lost their economic function, many villages suffer from weakened social institutions. Community organizations decay through lack of funds and lack of leadership. Where there are no full-time occupations and no young people, communities at the periphery become refuges for the old and the poor. They rely heavily on

social security provided by the government, and relinquish to government the initiative for their future development.

The concept of the periphery is not so much geographical as economic. Peripheral regions are defined by their relationship with core regions. Their economies are essentially colonial, in that they are dominated by enterprises producing staple products for export. The vast bulk of the underdeveloped countries may be described as peripheral, but there are also peripheral regions within developed countries which have the same kind of economic structure. In all types of peripheral region, important economic changes are taking place, but under a free-market system these changes do not lead to prosperity for the mass of the people. Economic growth can only be promoted by government: even then it is necessary for the periphery to have a suitable resource base and favourable political and economic conditions. In many cases the development of the periphery is further hampered by its remote location, far from existing metropolises.

Peripheral populations throughout the world have used a strategy of risk minimization to cope with their uncertain economic environment. Working from a subsistence base, they have participated in a wide variety of occupations, avoiding complete commitment to any one of them. They have also shared risks with their neighbours and with merchants, and more recently with government. Their aim has been to preserve the social structure of their families and their peasant communities.

Recent developments have led to rationalization of colonial enterprises operating at the periphery, and changes in the expectations of the peasants themselves. These developments have made the position of the peasant much more precarious. On the one hand, the traditional occupational pluralism

with a firm subsistence base no longer provides for the peasant's needs. On the other hand, changes in the enterprises of the periphery have often led to a reduction, and not a growth, of alternative economic opportunity.

Faced with a comparative worsening of their position, the people of the periphery have evolved new economic strategies, in which dependence on government, and outmigration, are two important features. Many peasant communities have experienced decay rather than development. There is no sign that the problems of the periphery are being resolved. Using the theoretical perspectives outlined in this chapter, this study describes the response to change of a rural population in the peripheral world of Atlantic Canada.

Chapter Two

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

The central concern of this thesis is the changing economic organization of rural people. The way of life of people at the periphery is seen as a direct response to the changing relationship of the periphery to the core. Chapter One outlined some of the ideas associated with the core-periphery concept. In so doing it provided a theoretical framework for the study of a marginal rural population. Chapter Two assesses the methodology appropriate to such a study. Since the focus of the thesis is on the people rather than on the organization of particular industries it is necessary to obtain a detailed understanding of the way in which rural populations perceive and act in their world. This implies an intimate knowledge of the operation of economic and social processes at the local level, as well as a more general familiarity with regional economic organization.

The need to understand the way of life of a rural population requires a methodology which provides for prolonged contact with the people. Although existing documentary evidence is adequate for the study of most aspects of regional industries, it is not an effective means of approaching the people themselves. Thus the primary method of investigation used in the research is that of the community study: a subsidiary method is that of the regional survey. This chapter outlines the reasons for the selection of these two levels of analysis.

Community Study

The community has frequently been an object of study in the social sciences. Like the region in geography, the community in sociology and anthropology is seen as a formal and functional unit which is readily delimited from the larger reality. The community and the region have, in their respective disciplines, possessed a considerable "mystique". Just as the regional description was best applied to rural societies prior to industrialization, where each region supposedly was based on a distinctive and direct relationship between man and the land within definable limits, so the community study method has been most effective in dealing with small, homogeneous rural populations assumed to be isolated from the outside world.

The sense of community, of corporate identity, is considered to be one of the main social features of village life. Frankenberg, summarizing a series of community studies in Britain, writes:

Those who live in a community have overriding economic interests which are the same or complementary. They work together and also play and pray together. Their common interest in things gives them a common interest in each other. They quarrel with each other but are never indifferent to each other.
(Frankenberg, 1966: 238)

Such communities are usually clearly defined in the minds of the people who live in them. They have both a spatial aspect - a particular area of land - and a social aspect - a particular group of people. The traditional community study has tried to convey the sense of oneness felt by the people living in the community. When community study, like regional geography, is applied to groups that are a more central part of a complex urban-industrial society, much greater difficulties

arise, and the results are inevitably less comprehensive and often less satisfying.

While the community has been a subject for investigation, the community study is also a method of approach to rural populations. It is in this sense that it is used in this thesis. The community study is not an end in itself, but is a means to an end - the elaboration of the consequences of the core-periphery structure. The main feature of this methodology is that it involves a lengthy period of fieldwork living amongst the people who are the object of the research. An attempt is made to share the experience of the inhabitants of the community. Most other aspects of the community study methodology follow from the high value placed on this kind of fieldwork.¹

The principal reason for the use of the community study method in the present research is that it gives insights into local social and economic processes that are not revealed by other types of analysis. In micro-level research, familiarity is gained with the character of the population, their view of the world, and the attitudes which shape their behaviour. It becomes possible to understand the reaction of the people to new types of technology such as larger fishing boats, to new sources of income such as transfer payments, and to government plans which may be in conflict with the local livelihood. The community study starts by sharing the outlook of the people. In this way it is an effective means of analyzing their response to economic change.

1. A good treatment of community study as a method is contained in Bell and Newby (1971: Ch. 3).

The community study permits the investigation of a broad range of interrelated phenomena. Such studies have traditionally been holistic in their approach, many of them claiming to give a picture of all aspects of community life. A holistic picture is not the object of the present investigation. However, until very recently, the peripheral regions of eastern Canada have been largely unknown social territory. Existing studies are largely static and lack a dynamic theoretical perspective. At the same time, the Canadian periphery is a peculiarly appropriate context for the elaboration of the staple theory and the core-periphery concept. The community study is thus in some ways a reconnaissance. It was not possible to develop in advance detailed hypotheses about the nature of the population. Initial investigation took place on a broad front, and only later have significant interrelationships emerged, permitting less significant data to be discarded.

A substantial period of residence in a single village makes available information which it is not easy to obtain by other means. In the more depressed rural regions, people are frequently suspicious of outsiders, since their experience shows that strangers such as government officials rarely bring any benefit to the village, but may have been sent to investigate such things as irregularities in fishing practices or in the use of transfer payments. Many rural people, lacking adequate formal education, are unwilling or unable to respond to questionnaires distributed in an impersonal way. Therefore it is not possible to collect accurate sample information quickly in a large number of places. Prolonged face-to-face contact with the people is essential to gaining their confidence.

This confidence is a necessary prerequisite both to the collection of statistical data and to a more general understanding of community life.

The community study provides for a constant interplay of theory with field data. On the one hand, the first task of the researcher carrying out a community study is to understand the way in which the local people look at the world around them: the way in which they view themselves, their economic and social activities, outsiders, and so on. Only then can the observer attempt to isolate and to analyze what are for him the significant phenomena and interrelationships. Thus most studies proceed largely by inductive method: from observation to analysis and generalization. Frequently "the researcher must often learn within the field situation itself the questions he must ask" (Arensberg and Kimball, 1965: 5).

On the other hand, what the observer sees as significant depends on his experience and cultural background, which must affect his entire perception of local reality. It also depends upon specific problems that he is consciously trying to investigate and on theories that he is anxious to introduce. Theory sharply delimits what is seen in the community: "Once in the field, theory acts like a pair of blinkers - it defines the field of vision. Theory defines what is relevant and what is not; in a very real sense it determines what is seen" (Bell and Newby, 1971: 63-64).

There is, then, a constant tension between the temptation to try to observe and write about everything, and the need to be selective in the collection of particular types of information. In this thesis, the

core-periphery concept, as outlined in Chapter One, provides an overall framework for defining relevant material, while more detailed hypotheses were developed and modified during fieldwork. Brookfield observes of the local study that "the theoretical bias is sustained through prolonged fieldwork as hypotheses are discarded, reformulated, or replaced and tested anew" (Brookfield, 1970: 11). While the community study itself does not prove or disprove any particular hypothesis, it does, when taken in conjunction with other similar studies, represent a small but significant contribution to general theory.

The role of the fieldworker in the community is that of both participant and observer. Because an understanding of the outlook of the people is vital to the research, it is necessary to establish personal contact with as wide a section of the population as possible. At the same time as he is trying to observe community life, the fieldworker may have an influence upon it. More important, his findings are inevitably dependent on a deep personal understanding of the life of the community, and their validity may be called into question. Not all assertions can be supported by adequate data. It is possible that a different researcher would arrive at different conclusions. While the insights provided by the community study method are its main asset, the difficulty of verifying the results is a major weakness.¹

1. The collection of fieldwork data is described in Appendix C.

The inspiration for community study methodology was provided by the techniques of social anthropology as applied to the "closed corporate communities" of primitive societies. Not surprisingly, community study has been most effective when applied to the more remote rural margins of western society, where settlements are small and easily delimited. The methodology is, therefore, particularly appropriate to the study of a peripheral population. Two relevant areas of research in terms of techniques and materials in which the community study method has been used are the British Isles and the Province of Quebec. The initial research in both of these areas - Arensberg and Kimball (1948) in the west of Ireland and Miner (1963) in the Lower St. Lawrence - was carried out in the mid-1930s by American sociologists using similar lines of approach.

In the British Isles, Arensberg and Kimball set the pattern for much of the work that followed. While they did not focus on a particular village, they described life in a "typical" community. Their approach was descriptive rather than analytic and ranged over a great variety of topics. They started by describing the farm economy, then related family and kinship to agricultural activity. They discussed the family as an institution, and then some aspects of social organization in the community as a whole. They concluded with a brief analysis of the economic relationship of the village to the wider rural society. Using the same approach, a study by Rees (1951) in Montgomeryshire formed the basis for other research in the Aberystwyth geography department (Davies and Rees, eds., 1960).

Research by Williams (1956, 1963) in Cumberland and in Devon followed similar lines. However, in his second study, of a mid-Devon village, Williams emphasized the dynamic nature of the agricultural system rather than simply providing a static description. His framework was ecological, investigating in detail the family farm and its social organization; and demographic, focussing on population change. This more analytical approach, examining the processes at work in one segment of community life rather than attempting to describe the whole, was also followed by Barnes (1954) in Bremnes, Norway, and by Frankenberg (1957) in the Welsh borders, both of whom were looking at social class and committees. More recent studies by Littlejohn (1963) in the Cheviots and Emmett (1964) in North Wales have continued the trend towards specialization.

In the Province of Quebec there has been little progress away from the descriptive, ethnographic approach. Miner's early work in the 1930's in St. Denis has been a widely quoted prototype for other studies. The family, kinship, religious belief, the life cycle, the yearly round of economic activity are all treated, but the picture is a static one. Miner made little attempt to assess the processes of change through time or to describe the contacts between St. Denis and the outside world. In an introduction to Miner's work, Redfield analyzes St. Denis in terms of the "folk-society" concept, a concept which formed the basis for other studies such as that of Juneke (1937) in Labrador and Rioux (1961) on the Gaspé Coast. The most recent Quebec study, that of Tremblay, Charest and Breton (1969), is cast in the traditional ethnographic mould. It focusses on the material aspects of economic and social change in St. Augustin on the lower North Shore.

Community studies in the British Isles and in the Province of Quebec have largely remained holistic in their approach, touching on a wide variety of aspects of community life. The scope of the investigation has not been defined and no distinction has been made between the community as an object of study and community study as a method of research. There has been little use of theory and no use of deductive method in the approach to the community. Two or three of the Quebec writers have applied a broad concept - the folk-society typology - to a rural community, but this concept lacks dynamism. None of the studies has made much attempt to invoke inductively-derived theoretical conclusions or to compare findings with work done elsewhere. With the exception of Williams' (1963) investigation of land tenure, there has been little use of documentary evidence from within the community. Likewise, although at the present time the communities are very far from being isolated and self-sufficient, the studies have only slowly begun to include material already published to provide historical and regional perspectives on the community. Littlejohn (1963), and Tremblay, Charest and Breton (1969) show some progress in this respect.

Many of these criticisms of the community study method have been voiced in a theoretical treatment by Steward (1950: 20-53). Steward saw the community study as having three aspects: ethnographic, historical, and comparative. The ethnographic approach viewed all forms of behaviour as functionally interdependent parts in the context of the whole. Thus an attempt was made to relate all the various social science data at the community level. However, little account was taken of the world outside the community, with the result that the local group was viewed as though

the larger society did not exist: an approach supposedly more applicable to isolated and primitive societies. Steward felt that the historical approach had also been lacking, once again as a result of the uncritical transfer of the methodology of the study of primitive communities. Equally, the comparative approach had not been developed. The only adequate treatment had been that of community ethnography.

The community study used in this thesis does not attempt to be holistic in the manner of the traditional ethnographic descriptions. Such descriptions, as we have seen, are wide-ranging but often fail to make explicit the relationships between the various classes of phenomena investigated. The value of the community study method lies in the insight that it provides into local economic and social processes. In this thesis, progress is made beyond Steward's critique in that the community is seen as a context for the elaboration of general theory. The theoretical framework of the core-periphery concept helps to define those processes which are considered significant. The core-periphery relationship has considerable bearing on the types of economic organization operating at the periphery and on the way in which these organizations evolve. It also affects the general way in which peripheral populations respond to economic change - the peasant strategy described in Chapter One - though the specific cultural characteristics of the population are, as we shall see, also significant. Thus, only those aspects of community life are examined which have a direct relevance to the basic interest of the thesis: a peripheral population's response to economic change.

Regional Survey

The regional survey is used in this thesis to provide a background to the investigation at the local level, and in doing so it counters many of the weaknesses of the community study method. In particular, it helps to set the study of a local population in its spatial and temporal context. The process of "regionalization" has become one of the most important factors affecting community life.

A regional survey permits the use of a wide variety of documentary sources. Community studies have, in the past, relied almost exclusively on oral evidence. This tendency arose from the fact that in many primitive societies there were no written records. In western societies most communities have a long history of church and municipal records: valuable sources that have been neglected by many anthropologists. At the regional level a rich variety of information is available to supplement community data. The most important and accessible sources include government statistics, and published reports dealing with the region which range from early explorers to contemporary research or official planning. This information has considerable bearing on the local study even though it may not refer specifically to the community in question. It offsets the difficulty of obtaining valid statistical data from fieldwork at the community level. It is only possible to digest and to use this published information in the context of a regional-level analysis.

The regional survey shows whether the community selected for a micro-study is typical of the region as a whole. The micro-study cannot be regarded as a "sample" of the region in a statistical sense. Each community comprises a complex network of social and economic relationships

and has a distinctive personality: it cannot be described as "typical" in any more than a general way. The regional survey shows which of the social and economic processes operating in the community are found more widely and which are unique to that community alone. It shows in what way the community is typical of the region. The regional survey is thus an important means of assessing how far the results of the micro-study have more general validity.

The most important function of the regional survey is to identify the linkages between community and region. Much anthropological work in primitive societies ignored the relationship between the community and the outside world, assuming the community to be a completely isolated unit. There was no regard for ties with a regional economy or society. In Atlantic Canada, however, even the most remote communities are a direct consequence of colonial penetration: they owe their existence to European settlement. Until recently, villages on the coasts of eastern Canada were linked with Europe by long-distance networks of trade in fish and supplies. The villages themselves remained autonomous. During the past century the linkages with Europe have been replaced by the growth of regional units within the North American economy. At the same time village autonomy has been undermined. Regional economic and social organization has developed to such an extent that it is now impossible to study a community without also considering its involvement in regional life. For instance, the growth of central institutions - pulp and paper mills, supermarkets, high schools - has linked the community with the region. The centralization of facilities in one community

has meant the closure of facilities in other communities. In the view of much government planning, regional development has been seen as providing for community development. Thus, although the community was formerly the main unit of integration in the rural areas, the region - a new level of integration - has come to parallel it in importance. In order to see how the local population responds to the regionalization process, the researcher must become familiar with the region as well as with the community. Regionalization has become a major aspect of community life.

In this thesis the regional survey in Part II precedes the community study in Part III. The approach is historical, tracing the development of the region's economy since the establishment of permanent settlement. There is no attempt to provide a comprehensive description of a well-defined area. Neither the regional survey nor the community study is to be regarded as an end in itself. They are to be regarded as complementary methods of approach to the same problem. Their value lies in the extent to which they clarify processes of economic change. The regional survey deals largely with the changes themselves; the community study with the way in which the people respond to change. Together the two approaches shed light on the nature of peripheral regions. The next chapter gives reasons for the choice of region and community, and introduces the region by means of a brief description.

Chapter Three

COMMUNITY AND REGION

Choice of Study Area

The Gaspé peninsula in the eastern part of the Province of Quebec - known to the local English-speaking people as "the Gaspe Coast" - was the region selected for study. The Gaspe Coast is a peripheral region in both a spatial and in an economic sense. It has a dispersed and largely rural population in what is agriculturally a marginal environment. The population is of particular interest because of its ethnic diversity. The region is one of the poorest in Canada and in recent years has experienced a comprehensive Federal-Provincial development plan. Nevertheless the region has still not been explored in any great depth by other social scientists.

The Gaspe Coast has always been a periphery from a locational point of view. Historically it was important for its position on the North Atlantic littoral (Map 1). The earliest European settlements developed in connexion with the cod fisheries, and for centuries remained dependent upon European-based merchants. At the present time the Gaspe Coast is peripheral with respect to Montreal and other North American metropolitan centres (Map 2). It is remote from main lines of communication and from large urban areas.

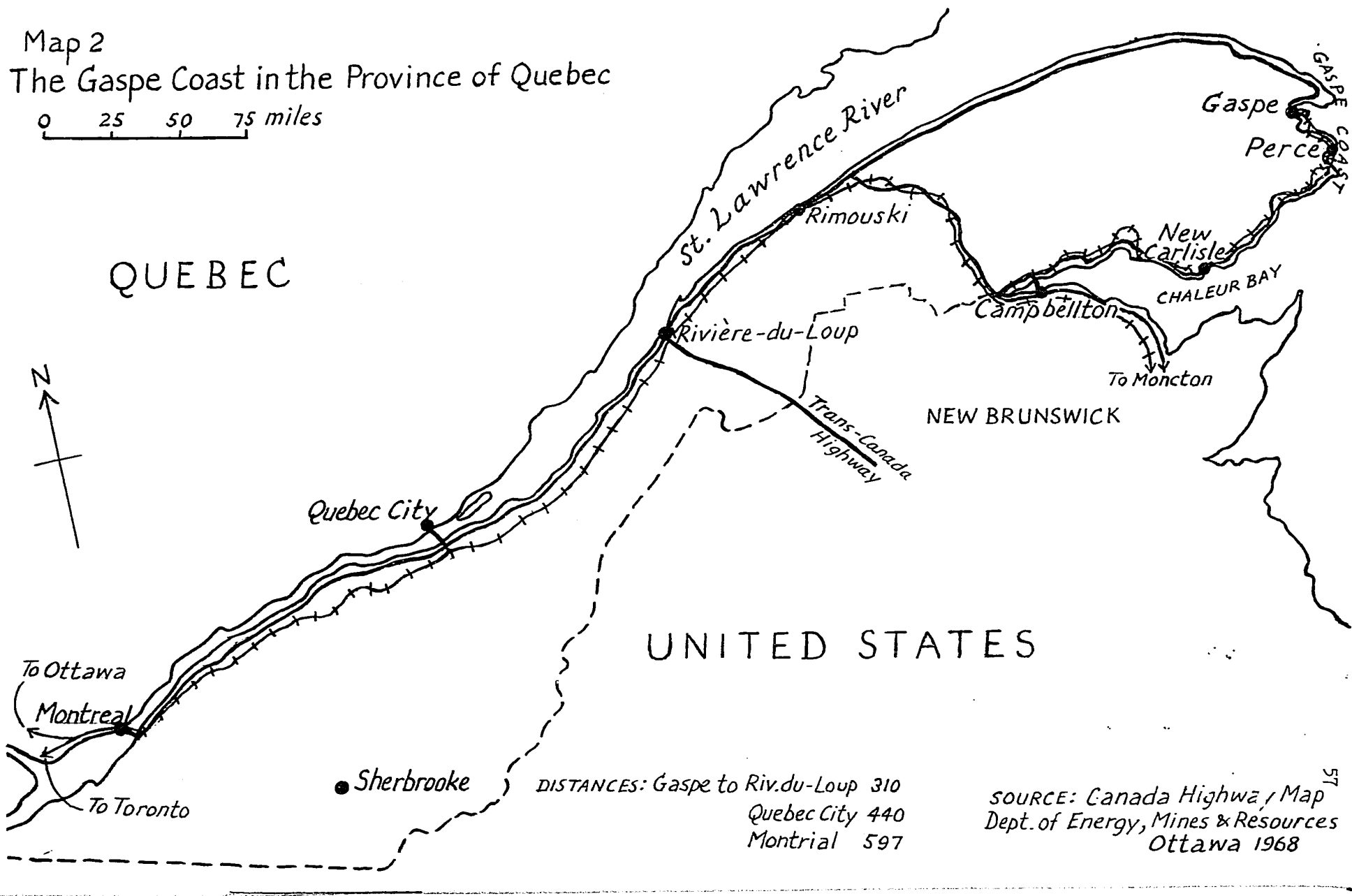
The continuing economic peripherality of the Gaspe Coast is linked with its spatial isolation. The region has always been primarily concerned with the production of staple products - fish and lumber - for export to distant markets. Most of this production has been sponsored by entrepreneurs

Map 1 The Gaspé Coast in the Gulf of St. Lawrence



Map 2
The Gaspé Coast in the Province of Quebec

0 25 50 75 miles



based outside the region. Because of this, and because of the lack of potential for a diversified agriculture, the Gaspé Coast has never experienced autonomous economic development. No cities and no manufacturing industries have emerged. Population has remained sparse. The economic fortunes of the region have depended on marketing primary products elsewhere: for most of its people this has brought poverty rather than prosperity.

The Gaspé Coast is of particular interest because of the ethnic diversity of its people. Originally from several different ethnic backgrounds, the people are now divided largely on the basis of language (French and English) and religion (Catholic and Protestant). This study is concerned with the English minority, who are both Catholic and Protestant. Part of the task of the study is to examine the implications of minority status for the way in which the population responds to economic change.

The Gaspé Coast still represents largely unknown social territory. Detailed regional economic surveys were made in the mid-1960s by the Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ) which later served as a basis for the Federal-Provincial development plan. However the only substantial academic studies dealing with the region are a regional geography (Blanchard, 1935) and a community study (Rioux, 1961). Although little has been published about the Gaspé Coast, an increasing amount of comparative material, of great interest, is available from elsewhere in Atlantic Canada. Some of this comes from the Université de Montréal, from anthropologists working in the Magdalen Islands; and from the Université Laval, from anthropologists working on the North Shore (Basse Côte-Nord). The best material comes from the Institute of Social and Economic Research at St. John's, from its members' work in Newfoundland. The comparative literature has proved helpful in stimulating

ideas about economic change on the Gaspé Coast.

There were two main criteria for selecting a community in which to carry out the micro-study. It was essential that the community should have participated in the traditional activities of the Gaspé Coast: fishing, lumbering, and subsistence agriculture. It was important too that the community should not be so transformed by modern development that all trace of the traditional activities would be lost. The second prerequisite was a substantial English population, both Protestant and Catholic.

The double focus on economic change and on minority status implied two levels of analysis. Firstly there were those elements of the economic and social situation which were common to all communities in the region, whether French or English, majority or minority. The basic response of the whole population to economic change was similar. Secondly, there were those elements of the situation which indicated that language, or minority status, had led the minority to act in a different way from the majority. There was thus a constant tension between what was general to the region and what was specific to the community.

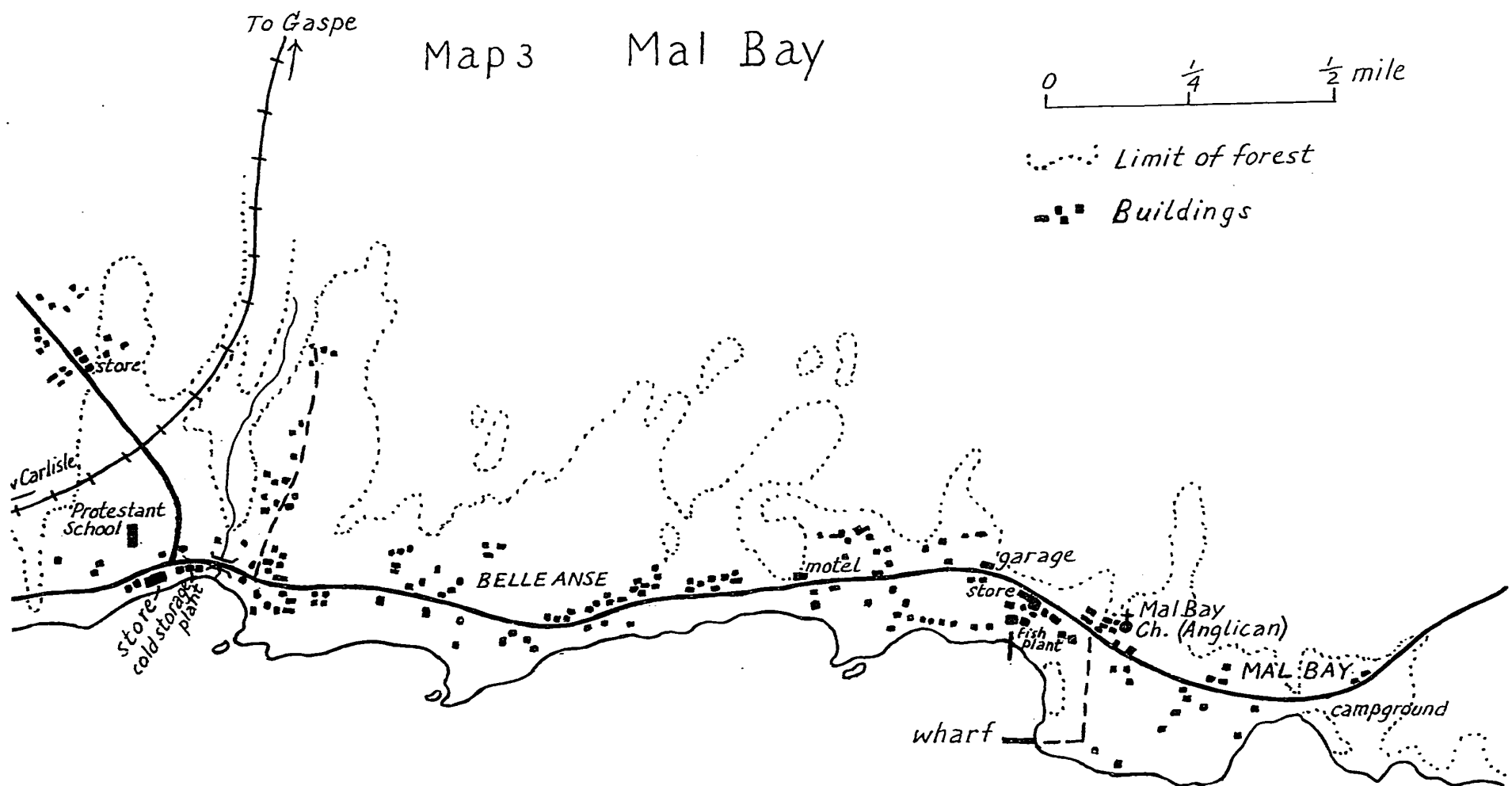
The community chosen for the micro-study comprised the two settlements of Belle-Anse and Mal Bay (Map 3). These are located between Gaspé and Percé, at the eastern tip of the peninsula. The community is close to Point St. Peter, which in the 18th and 19th centuries was one of the major fishing places on the Gaspé Coast. The community itself had been deeply involved in the fishery and in the traditional round of activities on shore. In modern times it has not experienced any substantial economic development, and has declined to become a second-rank fishing centre. The community is predominantly English, with an equal balance of Catholic and Protestant. An initial

Map 3 Mal Bay

0 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ mile

..... Limit of forest

■ ■ ■ Buildings



The Bay

SOURCE: Région de la Gaspésie
Ministère des Richesses Naturelles
Province of Quebec 1965

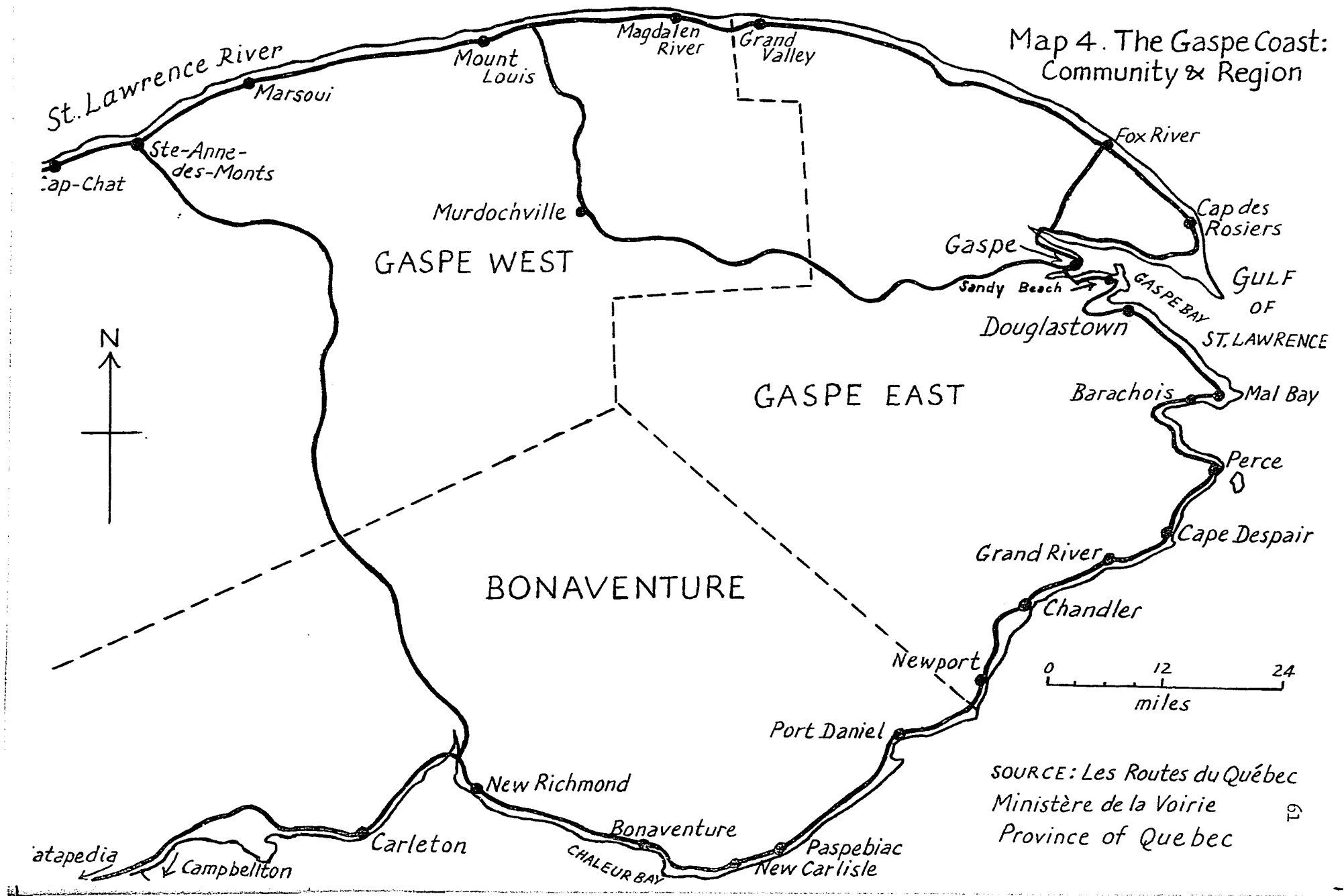
visit showed the people willing to co-operate in the research, and on subsequent occasions this hospitality was repeated many times. The western end of the community is known as Belle-Anse and the eastern end as Mal Bay. For sake of brevity I shall simply call it Mal Bay, since this also refers to the locality as a whole.

A View of the Gaspé Coast

The Gaspé peninsula extends over 200 miles from its westerly limits at Cap-Chat and Matapédia to its easternmost point at Ship Head (Map 4). The interior of the peninsula consists of a series of forested plateaux, in places deeply incised by river valleys, which rise to over 4,000 feet at Mount Jacques-Cartier. On the north coast the land falls steeply, with some fine cliffs, to the St. Lawrence River. The southern slopes to Chaleur Bay are more gentle. In the east, from Cap des Rosiers to Cape Despair, the peninsula meets the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here it is deeply indented by the bays of Gaspé and Malbaie, incorporating some of the best scenery. Percé, and the newly-created Forillon Park, are major tourist centres (Map 6).

The main feature of the climate of the Gaspé Coast is its seasonality. The dominant season is the winter: snow lies from mid-November to mid-April. For at least three months the sea remains frozen in the bays, with substantial drift-ice in the Gulf. Spring is slow to arrive. There is no plant growth until the second week in May (three weeks later than at Montreal), and frosts continue until the first week in June. Summers are therefore short: the growing season of less than 160 days compares unfavourably with over 200 days recorded in southern Ontario and in parts of Nova

Map 4. The Gaspé Coast:
Community & Region



Scotia. They are also cool: the accumulated degree-days above 42°F are about 2,000 as compared with 3,500 in the region of Montreal (Canada. National Atlas, 1970; BAEQ, Atlas Régional, 1966). Not surprisingly, human activities are affected by the marginal nature of the climate and follow a seasonal pattern.

Most settlement on the Gaspé Coast took place in the period 1775-1875. From the first, the summer cod fishery was the main economic activity. The potential for commercial agriculture was limited by the cool summers. However, since the middle of the 19th century markets have been found for the extensive forest resources. Traditionally, summer fishing was combined with winter lumbering, based on a smallholding which yielded a variety of agricultural products for home consumption.

Settlement has for the most part remained close to the sea. The houses are not, as in Newfoundland, clustered round a harbour, but are spread out parallel to the shore. Each one is situated on a holding which runs a mile or more inland. The Gaspé Coast is still ringed by a seemingly endless chain of these coastal villages. There has been little development of urban centres: there are still no towns of more than 5,000 population in the 400 miles of the Coast. The interior, mountainous and forested, with a climate more harsh than that of the coastlands, has remained largely uninhabited.

As elsewhere in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the European settlers on the Gaspé Coast came from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Acadians expelled from Nova Scotia in 1755 settled on the shores of Chaleur Bay. French Canadians moved to the north and east coasts from the region of Quebec City during the 19th century. Channel Islanders clustered in the main fishing ports, since the fishery was run by merchants from the island of Jersey. New England

"Loyalists", who had moved to Canada after the American War of Independence, were settled by the government on the southern coasts. In the first half of the 19th century Scots and Irish emigrants found their way to places throughout the peninsula. The original ethnic diversity gave rise to linguistic and religious pluralism. Although the majority became French and Catholic, substantial English enclaves remained.

Until this century the Gaspé Coast was linked more closely with the North Atlantic trading world than with the rest of the Province of Quebec. There was no railway into the peninsula until 1911 and no road until 1928. With the decline of the European-based fishery, sea communication has diminished in importance and is now insignificant as compared with land communication. Contacts with the urban centres of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario have developed through trade and through migration of people to these centres from the Gaspé Coast. Contacts have also developed through the intervention of the Provincial and Federal Governments in the economic and social life of the region. This intervention has come about through development planning and through a massive infusion of transfer payments. The net effect of the development of communications with Canadian cities has been to increase the peripherality of the Gaspé Coast. Under the traditional self-sufficient village economy, remoteness was almost irrelevant in the rural existence since the communities were autonomous, and in any case knew no other way of life. With the disappearance of self-sufficiency and the rise of dependence on the cities and on urban-based communications has come a much greater awareness of peripherality.

Historically, the three main activities on the Gaspé Coast were fishing, farming and lumbering. Members of nearly every household were

involved in all of these activities. The three activities were in large measure complementary to each other, either taking place at different seasons or involving different people. The fishery was a commercial activity in which the fisherman caught and processed fish as an independent entrepreneur, selling it to one of several possible buyers. Farming - described by local people not as farming but as "work on the place" - was a subsistence activity involving the production of foodstuffs, fuel and shelter for household use. Lumbering consisted of wage work at piece rates for companies operating winter lumber camps in the interior of the peninsula or in northern parts of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

This pattern of complementary activities was common to nearly all the Gaspé Coast. Communities on Chaleur Bay where there was more agricultural potential specialized to a greater extent in farming: communities away from the coast specialized in lumbering. Mal Bay, at the eastern end of the peninsula, was foremost a fishing community. This had been its original *raison d'être* at the time of its founding in the late 18th century, and has remained its principal activity. The climate in this relatively exposed area was less favourable to agriculture than in Chaleur Bay.

In the traditional village economy, cod was the only commercial fish, though herring and capelin were used for bait. The fishing season extended from early May to mid-November, being restricted at either end by bad weather and by lack of bait. Fishing was carried out inshore, never more than a few miles from the land. Small decked boats were used. Known simply as "fish-boats", they were about 30 ft. long and carried a crew of two. The fish-boats were built in the village. Up to 1910 they had been propelled by oars and a sail: after that date motors were successfully introduced.

The fishermen put to sea at dawn, going first to their nets to obtain bait, then to the fishing grounds, returning to land when they had obtained a sufficient catch, or at latest mid-afternoon. Fishing was done by hand-line. Each fisherman had two baited hooks which were lowered over the side of the boat. If the fishing was good, as soon as the second hook had reached the bottom, the first would be ready with a fish. Fishing thus consisted of continual hauling of the two lines. In addition to the fish-boats, some older men fished intermittently from rowing boats known as "flats". Often these men fished alone, not going far from shore.

The fisherman landed the catch at his "stage". This was a small wooden jetty erected in the spring and taken down in the fall. On the stage the fish was gutted, and then salted in barrels. After being soaked in salt for a few days, it was spread on "flakes" (netting-covered stands) to dry in the sun. The work of curing the fish was performed by the women, or by children under their supervision. Once dried, the fish was stored until collected at the end of the season. Most fishermen "made" their own fish in this way. However, a few fishermen delivered their fish directly to the stage owned by the fishing company, and the fish was made by company employees. Naturally the fishermen who made their own fish had a greater choice of buyers, and received a higher price, than those who delivered it "green" to the company stage.

The best product was the high-priced "Gaspé cure", which was a light-salted, sun-dried fish. Unfortunately the system of individual drying meant that there was a good deal of variation in the quality of the product, much of which was classified as "inferior". Nearly all the fish was dried. However, fish caught at the end of the season, when there was insufficient

fine weather for drying, was simply salted or "pickled", and exported in barrels.

Most of the fishermen lived close to the sea, having houses near the water on the long, thin plots of land that ran inland from the shore. Since it was not possible to launch a boat at every point on the low, cliffed coastline, small coves were used. Ownership of the beaches in these coves was intricately divided between a great many people, such that every fisherman tried to ensure access to the sea and if possible a place to build a stage. In addition to those who lived near the water, other fishermen who lived inland built "cookrooms" or small bunkhouses near the shore. There was considerable seasonal migration to the cookrooms for the summer. In the 19th century there had also been longer-distance seasonal migration for fishing. This included migration of fishermen from poorer fishing sites in Chaleur Bay to the better fishing places such as Mal Bay, for all or part of the summer. It also included migration of people from Mal Bay to Anticosti or to the North Shore. These migrations had been sponsored by the fishing companies. By 1925 they had become much less important, partly because the fishing was not sufficiently remunerative, and partly because resident fishing populations had grown up in many of the North Shore localities.

The only other types of fishing were for salmon and lobster. This fishery was carried on inshore in "flats" in the months of May and June. The salmon nets (extended outwards from the shore near the mouth of the Mal Bay River) and the lobster traps required a considerable investment, but the fishery was profitable. Salmon and lobster fishing were essentially part-time occupations, taking only a few hours per day for a restricted season. They were not as strenuous or as hazardous as the cod fishery. Men who

engaged in this fishery depended less on the sea for a living and specialized more in farming. However, relatively few people could take part in the salmon and lobster fishery as there was a danger of overfishing and depletion of reserves. This was in contrast to the cod fishery which seemed virtually unlimited. There had at one time been a lobster cannery in Mal Bay but this closed before World War I. The salmon and lobster were later sold to local dealers who sent them by rail to Montreal.

Each household owned a plot of land on which subsistence agriculture was carried out. Only a small proportion of the holding was cleared, the rest being forested. The amount of cleared land seems to have depended on family needs. Production was designed to meet the requirements of the household. Pigs provided pork - salt pork being the main meat. Occasionally also there was beef. One or two cows were kept for milk, cream, and butter. Hens were ubiquitous. At one time sheep were kept for mutton and for wool for domestic textile production: this died out in the early 20th century. Most households kept a horse for farm work and for transport: earlier, oxen had been used. Hay and potatoes were the main crops grown, there being little grain. Most people kept a garden, assuring themselves of vegetables for a good part of the year.

The farming season began in April and ended in November, though farm chores were carried out year-round. In April equipment was prepared and, when the land was clear of snow, manure and seaweed were moved to the fields for fertilizer. Ploughing was done in the early part of May, followed by grain sowing (if any) and then potato and garden planting into June. The hay crop was cut at the end of July: this was the busiest period of the agricultural year. Potatoes were lifted in September. By the middle of November

all outdoor farm work ceased. There were no farmers for whom farming was a major source of cash income. On the other hand all the people depended heavily on subsistence production - "work on the place" - to supplement commercial activities. Older people, who were no longer able to go to sea, retired to their holdings and eked out a minimal existence by subsistence production alone.

The smallholdings contained substantial woodlots. In the winter, wood was cut for sale to local sawmills as well as for domestic use. However, most lumbering was done in the interior of the peninsula and in northern regions of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Many of the young men went away to lumber camps for the winter. They entered the camps or "shanties" (chantiers) in October, often travelling widely to find a camp that would employ them at the best possible wage. Cutting the lumber took place until Christmas, when those in the nearer camps could come home for a break. After Christmas, when the snow was deeper, the wood was hauled to the rivers. Activity ceased in April, and then the "drive" took place when the rivers thawed. The three different types of work in the lumber camps meant that a man could move to different camps, or could work for only one or two of the three periods. Lumbering was physically very demanding and life in the camps inevitably hard.

This pattern of fishing, farming and lumbering was prevalent on the Gaspé Coast from the early 19th century until the Depression years of the 1930s. During this "traditional" period of over a century, techniques changed little in the three basic industries. The population grew substantially, but the way of life in the coastal villages would have been familiar in 1925 to a man living in 1800. In the 1930s, and particularly after World

War II, improved communications, changing aspirations, and the availability of new sources of cash income modified the traditional economy. The old combinations of activities no longer brought a satisfactory standard of living. New techniques and new methods of organization were introduced in the fishing and forestry industries which further undermined the former way of life.

It is the story of the breakdown of the traditional economy that is the concern of this thesis. In subsequent chapters this period of change is approached in two ways. In Part II (Chapters Four, Five and Six), the processes of change are examined at a regional level. Using documentary sources such as the reports of fishery officers, census returns, and more recent government plans and statistics, the economic development of the Gaspé Coast is traced from the Conquest in 1760 to the present day. The most important changes have occurred in the present century, and priority is given to these. In Part III (Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine) the population's response to change is examined at a community level. This "micro-study" comprised the bulk of the fieldwork. It focusses on the period 1925-1970, taking these two years as baselines for the collection of data. This span of time was selected for two reasons. Firstly, major economic changes on the Gaspé Coast, unknown for over a century, began with the Depression in the 1930s. In 1925 the old way of life in Mal Bay was little altered. Secondly, it was important to obtain a great deal of detailed oral information from the memories of the older inhabitants, in order to gain an enriched understanding of the processes of change. Older informants can provide good information back to the beginning of their adult lives, so that a man who was 65 in 1970 would have been 20 in 1925. These two dates seemed the most

adequate baselines for an understanding of economic change within the community. The two approaches - regional level and micro-level; documentary and oral - thus complement each other in providing insights into this population at the periphery.

PART II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REGIONAL ECONOMY

A Theoretical Framework: Enterprises at the Periphery

In Part I we discussed the theoretical and methodological framework of the research. Since Part III is concerned with response to change at the community level, Part II does not deal substantially with the local population, but describes the changing economic organization at a regional level. The general approach is historical, dealing with economic processes which have evolved through time. A theoretical treatment of the evolution of the economy of a peripheral region, drawn from the material in Chapter One, is presented as an introduction to the substantive information. When applied to the Gaspé Coast, this material defines those aspects of economic change which are the most relevant, and helps to show where and how they are related to each other.

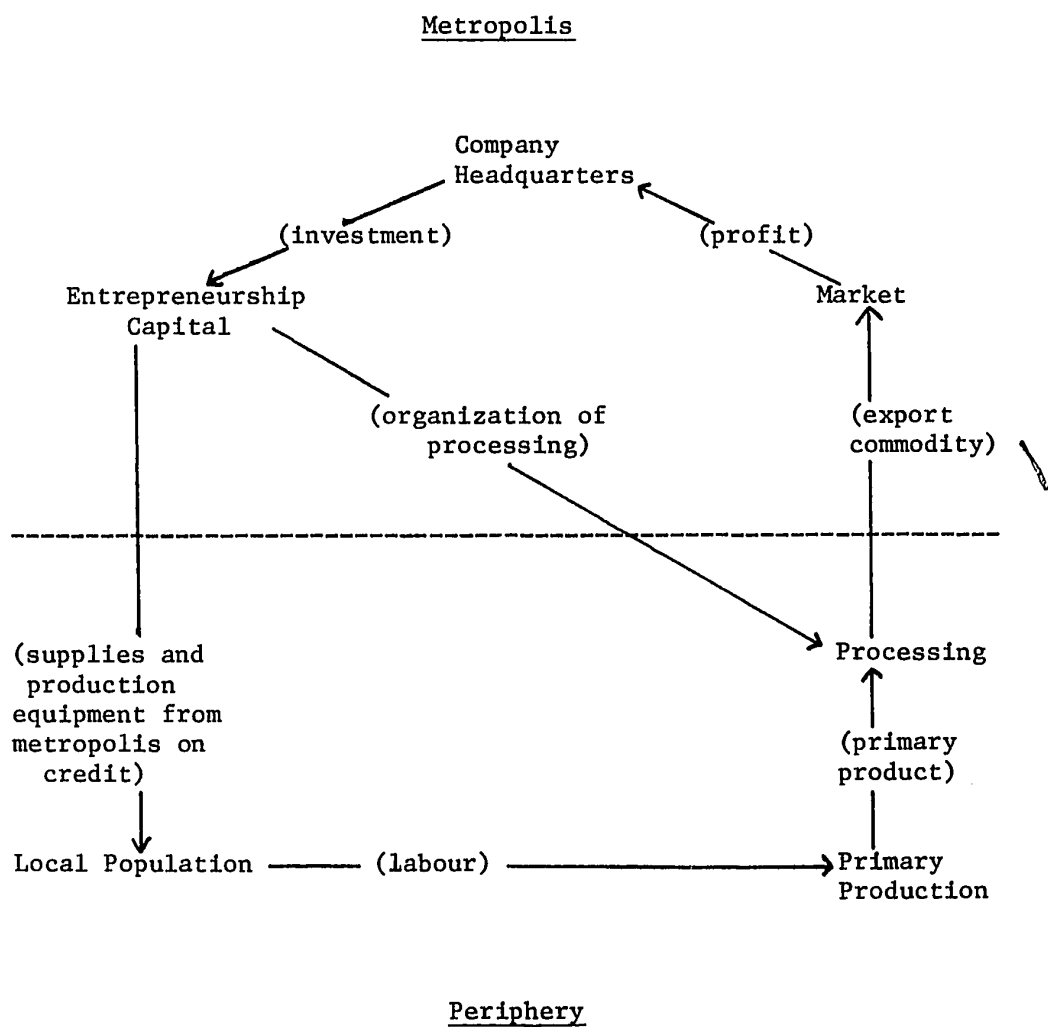
The initial phase of colonial development at the periphery is that of the export enclave. Production of raw materials for export - frequently agricultural commodities - is organized, financed and controlled by enterprises originating in the core regions. For the entrepreneur this represents a capital investment - in traditional colonial terms a mercantile venture - which is intended to provide him with profits at the metropolis. Some colonial enterprises have organized production themselves, using local labour under "industrial" conditions. At other times local producers have furnished the export product while the colonial entrepreneurs have exercised control over them through the credit mechanism. A general characteristic of this early stage of colonial penetration has been that the colonial enterprises have had a high degree of vertical integration: that is, they have organized not only the production of an export commodity but also its collection, processing, transportation, and marketing.

The colonial enterprises have necessarily concerned themselves not only with a single export product but with a variety of other activities at the periphery. These have chiefly comprised supplying the local population with goods and services, most characteristically through the company store, but also through transport, health and educational facilities, and so on. At the same time there has been a low degree of investment in the production in the colonial area of inputs for the export sector (backward linkage) or in industries producing consumer goods for the colonial market (final demand linkage). This is because the colonial entrepreneurs frequently supply the equipment for export production, and necessary commodities for the local population, from the metropolitan area. It undermines their position as suppliers if there is substantial industrial development in the peripheral region. The "spread effects" originating from export production have generally been small (Fig. 2).

It follows that the "export enclave" may be described as such because it is closely linked by long-distance trade with the metropolitan country, and only weakly tied to other centres in the colonial country. The domination of the economic life of the enclave by the colonial enterprise, which is based in and orientated towards the metropolis, means that there is little need for contact with other similar enclaves or even with the regional or national capital within the colony. Thus the colony often consists of a large number of small export-orientated communities with similar functions and with minimal interdependence, and a few coastal towns concerned with trade which can only develop industrially at times when the ties with the metropolitan country are slackened.

In the long term the position of the export enclave does not

Fig. 2 The Control of Supply and Production at
the Periphery by a Single Colonial Enterprise



remain static. Its potential for further development by colonial entrepreneurs is related to the quality and size of the resource base, which may offer scope for new investment. Changes in the peripheral economy may come about through changing metropolitan tastes or demand for the primary product. For instance, demand for certain types of foodstuffs may decline, necessitating new crops or new methods of processing old crops. Similarly, primary commodities may develop new uses and demand may increase; or they may be replaced by synthetic substitutes and demand may fall. Change may come about through the exhaustion of non-renewable resources at the periphery: through the destruction of the forests by a lumbering industry, or through the impoverishment of the soil by exploitative cropping practices. Perhaps the most serious problem has been the long-term decline of the prices for primary products relative to the costs of manufactured products. While the costs of production equipment and supplies provided by the metropolis, and the expectations of the local population at the periphery, have risen, the prices of most export commodities have fluctuated cyclically but have in the long term remained relatively stagnant. This has made a continuance of traditional methods of primary production without change in technology and organization increasingly unprofitable.

Faced with increased costs and uncertain profitability, colonial enterprises have adapted to the changing circumstances. Their adaptation has frequently taken the form of technological improvements, investment in new products, or new methods of organization. Often it implies a smaller but more skilled labour force, thus creating regional unemployment. Technological rationalization usually has a spatial aspect in that it requires concentration of productive or processing operations into a few larger centres.

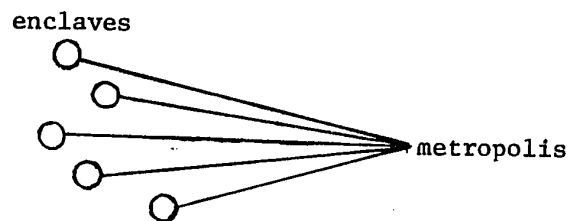
At the same time colonial governments have gained greater authority and autonomy. Frequently, one of their initial policies has been to integrate the peripheral regions into a single country by the development of communications and of administrative services, with their concomitants of central revenue collection and redistribution. This has drastically changed the nature of the "export enclave" formerly dominated by a single entrepreneur or the production of a single crop. Greater accessibility, coupled with the new aspirations of the people that are stimulated by education, has encouraged initially the development of a local service sector, and opportunities have arisen for local entrepreneurship in stores, transport, and small industries. The emergence of new sources of income has undermined the credit-supply aspect of the operations of the colonial enterprises. This has forced the colonial enterprises, in general, to specialize either in the supply business or in the export trade.

Further development of communications and of the domestic economy of the colony (perhaps by now politically independent) gives rise to new large-scale companies operating from the cities or regional centres of the colony. Often these replace the old colonial enterprises based in the original metropolis (Fig. 3). In some countries the new corporate enterprises are government-sponsored. In the peripheral region they come to take over the functions of local entrepreneurs in many fields in which local entrepreneurs have offered the initial challenge to the old colonial enterprises. With the low profitability of primary products, they may depend on government subsidy. Alternatively, they may specialize in supplies; or, their advent may coincide with the process of technological innovation. They represent what Levitt (1970) calls the "new mercantilism". In the peripheral region

Fig. 3 The Evolution of Control at the Periphery

A. The Export Enclave Stage

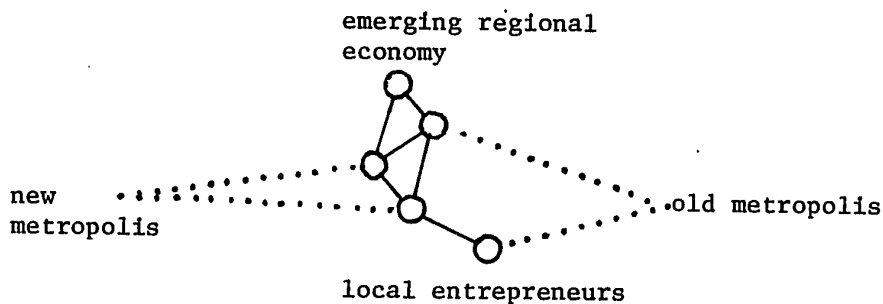
small communities
at the colonial
periphery are
directly linked
to the metropolis



(Fig. 2 shows the mechanism in greater detail)

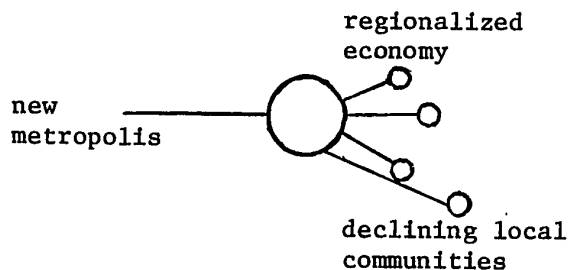
B. A Transitional Stage

weak links
to old and
new metro-
polis:
autonomous
regional
economy



C. The Region is Linked to the New Metropolis

the new
metropolis
controls
an economy
based in
regional
centres



they may be new companies controlled by a new elite, but fundamental structures remain the same.

Development of new companies in the cities of the former colony on the one hand destroys the temporary resurgence of local enterprise by flooding the peripheral region with cheap goods and by taking control of enterprises at the periphery. On the other hand, it attracts migrants - usually the most energetic and most educated people - to the developing centres and leaves the remaining population of the periphery increasingly impoverished with respect to age structure and ability. The periphery may then have a few centres where economic development is taking place, for instance where large processing plants are located. However the employment based on the new rationalized industries is small. The closure of the large number of small economic enterprises operating under the "enclave" system and their replacement by a small number of large enterprises leaves the majority of peripheral communities without local commercial employment and thus in a cumulative state of decline. These communities suffer from the "backwash effects" discussed in Chapter One.

Because of these backwash effects, and because of the continuing relative decline in the value of primary products, this stage of evolution will be accompanied by government intervention in attempts to counter the continuing poverty of the periphery. This intervention is likely in all socialist countries. It is also likely in those peripheral regions, such as southern Italy or Atlantic Canada, which comprise underdeveloped parts of otherwise prosperous countries. The intervention of government may include redistribution of wealth from rich areas to poor areas ("transfer payments"), development plans for the economy of the peripheral region to achieve greater

prosperity, and programmes to relocate the people in growth centres and to abandon the most isolated places.

Because of the persistent nature of disparities within a free-enterprise economy, the government frequently finds itself committed to long-term and comprehensive intervention in the economy of the peripheral region. In many respects it replaces the colonial enterprise as the chief patron of all aspects of life at the periphery. In providing social services, financial security, and development projects it exercises a greater control than even the most paternalistic of the old enterprises which it has replaced. Power at the metropolis has changed hands, but in the process the periphery has not gained any greater autonomy.

Chapter Four

THE JERSEY REGIME

The Gaspe Coast as an Export Enclave

Since the 16th century the cod fisheries of Atlantic Canada have been exploited by the countries of Western Europe in order to provide fish for their populations. The possibility of preserving the fish by salting, or more particularly by salting and drying, made it an ideal food commodity in days when transport was slow and refrigeration not available. The compact yet nutritious dried cod was easily shipped and kept well even in hot climates. Portugal, Spain, France, and England have been the main participants in this fishery. Whereas for the first three countries, with their overwhelmingly Catholic populations, the large home market consumed most of the fish, for Protestant England - already well supplied with North Sea and Icelandic fish - the cod was an article of trade.

The Newfoundland fishery, developed by merchants from the West Country, provided England with cod for sale to southern Europe and later to the plantations in the West Indies and Brazil. Innis describes how

A three-cornered trade from England to Newfoundland, Spain, and the Mediterranean provided a basis for expansion, and gave England an industry with an abundance of shipping, an outlet for manufactured goods and provisions, a supply of semitropical products and specie, substantial profits, and ideal possibilities for the development of a mercantile policy.... Cod from Newfoundland was the lever by which she wrested her share of the riches of the New World from Spain.

(Innis, 1954: 52)

The importing of tropical goods, or of currency, and the carrying on of the trade in English ships outfitted from English ports, generated

capital in England which was one of the spurs to the Industrial Revolution.

The Gaspé Coast has always played a lesser but significant part in the Canadian Atlantic cod fishery. It was at a locational disadvantage in that it was further from Europe than was Newfoundland and, unlike parts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, there was no possibility of fishing in the winter. Up to the Conquest in 1760 the Gaspé Coast fishery was controlled by the French, and, in particular, by merchants from Normandy and the Basque ports. The bulk of the fishermen were only seasonal residents, spending the summer fishing on the Gaspé Coast and returning to France in the winter. However there were some permanent resident fishermen at the eastern tip of the peninsula, who comprised the first European settlers in the region. Even at this time the "Baye des Morues et l'ance St-Pierre" (now Malbaie Bay and Point St. Peter) were important fishing places.¹

After the Conquest and the withdrawal of the French from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, development of the Gulf fisheries fell open to British merchants. The Conquest had dispersed most of the French settlers, and in the period 1760-1776 there was a return to the seasonal fishery. From the first, merchants from the Channel Islands were prominent. They had already played a subordinate role in the Newfoundland fishery. They were aided in their establishment on the Gaspé Coast both by the fact that they were bilingual, being fluent in French and able to move into former French markets, and by the fact that many of their crews came from Normandy, and most probably were already familiar with the region. Fishermen outfitted by

1. The French fishery on the Gaspé Coast is dealt with by de la Morandière (1962: 365-383).

Channel Island merchants were in competition with New England schooners, and many of the early firms failed. The instability caused by the American War of Independence brought a temporary end to the Gaspé Coast fishery (Saunders, 1930).

Following the end of the war in 1776, settlers began to arrive. Settlement was for the most part spontaneous in that it was not planned either by the government or by the fishing companies. There was a move from seasonal fishing ships to a system of resident fishermen employed by the company, which bought their fish and advanced them supplies through the company store. The Jersey firm of Charles Robin, established in 1766, emerged as the most important, with its main post at Paspébiac and a subsidiary plant at Percé (LeGros, 1964 etc.). Its headquarters were in Jersey. In the 19th century there was a general expansion of fishing companies throughout the region. Robin, which remained the largest enterprise, operated several establishments on the Gaspé Coast, and also in Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and later on the North Shore. While the fishing business on the south coast of the peninsula was dominated by Robin and to a lesser extent by LeBouthillier, the eastern part of the Gaspé Coast saw a variety of firms such as Fruing, Fauvel, Collas, and Hyman. All these firms were of Jersey origin with the exception of Hyman, who was from England. All the firms without exception were staffed exclusively by Channel Islanders, who were engaged initially as apprentices. Many later rose to managerial positions within the firms, or started their own businesses. There was no chance for the local people to gain commercial training.

The local organization of the fishing establishments, which is described in Chapter Six, altered little from the 1780s to the 1930s. The

operations of the fishing companies were based on a dual interest in controlling supplies and fish buying. The companies supplied the fishermen with essential provisions - molasses, salt, tools, and so on - which could not be locally produced. They also supplied the fishermen with equipment for the fishery, such as hooks, lines, and sometimes boats. These supplies were advanced to the fishermen on credit at the beginning of the fishing season. The fishermen caught and "made" (i.e. salted and dried) their own fish, and used the fish to pay their debt to the company at the end of the season. If the fishing was poor or the fishermen negligent, this debt persisted over many years. There was little cash in circulation and alternative sources of income were few. At least until the end of the 19th century, the fish merchants represented the only source of supplies in the communities where their establishments were located. They dominated the economy of the Gaspé Coast even for those people who were not actually fishing. Frequently they were the principal landowners in the community, and from time to time purchased commodities other than fish, such as lumber.¹

The system by which the merchants exercised an almost complete control over the local population was widespread in both space and time in the cod fishery. In Newfoundland in the 18th century it was reported that supplies were

... engrossed by a few opulent merchants, store keepers, and considerable boat keepers who retail them to the rest of the

1. For description of the cod fishery on the Gaspé Coast in the 19th century see especially Plessis (1865), Pye (1866), Ferland (1877), the report of a parliamentary committee, Lower Canada ... (1821), and the sharply contrasted reports of fishery protection officers Pierre Fortin (1852-1867) and Napoleon Lavoie (1870-1879) in Canada. Report of Fishery Protection Officer (various dates).

inhabitants and to those they employ under them in the fishery, at exorbitant prices; by which means they keep them poor and in debt, and dependent upon them ... These merchants, store keepers and boat keepers in order to secure the produce of the labour of the poor inhabitants to themselves, press their goods upon them in advance for that produce, so that they contract debts without a possibility of paying them; and thus mortgaging the fish before it is caught, their only study is how to defraud their creditors, contract fresh debts with other merchants, and so become indifferent about prosecuting their fishery; and if they do prosecute it, it is only to sell their fish clandestinely to others for immediate supplies or to the French.

(Great Britain. Privy Council, 1765: 1852-1853)

On the Gaspé Coast a hundred years later the fishery protection officer viewed a similar organizational structure even more critically. He referred to

... the state of vassalage to which Canadian fishermen are reduced, towards the large commercial firms of Gaspé and Bonaventure, a state of vassalage which destroys every liberty of action and prevents them from securing by their labours the profits indispensable to the improvement of their boats, outfits, and position.

(Canada. Report of Fishery Protection Officer, 1877: 49)

This state of dependence had been in existence for nearly a century.

The cod fishery, financed and organized by merchants located in Jersey, was orientated towards the export of dried fish to distant markets. The high-value light-salted "Gaspé cure" was sent by company schooner to southern Europe - particularly Spain, Portugal and Italy - and also to Brazil. Inferior quality fish was marketed in the West Indies. The salt fish which was produced in the autumn, when it could not be dried, was sold in Quebec City and Montreal. At the same time provisions and manufactured goods were imported by the merchants from Jersey and from England. These were then distributed to the various company stores along the coast. A third aspect of this trade was that the company schooners would contract to carry freight

on other stages of their journeys: for instance conveying rum and molasses from the West Indies to the Gaspé Coast or to Québec City and Montréal, or taking semi-tropical produce such as wines from southern Europe to Jersey or to England. Thus there were complex patterns of trade carried out by the companies of which the export of dried codfish was only one part (Map 5).

The traditional fishing company, as it operated in the 19th century, can be seen to correspond to the more general concept of a colonial enterprise operating in an export enclave. It represented an investment by metropolitan merchants (from Jersey) of capital and entrepreneurship in a peripheral region (the Gaspé Coast) in order to provide an export commodity (codfish) which would be profitable to the original investors. The company rarely concerned itself directly with production or processing. These tasks were carried out by the local people. However the local people were not wholly independent entrepreneurs since they were obligated to the company through indebtedness, and through their dependence on the company for supplies and marketing. The company therefore exercised substantial indirect control over production and processing. As in many colonial regions, the company maintained strict social barriers between its staff, who were obtained from the Channel Islands, and the local people.

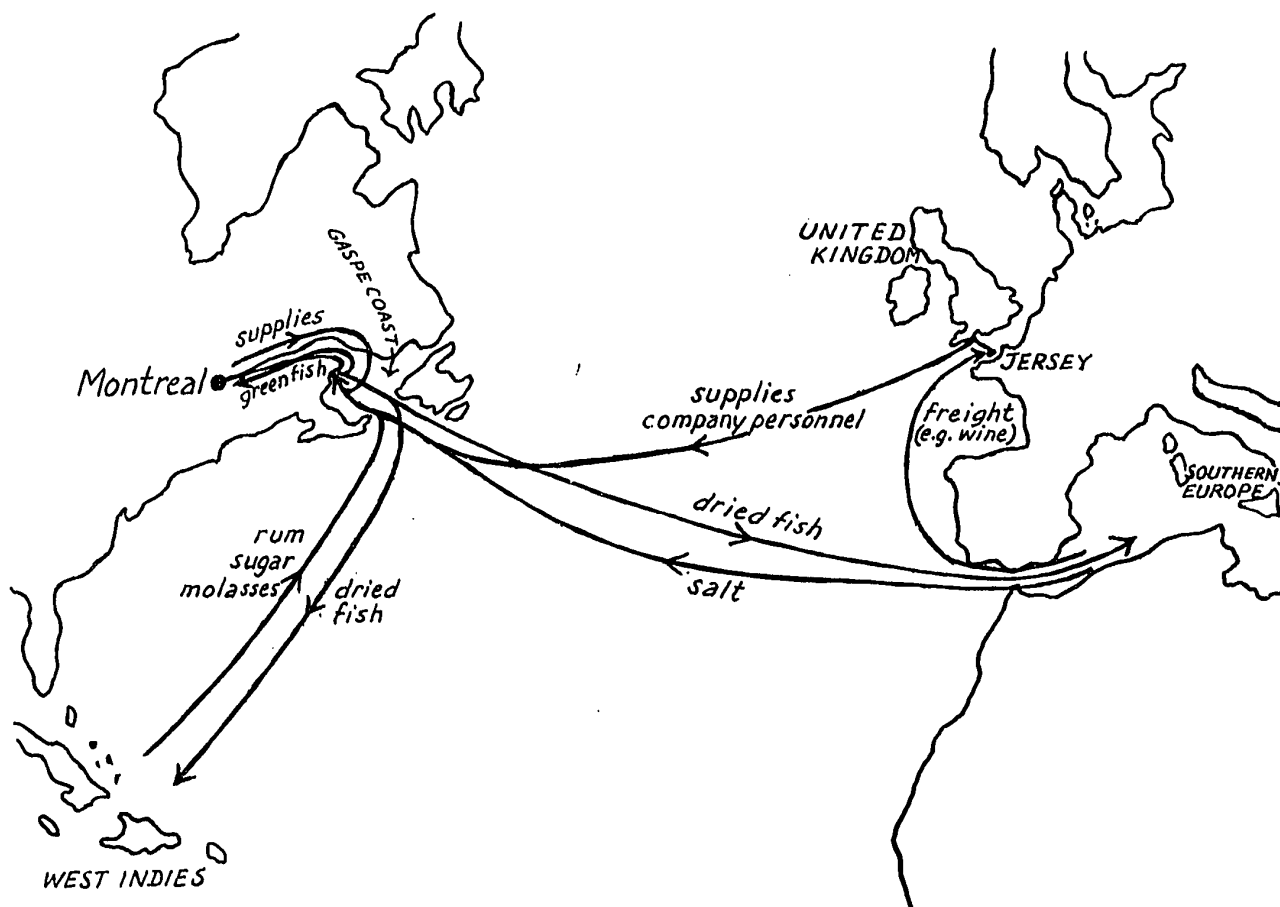
The Arrival of the People

The Gaspé Coast was settled in the century following the American War of Independence. Since that time there has been considerable population growth by natural increase, and in more recent years extensive emigration towards urban centres. The region is the most ethnically diverse of any rural area in the Province of Québec (Boucher, 1962: 37). The diversity of

Map 5

86

Trading Patterns of Company Schooners in the 19th Century



0 500 1000 miles
(approx.)

SOURCES: Various, including field work

the original settlers, who came from a variety of national backgrounds, is still expressed in religious and linguistic pluralism at the present time.

The earliest settlers, from France prior to the Conquest, established themselves round Malbaie and Gaspe Bays. The small resident population was augmented substantially by a summer inflow of fishermen who returned to France in the winter. However the settlements, none of which comprised more than a few houses, were destroyed by General Wolfe in a series of raids in 1758-59. The inhabitants either fled to France, or joined the small Acadian refugee community at the head of Chaleur Bay, or were killed or taken prisoner.

After American independence brought an end to 15 years of unrest, permanent settlement was re-established. Most prominent among the early arrivals were the Channel Islanders associated with the cod fisheries. On the one hand there were the merchants themselves, and the staff in their establishments. These formed a mobile elite, it being company policy not to permit them to stay too long in any one place. Some of them returned to Jersey, either to winter, or to settle permanently when their contract with the merchant expired. On the other hand there was an increasing resident population of Channel Island fishermen: men who had come out to work as carpenters or labourers in the establishments, or as seamen on company ships, or, in the early days, as company fishermen. Some of these people settled, clearing their own land and taking up fishing on their own account. Channel Islanders were generally Protestants, but spoke their own dialect of Norman French, and often English also. There were groups of them at all the main fishing places.

In the last quarter of the 18th century a number of Loyalists

and a variety of other English-speaking Protestant people arrived in the region. The Loyalists had left New England following American independence, and the British government made every effort to welcome them to Lower Canada. On the Gaspé Coast, planned settlements were laid out at New Carlisle and Douglastown. The Douglastown settlement was largely a failure, though some Loyalists eventually made their homes on the shores of Gaspé Bay. Other groups of English-speaking Protestant settlers were the seasonal New England cod and whale fishermen (for instance at Cape Cove), disbanded soldiers, and Scots emigrants. Most of the true Loyalists were involved in agriculture and some in commerce. It seems as though they considered the cod fishery unworthy of their social status, and generally settled in areas where the agricultural land was good enough for them to forsake the uncertainties of the fishery for the comparative security of farming. Although this farming was subsistence-based, there was some sale of produce in the local market: for instance to the fishing establishments.

At the beginning of the 19th century a number of Irish immigrants arrived, and Irish communities grew up at Barachois, Perce, and Douglastown. The Irish were predominantly Catholic and represented the poorer classes of the south and west of Ireland. On the Gaspé Coast many of them were fishermen, few becoming prominent in commercial activities. Sometimes the Irish immigrants settled in areas dominated by French-speaking people. Unlike the Protestants, for whom religion was a barrier to interlinguistic marriage, the Catholic Irish intermarried readily with the French. In these areas many families adopted French as their first language within one or two generations: for instance at Cap des Rosiers (Kavanagh, 1964).

On the south coast of the peninsula there was rapid growth of a large Acadian population. The original migrants, numbering a few hundred, had settled in the area of Carleton, Bonaventure and Paspébiac following their expulsion from Acadia in 1755. The Acadians lived in an area where there was little potential for fishing, and for the most part were farmers. In the east and north of the peninsula there was an influx of people from French-speaking parts of the Province of Quebec during the 19th century. Many French-Canadians who eventually settled on the Gaspé Coast originally came as seasonal fishermen in the summers from their homes in the counties downstream from Quebec City. Both the Acadian and Quebec-French groups were Catholic and French-speaking.

As we have seen, most settlement on the Gaspé Coast was spontaneous, and only a small proportion of the immigrants was sponsored by the government or by the fishing companies. Contrary to the situation in some colonial areas, the settlers on the Gaspé Coast were independent of the colonial enterprises. It was thus necessary for the companies to establish a relationship with the people. This was not difficult to achieve. All the people, whether or not they were fishermen, needed some provisions which could not be produced in the region. Therefore, although their cash requirements were small, they were forced to produce one or two commodities for commercial exchange or sale. Dealings with the companies, which were both buyers and suppliers, were inevitable. The most common commodity produced for exchange was dried codfish, but from time to time the companies accepted payments in such items as salmon, lumber, farm products, or simply labour. Often the people were forced to ask for credit. The Jersey merchants came to assume a position of great importance in the lives of the whole population of the

Gaspe Coast.

Following the initial settlement, the region's population grew rapidly up to World War I. In a sample area which may be termed the "Gulf Shore"¹ the population grew from approximately 1500 in 1820 to nearly 13000 in 1911.² The population during this time remained evenly divided between British Isles and French ethnic origin: for instance, the proportion of people who were of French origin on the Gulf Shore fluctuated between 47.3% and 51.8%.

The original settlers lost to a large extent their ethnic identification and became grouped by language and religion. Based on origin, there would be four groups by this classification:

Protestants of English mother tongue:	Loyalists, British
Protestants of French mother tongue :	Channel Islanders
Catholics of English mother tongue :	Irish
Catholics of French mother tongue :	Acadians, French Canadians from the Province of Quebec

In fact, the Channel Islanders on the Gaspe Coast failed to maintain their distinctive brand of Norman-French, it being only occasionally passed down beyond the children of the original settlers. Instead they became either English-speaking Protestants (the majority) or French-speaking Catholics.

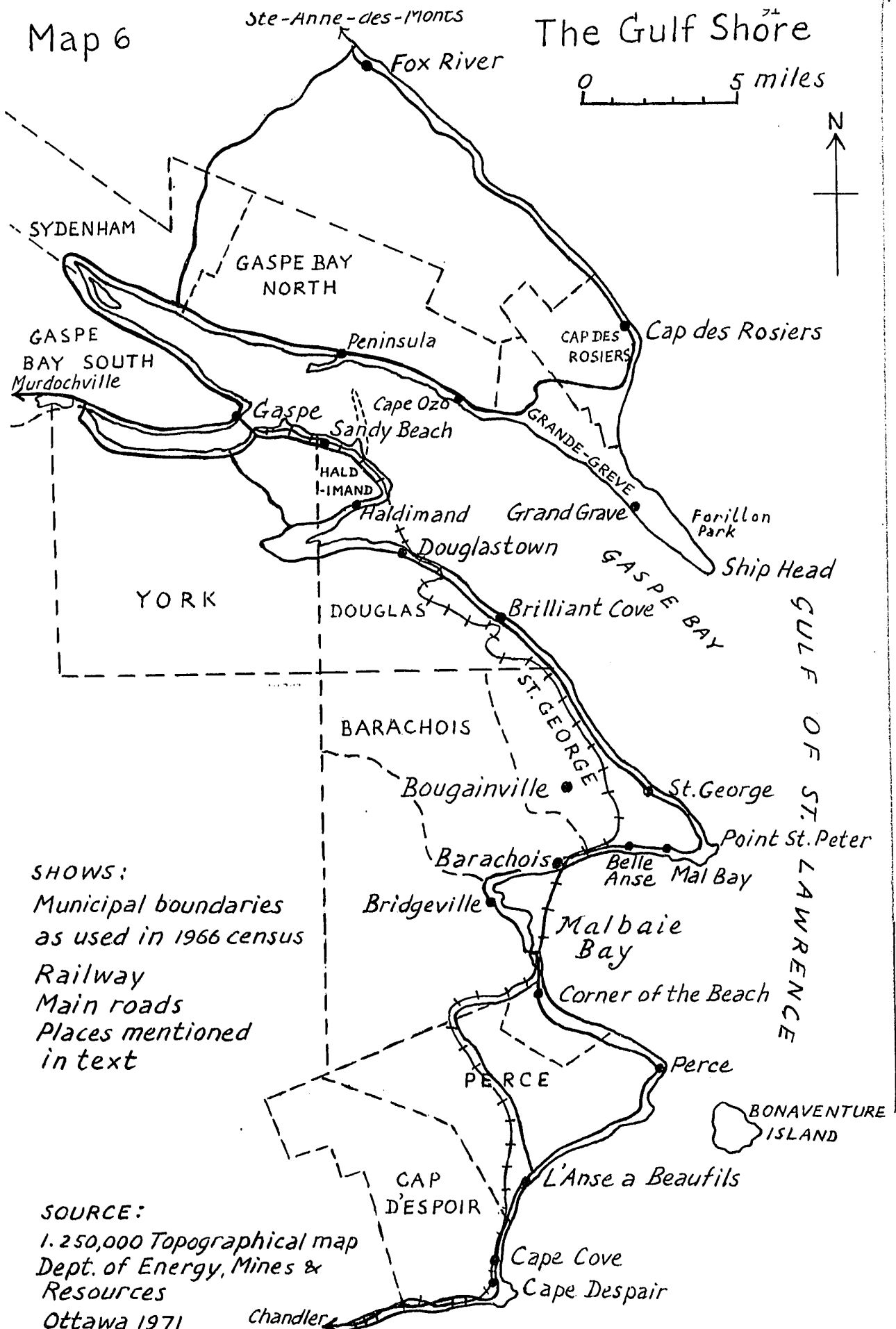
Assimilation from one language group to the other took place as

1. The "Gulf Shore" is that part of the Gaspe Coast which borders on the Gulf of St. Lawrence: that is, from Cap des Rosiers (where the St. Lawrence River ends) to Cape Despair (where Chaleur Bay begins). The sample community, Mal Bay, is contained within it. It is an area with a very diverse population, as opposed to other areas, particularly on the north coast, which are more solidly French-Canadian. The Gulf Shore contains the main concentrations of English speakers (both Protestants and Catholics) in the eastern part of the peninsula. The name "Gulf Shore" is not in local use and is devised for convenience of handling information. The location of the Gulf Shore is shown in Map 6.

2. Population change 1820-1966, based on census returns, is shown in Fig. 6.

Map 6

The Gulf Shore



a result of marriage between the two groups. Prior to the arrival of the organized churches there were no restrictions on marriage between Catholic and Protestant. However, following the establishment of resident clergy by the 1850s, marriages between Catholic and Protestant were discouraged, and hostility between the two groups increased. There was still a good deal of inter-linguistic marriage between French-speaking and English-speaking Catholics, but the Protestants became relatively isolated. The assimilation resulting from inter-linguistic marriage usually took place in the direction of the majority at the community level. In this way, communities became either predominantly French or predominantly English. On the Gulf Shore as a whole during the 19th century, net assimilation seems to have been slightly to the benefit of the English.¹

Settlement on the Gaspé Coast differed from that of the tropical colony insofar as there was no significant native population prior to the arrival of the Channel Island merchants, nor did the merchants themselves import any but their staff, finding it possible to rely on supply from free settlers. The settlers were extremely diverse and most arrived independently of any persuasion by the fishing companies. While there were no obvious racial distinctions such as existed in the tropical plantation areas, important economically-determined class distinctions did exist, and in some measure corresponded to ethnic divisions.

The most obvious of these was the case of the Channel Islanders. The fishing companies which controlled fish purchase and the supply of pro-

1. For comment on the history of the region's population see the local references mentioned in connexion with the cod fisheries; also Bérubé (1937), Blanchard (1935), Drapeau (1863), Mountain (1941-42), Roy and Brault (1934), Roy (1947) and Siebert (1914).

visions on the Gaspé Coast were, up until the end of the 19th century, based in Jersey. Until well into the 20th century all their staff were recruited in Jersey, usually as apprentices. Once on the Gaspé Coast, the Jerseymen employed in the fishing establishments were kept apart from the local population. The company required its employees to live in the company house under regulations from headquarters which were strictly supervised by the local manager. The employees - particularly the apprentices - were moved from one establishment to another, in part to prevent the development of contact with the local population. The fact that the employees spoke Norman-French among themselves, and spoke English with a distinctive accent, marked "Jersey people" off from local people in the minds of the population of the Gaspé Coast. Thus the Jersey elite were in a parallel position to the Europeans in a tropical colony.

Further distinctions existed between French and English, or more strictly between Catholic and Protestant. Locally-born Protestants, or those who had left the service of the fishing companies, were the main local entrepreneurs, engaging in activities such as the purchase of lobster and salmon, the lumber trade, or the construction of small ships. It is difficult to account for the greater entrepreneurial activity of the Protestants at this time with any certainty: explanations may lie in the economic status of the various national groups on their arrival on the Gaspé Coast (the Loyalists were generally middle-class) or in a wider "Protestant ethic" which turned them towards commercial affairs.

The result was that not only was overall control of the regional economy in the hands of an external elite (the Jersey regime) who were identified as "English" in the local context (though their establishments operated in both English and French), but also the local English Protestant

group had a more favourable economic position than the Catholics. Among the Catholics, with the rare exception of professional people - priests, lawyers - the overwhelming majority of the people were at the lowest economic level: fishermen. There was no commercial class. Thus, despite the fact that the English formed slightly less than 50% of the population of the Gulf Shore, and a considerably smaller proportion than this in the peninsula as a whole, their status, and particularly that of the Protestants, was much higher than that of the French.

As in other export enclaves, the people were dependent on several activities besides export production. On the Gaspé Coast these activities showed a general development through the 19th century. All groups that were involved in the fishery also carried out subsistence production. The income from the fishery was so low that it was not possible to buy any more than the barest necessities. Most foodstuffs, shelter, fuel and clothing had to be locally produced. This immediately gave rise to a peasant economy. The commercial fishery and subsistence production were at this time inseparable from each other. During the latter part of the 19th century the lumber industry created a second, equally unremunerative, source of commercial employment. Its main advantage was that lumbering took place in the winter, and, granted the organization of economic activities at a family level, it was possible to combine winter woods work with the summer fishery. The other possible source of income was wage labour, which occasionally became available in fishing establishments or for local entrepreneurs. Once again, returns were low, and this was essentially a supplementary rather than a principal activity. At least in the eastern part of the Gaspé Coast, the fishery remained the dominant way of life.

Chapter Five

CHANGING TYPES OF ENTERPRISE

The Problems of the Salt Fish Industry

During the first half of the 20th century there was a breakdown of the traditional economy of the Gaspé Coast,¹ which ceased to be a European-controlled export enclave. One of the chief reasons for this breakdown was the increasing difficulty in marketing the basic export product: dried codfish. The cod fishery had always been liable to cyclical fluctuations in prosperity. The fishery itself was uncertain, and for environmental reasons - bad weather, scarcity of fish or bait - the supply of fish was likely to vary a good deal from year to year and from one region to another.

Unlike large corporations engaged in primary production, codfish merchants in the traditional economy were relatively small concerns dealing in a highly competitive market. At a local level they might sometimes enjoy a quasi-monopoly in local fish buying, though even this is disputed by merchants and fishermen today. At an international level they found themselves in a highly competitive situation as regards fish selling, against a great variety of producers from all over the North Atlantic.² In the better quality markets it was sometimes possible to make reliable arrangements with buyers for the supply of a particular grade of fish at a particular price. In the inferior market, particularly the West Indies, vast quantities of poorer

1. For an excellent account of the traditional economy, and the changes that had taken place by the 1930s, see Blanchard (1935).

2. For an overall perspective on cod fisheries see Malaurie, ed. (1969).

fish were likely to be "dumped" in a good year, depressing prices to virtually nothing.

The terms of international trade were likely to vary, partly because of fluctuating exchange rates and partly because of tariffs or other controls imposed by the importing countries. Equally, the demand for salt codfish changed according to the prosperity of the consumers, who themselves were for the most part producers of primary products:

Most of the countries in which salt codfish is sold are, in turn, exporters of agricultural products or the products of other primary industries. This is especially true of those in the western hemisphere, many of which are dependent on one or two crops: fruit or sugar or coffee. These products, like those in the fisheries, are subject to wide variations in supply and price. For that reason, reflecting the varying prosperity of consumers, the salt-fish markets experience violent changes in demand.

(Newfoundland Fisheries Development Committee, 1953: 39)

The fish merchants of the Gaspé Coast, like those of Newfoundland, thus found themselves in a very similar situation to the Melanesian producers described by Brookfield:¹ that of a peripheral region producing a single export commodity at the mercy of considerable price fluctuations.

These cyclical fluctuations were accompanied by a long-term decline in the market price of fish as compared with the increase in the cost of inputs such as fishing equipment or supplies for the fishermen. The average market price of codfish fell during the years 1920-1939, following a brief period of prosperity in World War I (Fig. 4). This price was in any case low since the market was highly competitive, and since the areas where fish was sold were generally "under-developed", with low standards of living and low purchasing power. On the other hand, manufactured goods and provisions were imported at prices which were high compared with the value of the

1. Brookfield with Hart, (1971: 209).

Fig. 4

Volume of Production and Market Value
of Codfish in the Province of Quebec, 1910-1970*

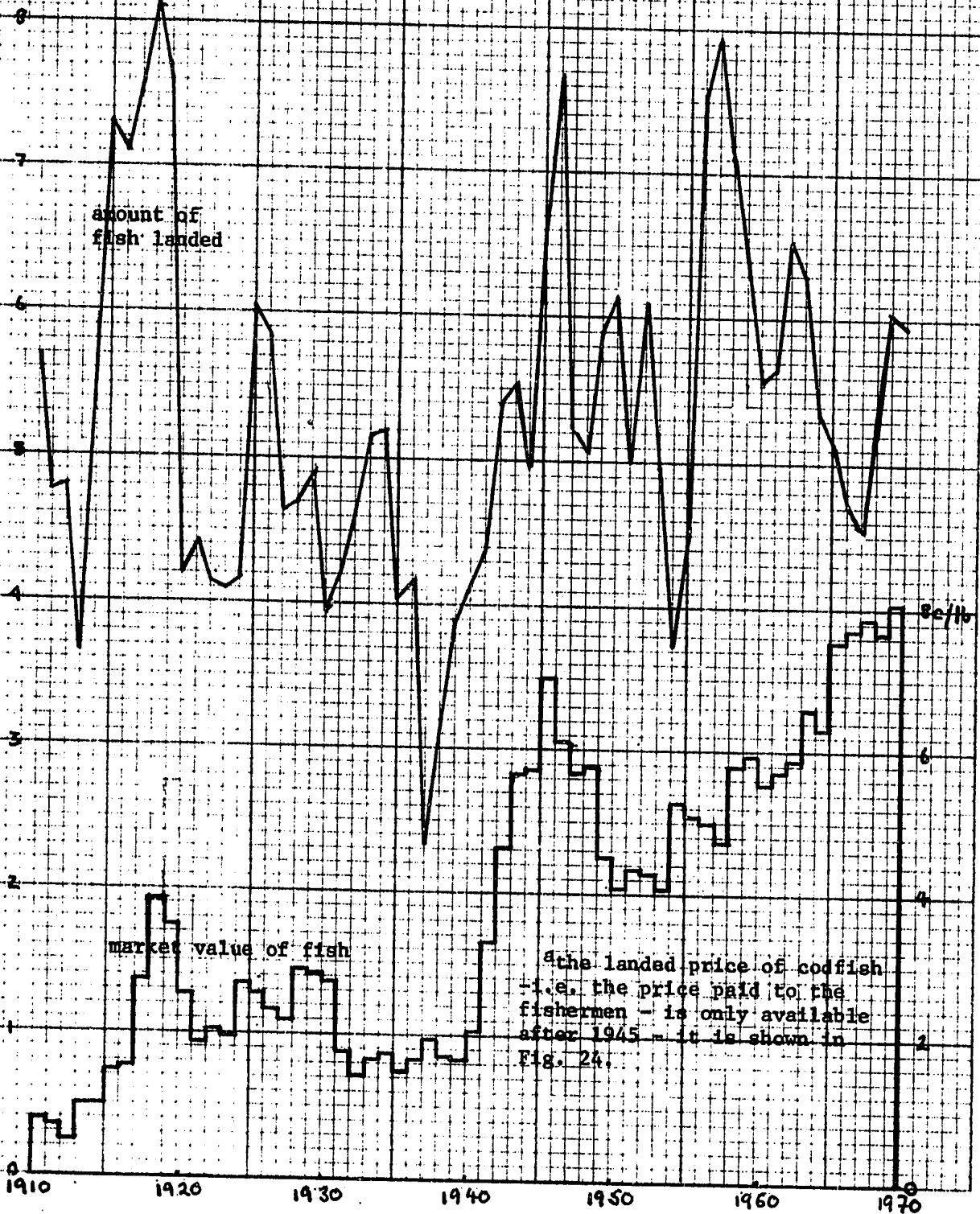
97

Codfish
landed
in Million lbs.

Market Value
of Codfish
in cents per
lb.

Principal Source:

Annuaire du Québec:
Bureau de la Statistique du Québec



fish produced. This problem was accentuated when the Gaspé Coast, from being integrated into a European-based fishery, became integrated, over the period 1880-1930, into the North American economy. In North America, the relative value of the fish produced in regions such as the Gaspé Coast was even lower than it had been in the European economy.

Harold Innis, explaining the underdevelopment of Newfoundland in the 1930s, touched on many of these problems:

The fundamental difficulties of Newfoundland are inherent in her position as a producer of a commodity that is consumed in tropical countries with a large Catholic population and low purchasing power. She is at the same time subject to the effects of industrialism in the marked concentration in the tropics on the production of products such as sugar, coffee and bananas. She is in competition with recently industrialized fishing regions and is affected by prices of supplies determined largely by the North American continent. Prices of cod rise more sharply and fall farther than prices of other products, and the result is that expansion is apt to be more pronounced and depression more acute. The products of industrialized agriculture imported from continental North America, such as flour, pork, and beef, increased in price earlier, more rapidly, and at a more sustained rate than cod. After the turn of the century and with the advent of improvements in transportation, Great Britain tended to be displaced by Canada and the United States. Loans were floated in North America, the price structure was linked to the continent through Canadian banks, and transportation rates by land or sea were part of the American system. In the postwar and depression periods the economy has tilted back towards Great Britain. Newfoundland was squeezed between two civilizations. She produced for tropical countries with low standards of living, and had to compete with other foodstuffs and goods purchased from highly industrialized countries.

(Innis, 1954: 481-482)

The similarities with the modern core-periphery concept (here implicit rather than explicit) are striking. The problems of the periphery are compounded when it is itself a supplier of another periphery. The transition of the Gaspé Coast from being peripheral to the European metropolis to being peripheral

to the North American metropolis was more complete than that of Newfoundland. However, in other respects the Gaspé Coast and Newfoundland were identical.

An earlier problem confronting the fish merchants had been caused by developments in transportation. The transition from sailing ships owned by the companies to steamships chartered by the companies entailed a loss of flexibility. The consignments of fish sent at any one time by the companies had been small, since dried codfish was a compact, light-weight product. The company-owned schooners had been an ideal means of transport, since they could be used for carrying fish and also for other types of commerce. The introduction of steamships meant that the companies had to send much larger consignments of fish in chartered ships; fish which was then unloaded on the market in large quantities and possibly at unsuitable times. At the same time the companies could not afford to buy their own steamships, nor could they continue to afford to operate their own schooners, since labour-intensive sailing ships were becoming increasingly uneconomic. The last company schooner therefore disappeared from the Gaspé Coast in the period 1910-1920.

A more serious difficulty which confronted the merchants in the interwar years, particularly during the Depression, was that of finding markets. The 1930s were a time in which fish prices were at their lowest ebb (Fig. 4), and on occasion the companies were forced to sell the fish at prices lower than those which they had paid to the fishermen. Towards the end of the economic recession, sanctions against Italy, and the Spanish Civil War, temporarily removed two of the main markets for high-grade fish. Thus the merchants were faced with decreasing profit margins, and, in the fish business considered alone, significant losses.

The Withdrawal of the Jersey Merchants

Faced with a deteriorating economic situation, the Jersey merchants began to withdraw from the Gaspé Coast fishery from the late 19th century. Some had been affected by the failure of their investments, particularly in banking, in Jersey. The Robin family sold their interests in the Charles Robin Company, "the turning point in their fortunes having been the suspension in 1886 of the Jersey Banking Co., with which the family was closely connected" (Fay, 1961: 33). The failure of the bank was followed by the near-collapse of Robins the following year. In 1892, J. and E. Collas, who had operated in the eastern part of the peninsula, united with Robins to become the Charles Robin Collas company: as such, the company maintained 34 establishments.

The fundamental weakness of the codfish market precipitated further changes. For Robins this meant a move of the head office from Jersey to Halifax in 1904, and the incorporation of other partners, so that in 1910 the company became Robin Jones and Whitman (Innis, 1954: 428). For the smaller Jersey-based merchants it often meant a complete withdrawal from the fish business. By the end of World War I most of these smaller merchants had either returned to Jersey, or had abandoned any Jersey connexion. Some settled on the Gaspé Coast as store-owners: a few, such as William Hyman, continued in the fish business but moved their headquarters to the Gaspé Coast.

In the inter-war years, Robin was more than ever the dominant firm in the fish business. In most places, however, there was sporadic competition from locally-based entrepreneurs, whose overheads were lower than those of the hierarchically-organized Robin establishments. These local entrepreneurs sometimes sold their fish to Robin once it had been dried and collected.

Despite their dominant position, Robins⁹ were forced by the low profitability of the fishery to follow a policy of slow retreat, gradually closing their establishments on the North Shore and later in New Brunswick. After World War II this process continued. It was finally completed in 1965, when both Robins⁹ and Hymans closed their last fishing establishments on the Gaspé Coast.

There are now none of the traditional fishing companies continuing in fishing, though Robins⁹ still act as a wholesaler for dried fish sales for independent entrepreneurs. Robins⁹ have, however, continued with the store business, developing a chain of supermarkets on the sites of their major establishments, and selling their property in the less important centres. Like the large companies, the independent locally-based entrepreneurs moved away from fish buying into supply. These fish buyers had flourished in the inter-war years, filling the gap left by the withdrawal of the smaller Jersey merchants. There are now only a handful left in the fishery.

The most significant challenge to the Jersey merchants came from the co-operative movement. This started in 1923 following an initiative of Bishop Ross of Gaspé. In the late 1920s it was given further stimulus through the missionary zeal of the Antigonish Movement, which was developing co-operatives in Nova Scotia. On the Gaspé Coast the co-operatives were usually founded by the Catholic priests, but membership was widespread and not restricted only to Catholics. Loyalty, on the other hand, was much harder to instil, since this was the first attempt at collective organization.

The co-operatives catered for the people as both consumers and producers. Initially they promised well, giving higher prices for fish and lower prices for groceries than Robin. The fishing companies, recognizing the threat posed by the co-operatives, raised their prices for fish in those villages where they were faced with competition, and started to offer immediate

cash payment, which the co-operatives could not do. The fishermen then secured advances from the co-operative store, but sold their fish to Robin, leaving the co-operative without fish. In addition to this, many of the co-operatives were inexpertly managed, and graded their fish poorly. The fishermen, wary of committing themselves to the new venture, often proclaimed their loyalty to the old companies. The co-operatives, starting at a time of great economic difficulty, were, like the companies, faced with falling market prices for fish. All but one of the co-operatives foundered in the Depression (Lafontaine, 1942: Pêcheurs-Unis de Québec, 1959).

In the 1930s some of the co-operatives were reorganized with government support. In 1939, Quebec United Fishermen (Pêcheurs-Unis de Québec) was formed. At first it was simply a grouping of nine village co-operatives, but its subsequent growth has been accompanied by centralization. Control at the village level has been replaced by a move of headquarters and management to Montreal. It is now a co-operative in name only. United Fishermen processes most of the fish taken on the Gaspé Coast. Its main plant is at Fox River, with others at Sandy Beach, Grand River, and Newport (Map 4). The removal of local control, coupled with a high level of government subsidy, has caused the loss of any local co-operative spirit. United Fishermen is viewed as a government enterprise, and therefore to be exploited as much as possible.

Concentration in the Fishery

The emergence of co-operatives as opposed to traditional merchants was not in itself a means of guaranteeing the profitability of the fishery. The early co-operatives, which, like the old merchants, were concerned with

buying dried fish produced by traditional methods, soon failed. The fundamental problem of the declining relative value of the primary product remained. It was suggested in the theoretical discussion that this problem is often resolved by technological change which is expressed in spatial rationalization of production. It is this process of technological change which has been most significant in the fishery on the Gaspé Coast; and, indeed, in other regional industries. The technological changes have, for the most part, been interrelated, and their cumulative effect has been towards a concentration rather than a dispersal of fishing operations.

Important technological changes have taken place in operations at sea. Here, there have been three forces making for concentration: the introduction of motors, the introduction of larger boats, and the use of new lines. Motors were introduced into the boats used for inshore fishing from about 1910. This removed the physical exertion of rowing. It reduced greatly the time taken to reach the fishing grounds, making it possible to fish further afield. It also means that proximity of the fishing coves to the fishing grounds was less important, so that there was very gradually a selective development of the better harbours.

Boats continued to be of the same dimensions through to the early 1950s when two new types of boat, the longliner and the trawler, were introduced. These were much larger than the boats used for inshore fishing (longliner 40-50 ft., trawler 80-90 ft.) and were professionally designed and built for deep-sea fishing (Giroux, 1960). They remain in use at the present time. Their advantages over the smaller boats are that they have the equipment to remain at sea for several days and thus to go to more distant "banks" or fishing grounds, and that they have sophisticated equipment for navigation

and for locating the fish. They thus obtain much larger catches than the inshore boats. The significance of the larger boats in terms of centralization is that, unlike the inshore fishing boats which could be operated from small coves or harbours without difficulty, the deep-sea boats demand wharf facilities which provide adequate anchorage and shelter.

With the larger boats have come new lines. In the traditional economy, fishing was done with hand-lines: single baited hooks lowered over the side until they reached the bottom. These have been replaced by "long lines" on the longliners: a line suspended between two buoys over a distance of a mile or more, with shorter lines ("snoods") with baited hooks attached, and resting on the bottom. These lines are set for a period of several hours before being hauled by hand. Shorter but similar lines are used by some fishermen on smaller boats. The trawlers use large open nets or trawls which are dragged at or near the sea bed. The larger catches of the deep-sea fishing boats have themselves been a further factor in centralization. Traditionally the catch of the inshore fisherman was processed by members of his family. However the much larger catches of the bigger boats demand not only harbour facilities to unload them, but also fish processing plants which can cope with a high volume of fish. Such plants can only exist in a few centres.

One significant factor has militated against the concentration of operations at sea: the high cost of investment in the expensive production techniques of the deep-sea fishery. Instead, the introduction of outboard motors in small craft has made these increasingly economic. Small boats which previously had to be rowed can now be manoeuvred easily to the fishing grounds. Part-time fishing, fishing on one's own, or fishing by older people,

have all been made much easier. The advantage of the small boats over the longliners or trawlers is that they can be constructed in the community by a craftsman with the assistance of the fisherman, and that they are inexpensive both to build and to operate. They permit a much higher degree of flexibility than the longliners, which require a long-term investment in and commitment to the fishery. They do not demand centralization, though they do require access to a fish processing plant. From the point of view of the fisherman himself, the inshore fishery is often more attractive and more profitable than the deep-sea fishery. From the point of view of the industry as a whole, this runs counter to the generally desirable trend towards centralization and higher production levels (Pépin, 1959; BAEQ, 1965b).

Major technological changes have also taken place in on-shore operations in fish processing and marketing. These changes stem mainly from a move from the production of dried salt fish to the production of fresh and frozen fish. Fish fillets could not be produced at the family level, as the dried fish had been, but only by industrial production methods in a fish processing plant. This fact, coupled with the introduction of the larger boats, led to the development of large, modern fish plants in the 1950s and 1960s, of which that at Fox River is the most important. As an adjunct to the frozen fish industry, the Provincial Government created a chain of cold storage plants (entrepôts frigorifiques) around the coast. These cold storage plants, the first of which opened in Belle-Anse in 1932, serve the triple function of storing bait for the fishermen, of making ice for the fishermen to put in their boats to keep the fish fresh (after the development of the longliners), and of storing frozen fish awaiting shipment. The cold storage plants became quite plentiful as a result of political pressure, so were not initially

an important factor in the concentration of the fishery. In recent years, however, many have been closed, and their closure now acts as a centralizing force.¹

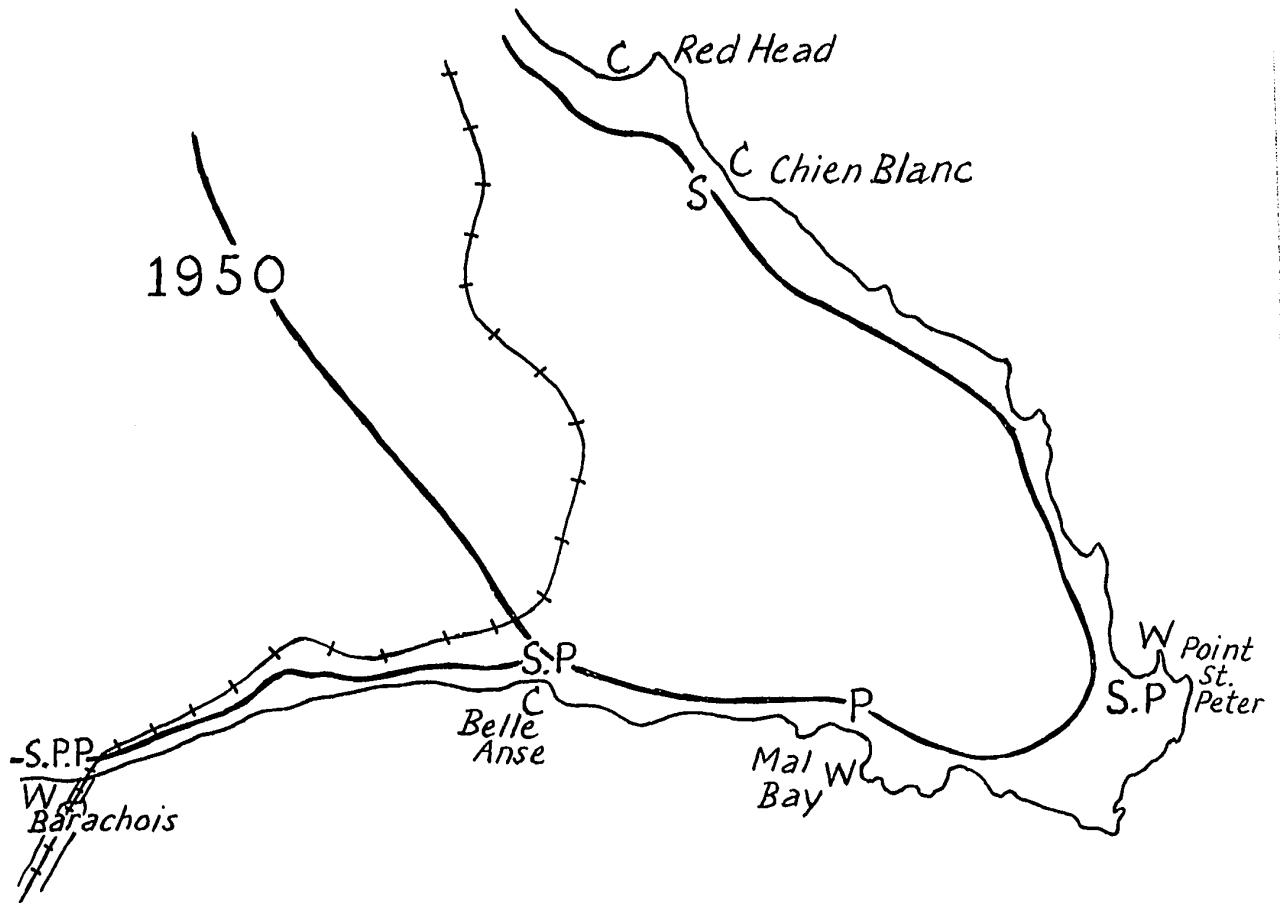
The move into the fresh fish business opened completely new markets for fish in North America at a time when the old markets for dried fish in southern Europe and the West Indies had become restricted and unprofitable. A further aspect of this move has been the depletion of certain stocks, including the codfish, through intensive fishing by "industrialized" trawlers. As a result of this, a declining amount of codfish is being caught per unit of effort (Jean, 1969). To counter the problem of an increasingly scarce resource, there has been a diversification away from the traditional cod towards plaice, redfish, crab and scallop. Cod, which comprised 62.1% of the market value of all fish caught in the Province of Quebec in 1945, made up only 29.8% in 1969.²

Thus we can see three ways in which the fishing industry on the Gaspé Coast has adapted to some of the general problems of primary production. The increasing scarcity of the primary resource has been met by diversification towards the use of other resources. The low profitability of the traditional technology and organization have been met by new forms of technology and organization which have resulted in the concentration of the fishery. The decline of the old markets for the traditional product has been met by a new product - fresh and frozen fish - for new markets.

1. Map 7 gives an example of the process of centralization in the Mal Bay area.

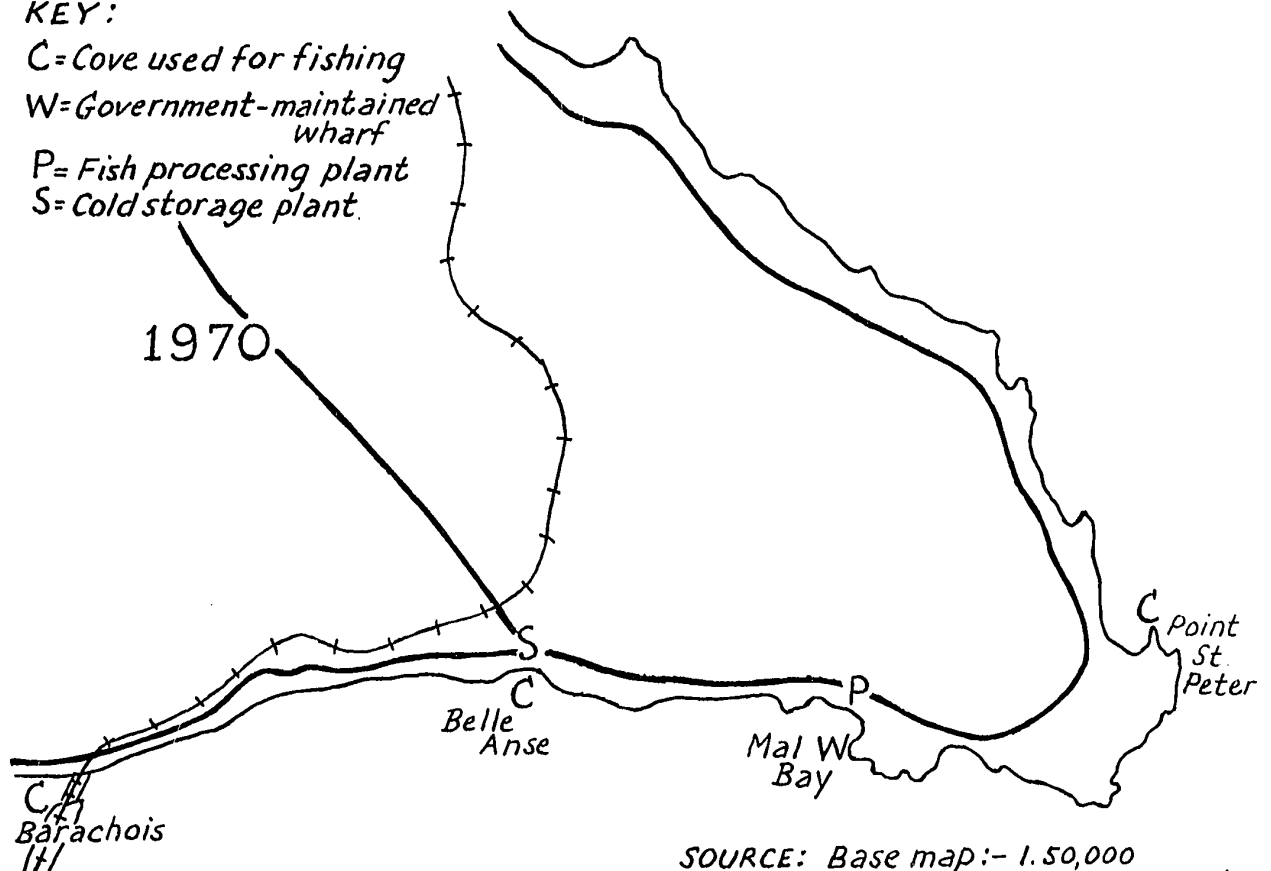
2. The best source of fisheries data is the monthly bulletin "Pêche Maritime" produced by the Bureau de la Statistique du Québec.

Map 7 Centralization in the Fishery 107



KEY:

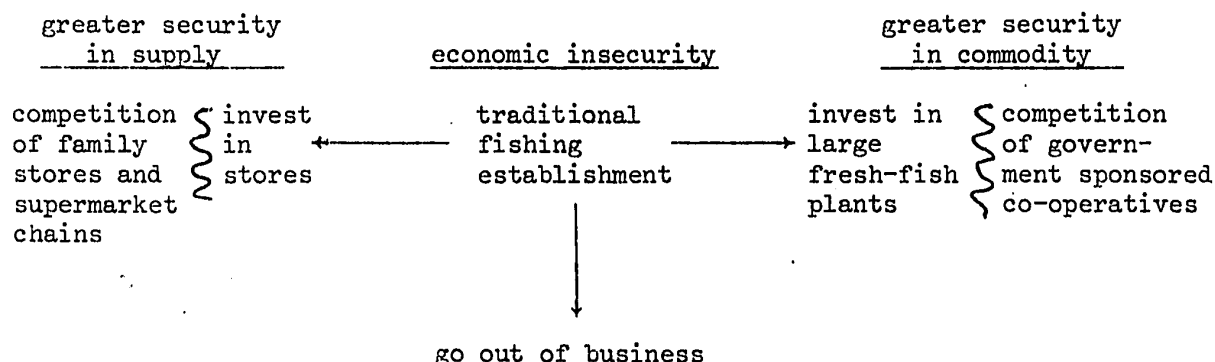
- C= Cove used for fishing
- W= Government-maintained wharf
- P= Fish processing plant
- S= Cold storage plant.



SOURCE: Base map:- 1.50,000

The three types of enterprise involved in the fishery - the traditional fish merchant, the local entrepreneur, and the co-operative - did not participate equally in the new developments. The options open to the old merchants - in particular open to Robins - were to invest either in stores or in fish plants:

Fig. 5 Options for the Traditional Fish Merchants



As we have seen, they chose investment in stores as the more profitable part of the enterprise.

Even while they continued their fish plants, Robins made virtually no investment in them. For a long time, they retained traditional methods of fish processing and made no attempt to centralize operations. Only in the late 1940s - 10 to 15 years after the first fresh-fish plants - did Robins start production of fresh and frozen fish, and even then not on a large scale. The bulk of their production was still the traditional salt fish. Similarly, the Mal Bay fishermen described how, right up to 1961 when Robins sold their Mal Bay establishment, the company would not invest in modern methods of unloading fish from the longliners. A former Robins manager summed up the situation by declaring that "they wouldn't spend anything to make a dollar".

The manner of withdrawal of the old merchants from the fishery and their development of the store business prompts a reassessment of the role of the merchants in the traditional economy. The standard analysis suggests that the companies were concerned with the export trade, and only diversified into supply as a secondary venture. In view of the evidence, an alternative explanation seems more convincing: that the main interest of the companies was in supplies. Throughout their existence the fishing companies derived the bulk of their profits from the stores.¹ In the local community they often had a monopoly position: even if they did not, the fact that the fishermen were indebted to them permitted them to set their own price levels. While the stores provided consistent profits, the fishery rarely did so. Markets were, as we have seen, competitive and uncontrollable. The merchants accepted fish in payment for supplies because there was no cash available to the local people. At times, they accepted payment in other commodities: lumber, land, labour, and so on. The merchants undertook to market products such as fish and lumber: because of the uncertainty of the markets, particularly in the fishery, they insured themselves by placing a very low value on fish as compared with supplies. Support for this explanation - that the merchants were primarily suppliers rather than fish exporters - lies in the recent withdrawal of the merchants from the fishery. While there was no cash available, the merchants took in payment the only commodity that the people could supply: fish. It was not profitable for them to invest

1. This statement is based on oral evidence from Arthur LeGros (former managing director of Robins) and Keith Matthews (Professor and fisheries expert in the Department of History, Memorial University). Direct statistical evidence from company records is very hard to obtain.

in new techniques or methods of organization in the fishing establishments. As soon as cash became generally available, the merchants were able to abandon the uncertainty of the fishery in favour of the security of stores operating on a cash basis.

The local entrepreneurs for the most part lacked the capital, and were unwilling to commit themselves, to extensive investment in the fishery. On the other hand, they frequently developed low-cost operations producing either fresh or salt fish, often using existing installations. Insofar as they did not make substantial capital investment in production equipment, they did not represent a dynamic sector in the fish processing industry. However, they filled an important need - and continue to do so - in the smaller ports vacated by the old merchants.

The change from the old merchants to the centrally-controlled co-operative was not without a more general significance in the social life of the region. As we have seen, the fishing companies were owned and staffed by an external elite of Jersey men who were, in the local context, identified with the Protestant and English-speaking group. Such local entrepreneurs as existed in the traditional economy were generally members of the same Protestant group. The English, therefore, were economically and socially dominant even though they were in a minority at the regional level.

This situation continued into the inter-war years. Robin imported its staff from Jersey until the early 1930s, and Jersey men continued as local managers for much longer. The Anglican church and the Protestant school system, which were supported by the Jersey regime, enjoyed a privileged position. From this favoured environment came most of the early entrepreneurs, with the expansion of local economic opportunity consequent upon the develop-

ment of communications. Some of the entrepreneurs were the descendants of the smaller Jersey merchants who had given up the fishery in the early 20th century: others were former employees of Robin. In the inter-war years they developed stores, fish plants, and a variety of other local businesses.

While the early entrepreneurs came from the Protestant group, the co-operative movement sprang from the Catholic church and was identified with the French group. Prior to the development of the co-operatives, French people had held no positions of economic importance. While Protestant entrepreneurship emerged from inside the Jersey regime, Catholic commercial activity grew up outside it and in opposition to it. Since World War II, control of the co-operatives has passed from local French people to an external elite, also French, based in Montreal. Nevertheless, there has been a growth of entrepreneurship at the local level from among the Catholic community. In the last 20 years, Catholic entrepreneurs have replaced Protestant entrepreneurs in most fields of commercial activity. In many respects the co-operative movement provided a basis for this rise to power. The Protestants have now lost their status as an economic elite, and their numerical minority position at the regional level also contributes to an increasing sense of isolation.

Other Forms of Centralization

The changes in the fishing industry provide a prime example of the way in which the regional economy has evolved from production in a large number of small, functionally undifferentiated units at the local level to a small number of large, more specialized units at the regional level. Other industries show similar patterns. Some of them were formerly widespread and

have now become consolidated. Others, particularly those related to the service sector, have grown up with the development of a regional economy.

In the latter part of the 19th century a lumbering industry had developed on the Gaspé Coast. The lumber companies were for the most part unstable operations liable to frequent failure or closure because of financial difficulties or because of inability to co-ordinate the cutting, transport, and sawmill aspects of the logging operation.¹ The labour force was unskilled and received very low wages. Lumbering was highly seasonal, cutting and transportation of logs taking place in the winter and spring months respectively. It required a low degree of investment, either in plant - there was little mechanization - or in wages, since the lumberjacks lived also by fishing or farming. The complementarity of summer fishing and winter lumbering with a subsistence agriculture was nevertheless of great significance to the regional population (BAEQ, 1965a: 1).

Over the years two main technical innovations took place - the introduction of the power saw, and the possibility of constructing forest roads cheaply and thus trucking instead of floating the lumber. The first innovation raised productivity, permitting much more wood to be cut much more easily. The second was far more drastic in its implications. Instead of cutting being geared to the time of maximum river flow in the spring, when the "drive" took place, it was moved to the summer, when the logging roads were open (Dugas, 1968). The result of reorganization in the lumber industry for most of the region's population was that an important supplementary source of income - winter lumber camps - was denied them. It has

1. A good description is by Blanchard (1935).

now become possible to work in the woods in the summer, but obviously it is no longer possible to operate the old combination of fishermen/farmer/lumber-jack.¹

At the same time the companies themselves rationalized their operations. Larger companies, particularly those concerned with the pulp and paper industry, ran more carefully planned enterprises with a much greater investment in physical plant. Their exploitation of forest resources was less haphazard. They often required a permanent, stable, and "professional" labour force: unlike the old lumber camps. The small village sawmills became less and less frequent and large pulp mills - specifically those at Chandler and New Richmond - became more prominent.

In 1953 a copper mine was opened at Murdochville in the interior of the peninsula about 60 miles from Gaspe. This has drawn a substantial permanent labour force of about a thousand people from among the region's population. Working in Murdochville has implied rejection of the old types of occupation at the local level, as living in Murdochville is not compatible with, for instance, farming or fishing. Socially it has represented a form of urbanization, though many of the mine workers retain homes on the coast to which they return at weekends. Since Murdochville has been created as a new town distant from existing settlements, the spread effects through its acting as a service centre have been minimized. Had the town been a development of an existing coastal settlement, with the workers commuting daily to the mine, its impact on the region's tertiary sector would have been much greater. Equally, the fact that the mining company makes few purchases (of mine equipment etc.) within the region limits the spread effects still further.

1. For an account of changes in the forestry industry, see Fortin and Gosselin (1960).

Thus Murdochville has remained very much an isolated "company town" and has not stimulated other growth in the region (LaBarre, 1966: Ch. 3).

As there has been a trend from the self-sufficient and occupationally undifferentiated village to specialization and the development of regional centres, so there has been an increased demand for construction workers in various projects. Such construction work has involved clearing sites, laying out roads and utility lines such as power and water, and erecting buildings. In a more specialized sense, it has also meant work in the shipyard at Sandy Beach, building and repairing the longliners. Construction work has often meant medium-term employment for a good many people - from a few months to a few years - at reasonable wages and requiring few new skills. The region's people have in the past been well suited to this type of work. The manual labour involved in road building required no skill. On the other hand, the people, from experience around their own homes, did possess very considerable abilities in carpentry, plumbing, etc., which skills were used in construction projects. However, in recent years, with greater sophistication of construction equipment, there has been a declining demand for casual manpower. The larger contractors are likely to have a long-term workforce which can be moved from one project to another. Some craftsmen such as carpenters are now required to hold a professional certificate. Although many local carpenters are sufficiently good at their trade, they lack sufficient formal education to qualify for the certificate. In the past, most of the construction projects have taken place in the regional centres such as Murdochville and Gaspé. Future projects - with the important exceptions of road building and the development of the National Park on the Forillon Peninsula - are also likely to be in these centres. They are

likely to draw increasingly on a specialized labour force, with a higher level of educational attainment, that is already located in the regional centres.

There has been a general expansion of employment elsewhere in the tertiary sector. This takes three main forms. First, there have been openings for entrepreneurial effort. With the expansion of a cash economy and the diversification of types of activity away from fishing, openings developed for small stores, garages, trucking, bars, movie halls, and so on. Many local people were able to make a living from providing these services. However, with the regionalization of most aspects of life, the role of the village entrepreneur has declined as his relatively small, low-investment enterprise has been replaced by larger central enterprises in the towns, controlled by outside companies. This is most clearly true of stores and movie halls.

Second, there has been a demand for year-round unskilled labour in positions such as porters or cleaners in hospitals, schools, and offices; and as counter staff or handymen in stores. Increasingly, with the closure of local schools and of small family stores in the villages, this employment has been available in regional centres only. Third, there is a highly seasonal demand for labour in the tourist trade. Much of this is for women, in hotels and motels. Some of it is for men; for instance running boat trips or supervising campgrounds. The tourist trade appears to be developing rapidly but is focussing more and more on camping sites as a great many visitors own trailers. The lack of planning in the tourist industry, the frequent exorbitant prices, and the ugliness of tourist development throughout the region probably inhibit the potential of this industry. In any case, for climatic reasons the season extends little over two months. Perce is the main centre

of employment in tourism.

In the traditional economy farming was a subsistence or peasant sector complementary to fishing (and forestry work). It was basic to survival in a peripheral situation where commercial production of an export commodity produced a small and uncertain revenue. It was intimately linked to and dependent upon the organization of the household as a productive unit. However, with the evolution away from the traditional economy, most people in the region gave up all but the most minimal farming or gardening. A few people attempted to commercialize their farming activities, selling eggs, milk, or most obviously beef off the farm. A few more people kept to the old concept of family subsistence activity.

There has been no development of a regionally-organized commercial agriculture. In part, this is a function of the marginal climate. For instance, summers are too short to ripen grain. Development of commercial farming is further limited by conditions of marketing and prices. Certain commodities - beef, pork, eggs, milk and other dairy products - can be produced in the region, and indeed are to some extent. However, most of the region's supply of these products is imported from elsewhere in Canada. This seems to be a failure of the local marketing system. Organization of the collection, grading, and processing of agricultural products seems to be at an embryonic stage. Furthermore, such organization is discouraged by the government which sees no future for agriculture in much of the region. For example, a loan to help with the building of a new dairy in Gaspé was refused recently, with the result that the region subsists on milk which comes 300 miles from Amqui and is often sour on arrival. Local organization is also discouraged by supermarket chains, which naturally prefer to acquire

agricultural products such as beef from suppliers who can guarantee them a regular and standard quality amount. The commercial farmer of the region is thus in a vicious circle. Because of the poor marketing facilities, he cannot risk investment in production of a particular commodity. Hence local agricultural produce is meagre and of indifferent quality. Hence wholesalers are often unwilling to buy locally. The result is an increasing abandonment or under-use of agricultural land everywhere in the region.

In economic activities other than the fishery the trend toward centralization has therefore been as important as in the fishery itself. New technologies have been developed in old industries, which have generally implied a much larger investment in production equipment and a move towards bigger, more integrated operations in fewer centres. Accompanying this has been a development of the service sector in the regional centres. With the improvement in communications in the first quarter of the 20th century, and the diversification of the economy, the Gaspé Coast has moved away from the "export enclave" stage, even though it has not developed substantial secondary industry. With the opening up of regional linkages the old closed communities disappeared, and with them the possibility for control by the credit mechanism of the local population. Although the credit system persisted until the final withdrawal of the traditional merchants from the fishery, its importance was significantly lessened in the interwar years with the increased availability of other sources of cash income and supplies.

Chapter Six

CENTRALIZATION AND THE PEOPLE

Population Change

Centralization on the Gaspé Coast has not been without its consequences for population change. In the traditional economy, social life was carried on largely within a closed community. English-speaking people, particularly Protestants, were not evenly dispersed throughout the Coast, but were concentrated in a few communities, within which they were usually a majority. The English felt in no way threatened by their position as a regional minority. Their sense of security was reinforced by their privileged economic position. The principal economic activities on the Gaspé Coast were controlled by merchants identified with the English group, and most of the local entrepreneurs were also English. Thus, when English - especially Protestant - people encountered French people, it was likely to be from a position of greater social status.

As we have seen, there has been considerable evolution of the regional economy away from the closed, fishing-based community. This had two consequences. First, there was a decline in the importance of English-controlled activities, most obviously in the case of the fishing companies. New activities have emerged such as co-operatives and supermarkets whose local management is likely to be French. Second, the main economic activities, formerly carried on at the community level, are now located in regional centres. Thus the English, who had enjoyed the benefits of a majority position at the community level, face the problem of a minority position at the regional level. The adjustment of the English group to these developments

is reflected in regional population change.

The general pattern of population change in the region as a whole during this century has been one of steady but not spectacular growth. On the Gulf Shore the population, which had stood at about 12,800 in 1911, remained at the same level until the Depression years, when it began to increase. It reached a maximum of 15,500 in 1956, since when there has been a decline (Fig. 6). The most significant factor affecting overall population change has been migration. The majority of people born in the region subsequently migrate from it, moving to the cities of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, where they spend the greater part of their lives.

Rural depopulation on this scale is characteristic of the whole of Atlantic Canada. It has continued throughout this century, but has become increasingly prominent on the Gaspé Coast in recent years. 20% of the people of Gaspé East County in 1951 had left by 1961 (Hirsch, 1967: 77); 11% of the 1961 population left by 1966 (Robert, 1971). Very few outsiders come to live in the villages as permanent residents, though there is a growing demand for summer cottages. The only centre attracting population on the Gulf Shore is the town of Gaspé, which has a considerable service sector employing officials from other parts of the Province, and draws on labour from surrounding villages. At the same time, the birth rate among the families who have stayed in the region has remained high, sustaining the population even in the face of very considerable outmigration.

Population changes have not had an equal effect on the various groups. During this century there has been continuing growth of the French population, while the English population increased slowly up to World War II, and then declined (Fig. 7). This trend is expressed in the census figures

Fig. 6.

Population Change on the Gulf Shore^{ab}

120

Total Population

16,000

Sources:

4,000

1820 Lower Canada. Report of the Commissioners

1844 Lower Canada Census

1871-1966 Canada Census

12,000

10,000

8000

6000

4000

2000

0

1820

1850

1880

1910

1940

1970

^a no comparable figures are available for 1861

^b in 1921 there was slight boundary change at
Cap des Rosiers

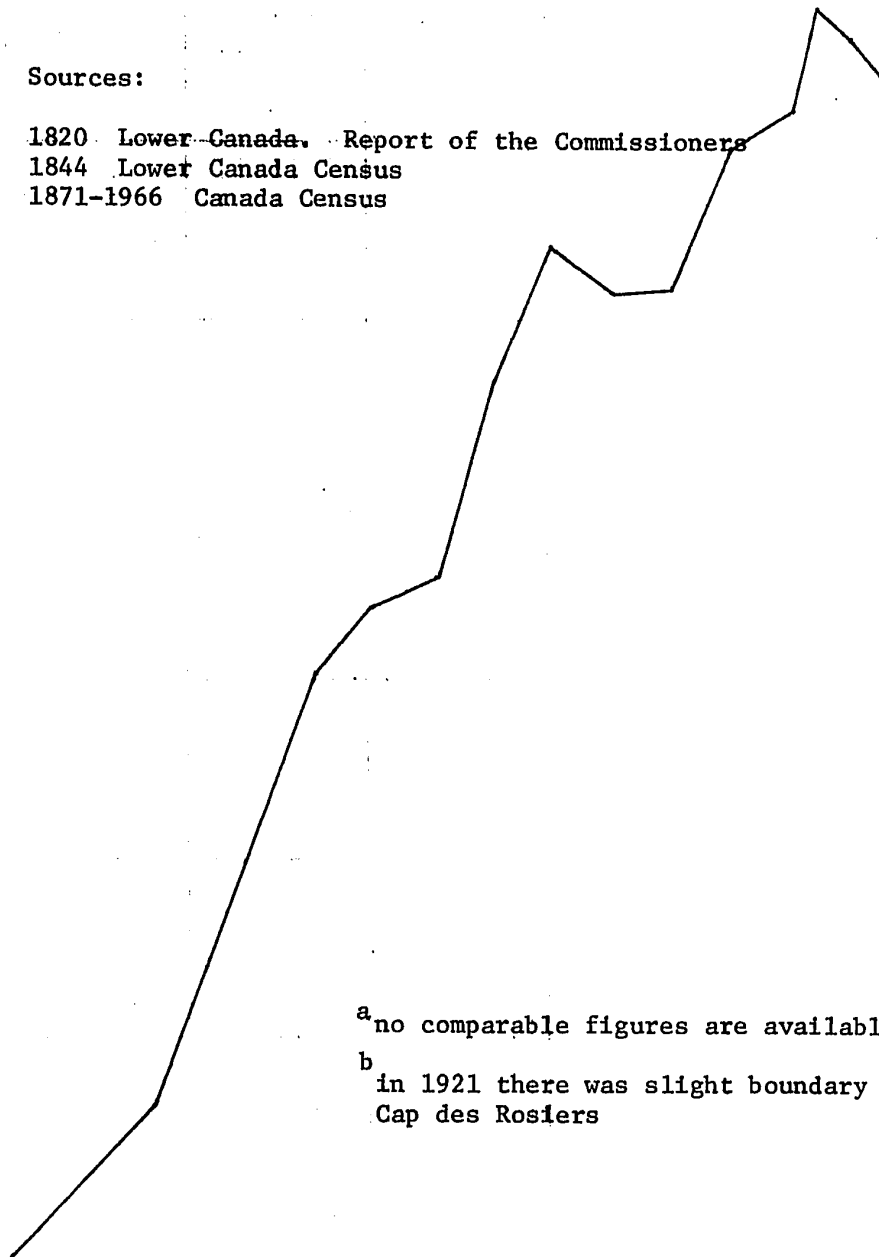
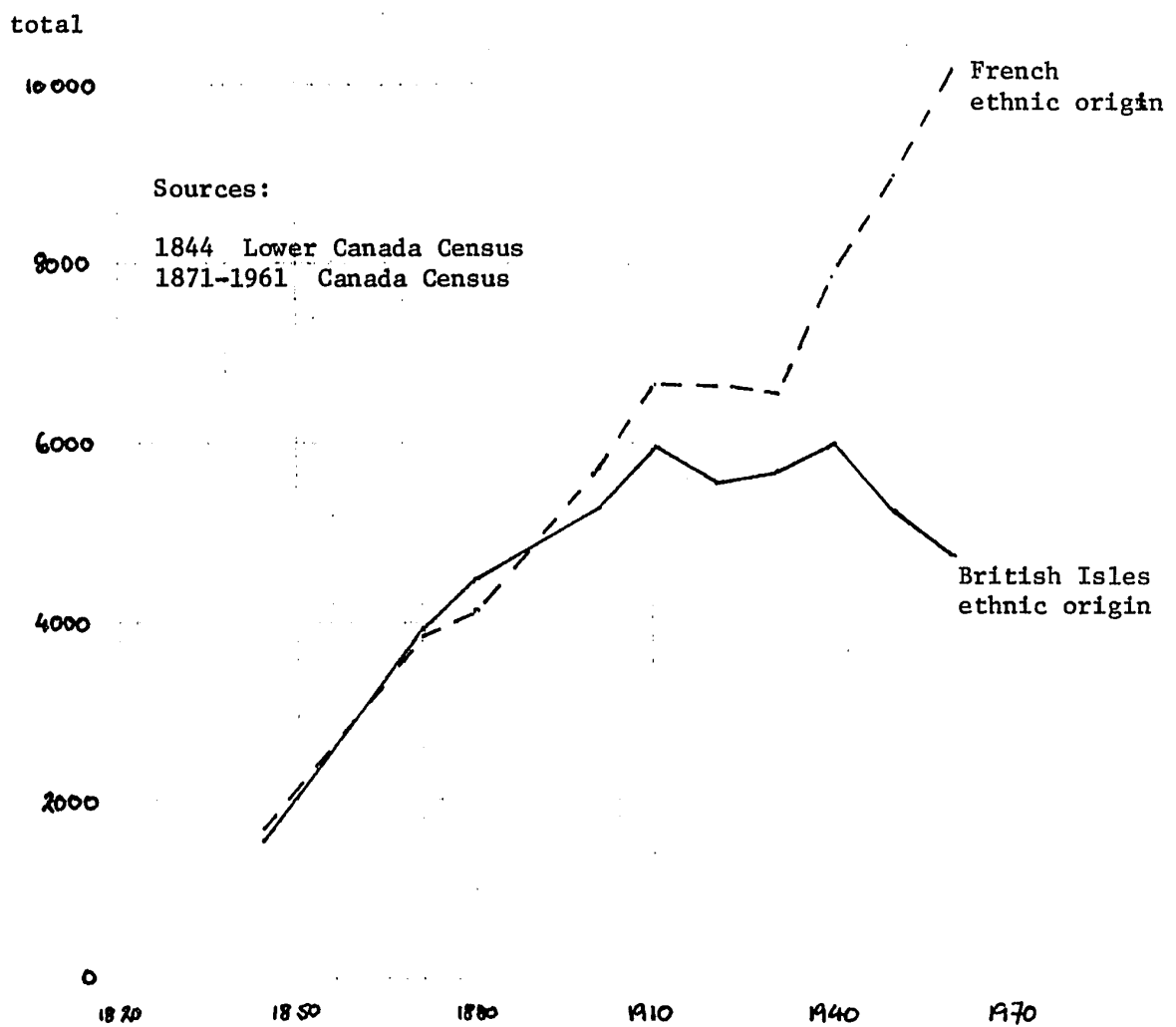


Fig. 7 British Isles and French Ethnic Origin on the Gulf Shore

121



for both ethnic origin and mother tongue.¹ On the Gulf Shore, people of English mother tongue declined from 51.0% of the population in 1931 to 36.1% in 1961. Within the English group, the Protestant population has fallen more rapidly than that of the English-speaking Catholics. The Protestants made up 58.3% of the English mother-tongue group in 1931 compared with 51.7% in 1961 (Fig. 8).

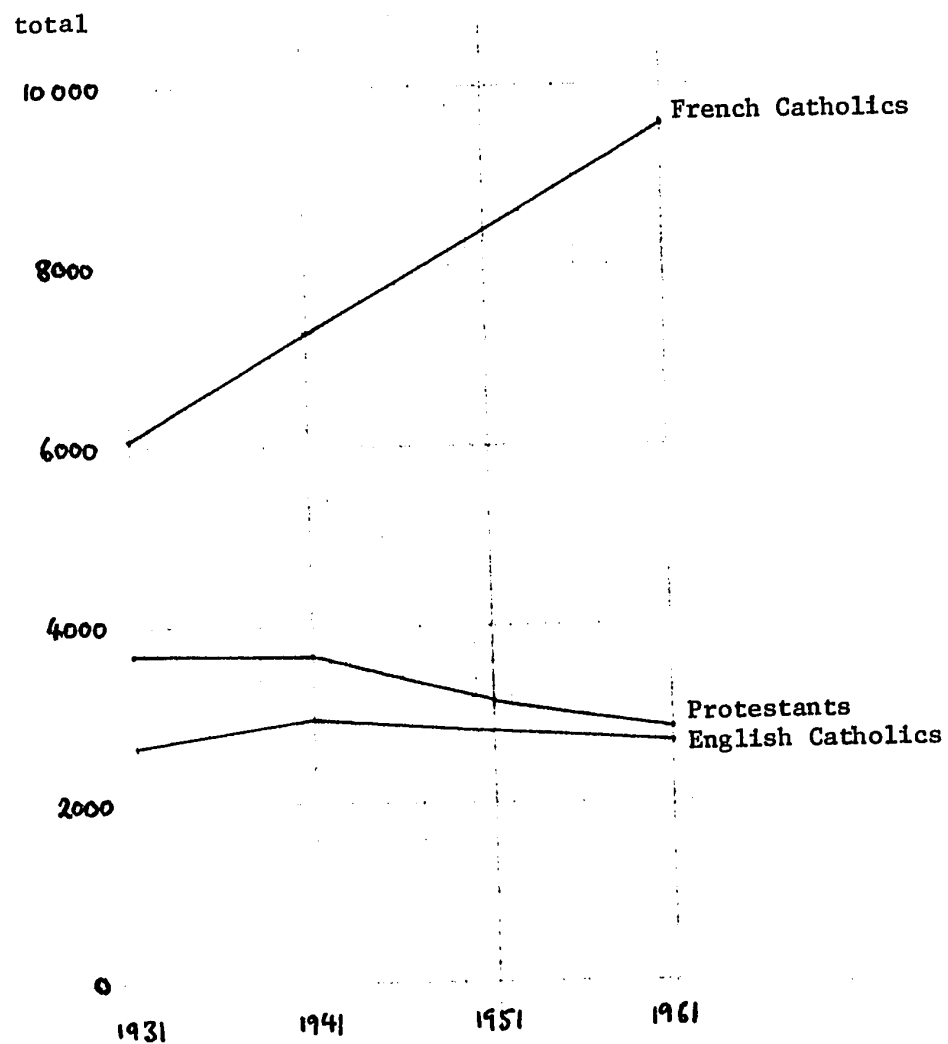
It seems most unlikely that the English group has suffered an overall loss through assimilation. We have already noted that there is little marriage across religious boundaries. Although English Catholic minorities have been assimilated by the French at places such as Grand River, Cape Cove, and Cap des Rosiers, this is compensated by the assimilation of French minorities by the English at Barachois and Douglastown. This is borne out by the retention ratio of the English group (Fig. 9). Had the English suffered from substantial assimilation by the French, there would have been large numbers of people of British ethnic origin who had failed to retain their English mother tongue. However, at least on the Gulf Shore, the retention ratios of over 100% among the English group shows that there has, on the contrary, been a slight attrition by assimilation of the French.

It is possible that the declining English population is a reflection of differing birth rates between French and English, or more particularly between Catholic and Protestant. Evidence on this subject is very difficult to compile as census data on fertility and family size is not available by language group for small areas. Fieldwork data from Mal Bay show that, in

1. Appendix B contains a critical review of the census information on these topics. Information from the 1971 census was not available at the time of writing.

Fig. 8 The Changing Size of the Three Groups on the Gulf Shore^a

123



Source: Canada Census

a. The calculation of the English Catholic population is based on the assumption that all Protestants are of English mother tongue. This is not completely true, but the likely error is less than 5% of the Protestant population.

Fig. 9 Retention Ratios on the Gulf Shore

retention ratio of English mother tongue among people of British Isles
ethnic origin

	1931	1941	1951	1961
ratio	111.6%	110.7%	—	115.3%

Source: calculated from Canada Census data.

1970, the average household size among Protestants was 4.2, among English Catholics 4.9, and among French 5.4. However the small size of the sample makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions from these figures.

The local view is that the declining English population is a function of a high rate of outmigration. It is widely believed on the Gaspé Coast that "the English are moving out faster than the French". Some English people feel that "the French are taking over". Gaspé, where a recent population increase has been composed almost entirely of French people, is referred to as having "become French". A typical comment is "one time you used to go to Gaspé: didn't hear a word of French. Now it's all French". The difference in migration rates does seem the most likely explanation of the decline of the English group, since it corresponds most closely with the changing economic status of the English. In the economic field, most enterprises were formerly English-controlled and identified with the English language. Subsequently, there has been a shift of control so that new forms of economic activity are operated by the French. This may be a cause of the departure of the English: having been identified with enterprises such as salt fish or lumber companies which have become redundant, they decided that better opportunities existed elsewhere. It may also be a result of the departure of the English: the English entrepreneurs, seeing better opportunities elsewhere, left the region, and there was thus a decline in the economic status of the English group. Both explanations seem true: the first is probably more important.

The dominant economic and social status of the English group in the traditional economy was reflected in patterns of bilingualism. Wherever there was contact between the two groups, it was necessary for at least some

of the people to be bilingual. The main areas of contact were the work world, and social interaction. In any given situation the Catholics tended to be more bilingual than the Protestants, since English and French Catholics interacted both socially and in the work world whereas Protestants only encountered the French in the work world.

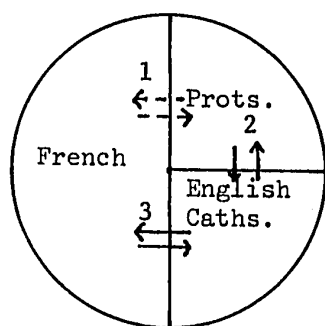
Because most interaction took place at the community level, there was a direct relationship between the proportion that a particular language group comprised in a community, and the percentage of its members that were bilingual. The smaller the proportion of speakers of a minority language in a community, the more chance there would be of their being bilingual. If the social status of the two languages was equal, therefore, patterns of bilingualism would be determined entirely by the population composition at the community level. Three hypothetical situations are illustrated in Fig. 10.

In the traditional period, bilingualism was not determined solely by local minority-majority factors, though these were important. There was not a strict equality between the two language groups. The French, with a lower social status, tended to become bilingual wherever they came into contact with the English. The English had a considerable degree of resistance to speaking French. In part this was a reflection of their dominant economic position. In part it resulted from the fact that Canada was recognized as an English-speaking country, so that the English language was in general use in the Federal Government, in communications systems, and in industry. In the Province of Quebec, "official bilingualism" meant security for the English minority in the preservation and exclusive use of their own language. The census data illustrate the pre-eminence of English

Fig. 10

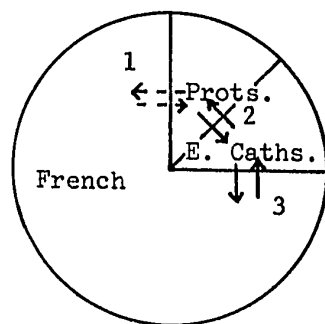
Population Composition and Bilingualism
Three Hypothetical Situations

- (a) Equal numbers of French and English
French and English Catholics equally bilingual, Protestants less bilingual



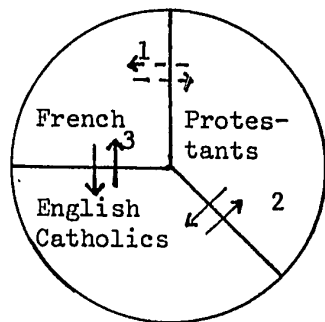
- ¹interaction in work world only:
in English or French
- ²interaction in work world and socially:
in English
- ³interaction in work world and socially:
in English or French

- (b) French majority
English bilingual, French not bilingual



- ¹interaction in work world only:
in French
- ²interaction in work world and socially:
in English
- ³interaction in work world and socially:
in French

- (c) English majority
French bilingual, English not bilingual



- ¹interaction in work world only:
in English
- ²interaction in work world and socially:
in English
- ³interaction in work world and socially:
in English

at this time. In 1931, while 49% of French people on the Gulf Shore had a knowledge of English, only 18% of the English had a knowledge of French.

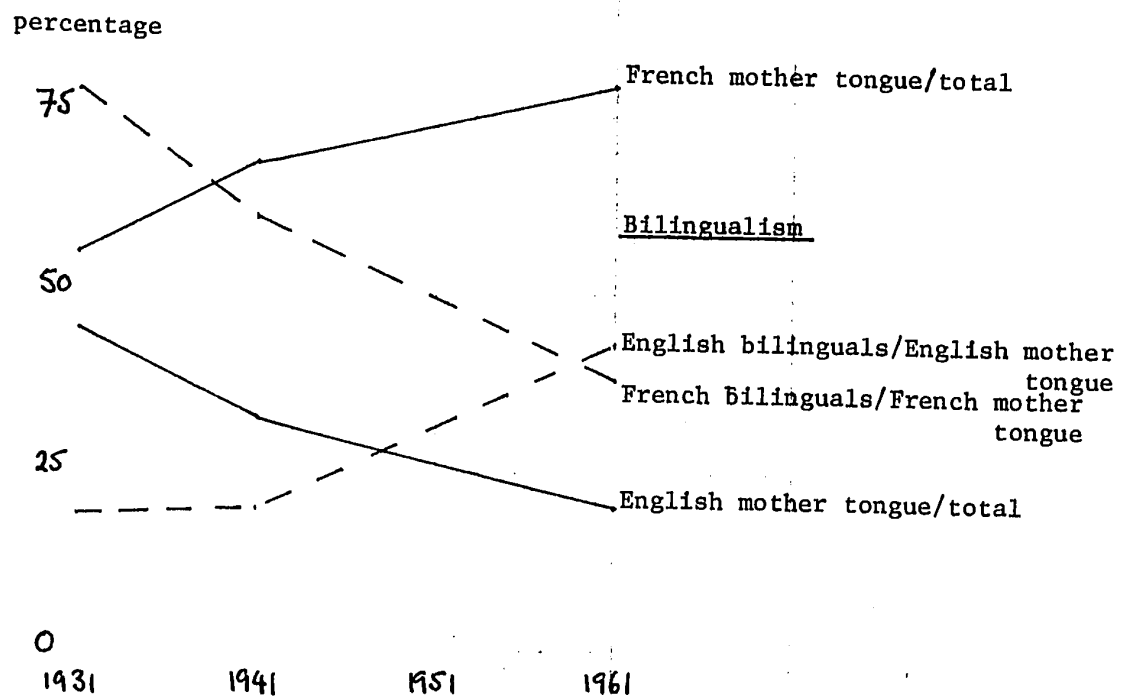
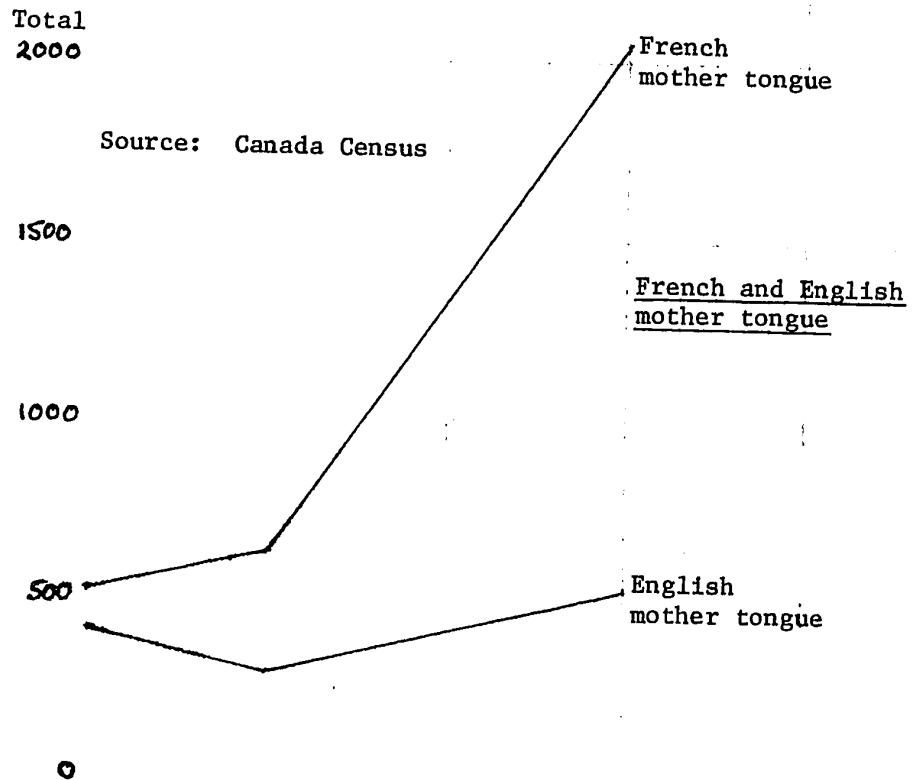
In recent years there has been a resurgence of the French at both a local and a national level. On the Gaspé Coast, most economic activities are now French-controlled. In Canada as a whole, the concept of "an equal partnership between the two founding peoples" has gained recognition with the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the Official Languages Act of 1969. The French people of the Gaspé Coast, benefitting from a stronger majority position and an improved social status, feel much less need to speak English. On the other hand, the English have not responded to the decline in their position by learning French. 1961 census data for the Gulf Shore show that, though the proportion of French people able to speak English has declined to 30%, there are still only 23% of English people able to speak French. Thus there is, overall, a lower level of bilingualism in 1961 than in 1931.

Population trends at the municipal level highlight more general processes. On the Gulf Shore, Gaspé has become the main centre. As we have seen, it was known as an "English place" in the traditional economy, but recent growth has come about through an influx of French people. Formerly the French in Gaspé were highly bilingual and the English not bilingual. As the proportion of English people in the town's population has declined, so their level of bilingualism has risen (Fig. 11). In some places where the English form a low proportion of the total population, they have always been highly bilingual. In the municipality of Cap d'Espoir, where they are less than 10% of the population, over 75% of the English have a knowledge of French. On the other hand, the proportion of French people knowing English

Fig. 11

Population Change in Gaspé

129



has fallen from 30% in 1931 to 9% in 1961.

The rise of the French population in the region has not simply been a result of a decline of English localities and a growth of French localities. There has also been a replacement of the English by the French in places that formerly were overwhelmingly English. For instance, there were five municipalities on the Gulf Shore where over 80% of the population was English-speaking in 1931. By 1961, all had increased their total population, but all had a declining English population. The proportion of English in the five municipalities fell from 90% in 1931 to 70% in 1961.¹

The municipality of St. George, within which Mal Bay is located, is typical regarding both population totals and trends in bilingualism (Fig. 12). The total population of the municipality rose slowly until World War II but has subsequently fallen. There has been a decline in the Protestant population, and in the French population (this is unusual), but growth in the English Catholic population. The balance of French and English has altered little. At the same time, the English have become slightly more bilingual (from a very low base) and the French slightly less bilingual (from a previous high level).

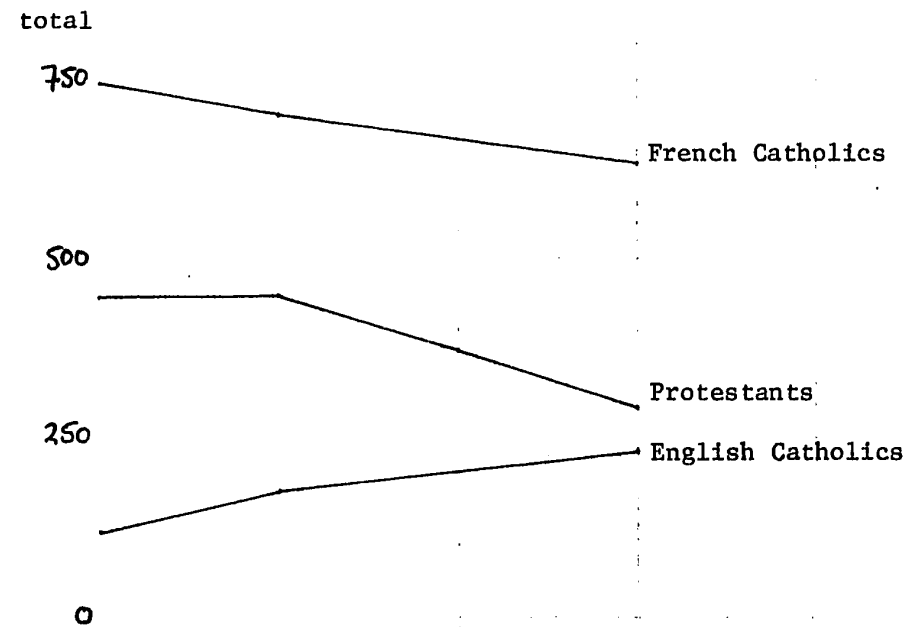
Change in the controlling core thus had significant cultural consequences on the Gaspé Coast. Transformations in the peripheral economy confronted the English minority with two problems. The first of these was that, as a whole, the group lost its privileged position in the economic hierarchy. Most forms of employment now became managed by French-speaking

1. The municipalities are Gaspé Bay North, Gaspé Bay South, York, Haldimand, and Douglas.

Fig. 12

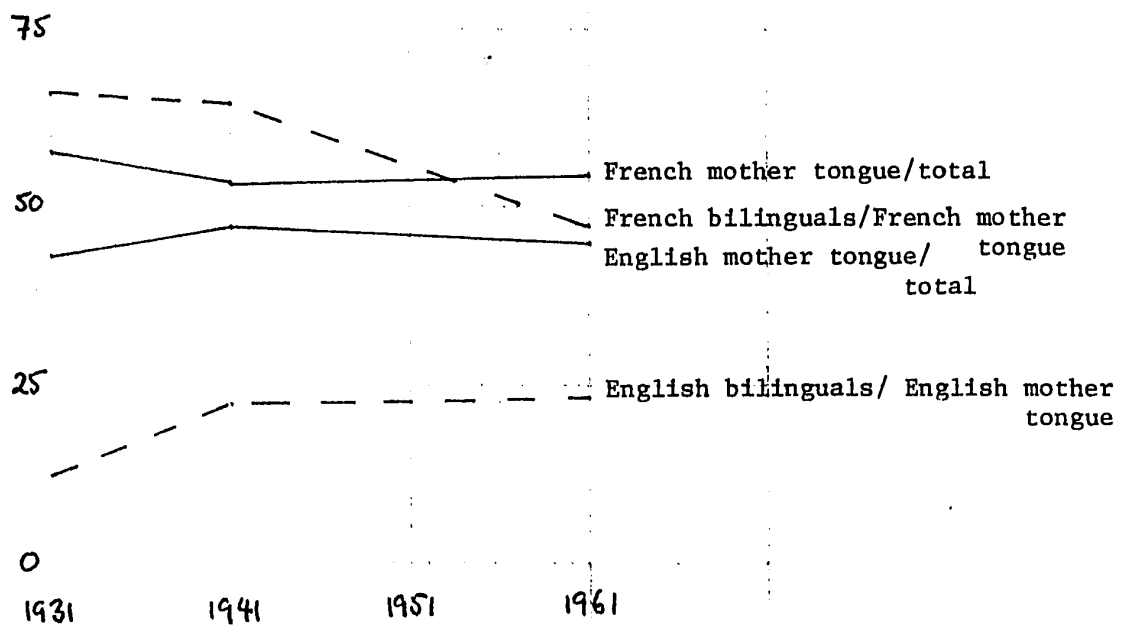
Population Change in St. George

131



percentage

Source: Canada Census



people who were orientated towards the local French majority population. The loss of control over economic activities was accompanied by a numerical decline of the English group. Many of the English people who emigrated from the region were those who would have been local entrepreneurs or leaders. The remaining English groups were thus not only impoverished numerically but also in terms of entrepreneurship or progressive leadership.

A second problem was that of centralization. The changes in the regional economy demanded participation in economic activities at the regional level, whereas, formerly, participation had been exclusively at the community level. This shifted the attention of the English from their local majority position to their regional minority position. It also shifted the working language in most jobs from English to French.

The English are poorly equipped to adapt to these changes except by outmigration. The traditional economy did not demand bilingualism of them, so that they are still poorly bilingual. At the same time the French, who were highly bilingual in the traditional period, are less able, and less willing, to speak English in the modern economy. Lacking a clear understanding of the new situation and of the means of improving their position, the English are becoming increasingly isolated from the regional majority. Their problems will be discussed at length in Part III, which analyzes the English community of Mal Bay.

Regionalization and Employment

Regionalization has not brought about a greater improvement in the quality of life for most of the French majority than it has for the English minority. Per capita income in the peninsula at \$700 is only about

half the average for the Province of Quebec (\$1,200) and Canada (\$1,400) (Daneau, 1965: Ch. 1). As was emphasized in the theoretical framework outlined in the introduction to Part II, centralization is a characteristic process at the periphery. However, the employment base in the new centralized industries is small. At the same time, the more energetic and enterprising people are attracted to leave the peripheral region entirely, in favour of migration to more prosperous metropolitan areas.

These developments have affected all sectors of the population of the Gaspé Coast. A limited amount of full-time employment is available in primary industry and in the service sector in a few regional centres. Many of the best qualified people have left the region completely. Outside the regional centres, the bulk of the population is still located in the traditional dispersed villages. However, rising standards of expectations and reorganization of economic activities have meant that the traditional occupations no longer afford a livelihood in these villages. Many of the enterprises that operated in the villages - fish plants, sawmills - have been closed. At the same time the available employment for those who are prepared to become commuters to the regional centres is very limited, for French and English alike.

The majority of communities on the Gaspé Coast are without local commercial employment and find themselves in a cumulative state of decline (Myrdal's "backwash effects"). The local population is poorly educated and often resistant to change. Seasonal labour affords the main source of work: seasonal unemployment is an equally important form of activity and source of income. Winter unemployment averages 70% of the active population, and may run much higher in some places. In addition to the seasonally

unemployed, there is a hard core of people who are of working age but who receive year-round social assistance. This averages 18% - in the outlying villages it may make up 35% of the active population¹ - it is unlikely to be less than 10% (Daneau, 1965: Ch. 2). The general picture is one of disenchantment and community disintegration.

The Intervention of Government: Two Contradictory Policies

At this stage of the continuing underdevelopment of peripheral regions, government intervention is characteristic - at least in countries which are sufficiently prosperous to support the short-term costs of counter-acting regional disparities. On the Gaspé Coast this intervention has taken two forms, which tend to act in contradiction to each other. On the one hand the government has acted in support of those who have suffered from the poverty of the periphery: the old, the unemployed, and the unemployable. It has attempted to mitigate the inherent consequences of the core-periphery system - enrichment of the metropolis and impoverishment of the periphery - by redistributing wealth from core to periphery by what are generally known as "transfer payments". One of the chief characteristics of transfer payments is that they are made to the population in its places of residence. That is, they act to sustain existing patterns of population distribution.

On the other hand the government has been concerned to ensure the profitability of industry at the periphery. It is rare that private industry at the periphery is in itself profitable, particularly when it produces a primary commodity such as fish for which prices have remained low.

1. One such village is described in Duval (1964: 90-106).

Often such industry has lacked the capital to modernize or to rationalize its operations. This capital is then supplied by government in the form of grants or loans. Thus government supports - and is usually actively in favour of - rationalized basic industries, which generally implies industries operating large centralized units with a high degree of capital investment and a small, professional labour force. Given that the government supplies much of the investment capital, and sometimes subsidizes the price of the product or the cost of production (for example with a guaranteed price system; or by paying unemployment benefits to seasonal workers, subsidizing their income), the industries are then profitable in market terms.

The price of "rationalization", with its emphasis on an often false assessment of market profitability, is the creation of massive unemployment in outlying regions. The workers who were formerly employed in dispersed, labour-intensive industries become redundant when industry becomes centralized and capital-intensive. The contradiction arises when the government both encourages centralization on "economic" grounds yet pays out huge sums on "social" grounds to those whom it has rendered seasonally or permanently unemployed.

The contradiction does not, however, end at this point, for it has a further, spatial, aspect. On the one hand the government acts to centralize industry and services in the name of "rationalization". On the other hand, as we have seen, transfer payments act to maintain populations in their place of residence. Transfer payments frequently militate against population mobility since they are worth more in rural areas (where there is the possibility of subsistence activities) than in urban areas (where the transfer payments are the sole source of income). Thus a programme of

centralization accompanied by transfer payments creates large populations with no hope of finding employment, and often little desire to do so.¹ Not surprisingly this creates further bitterness and disillusion with government. It is precisely this policy with its contradictory objectives that has been pursued on the Gaspé Coast.

The types of transfer payment that have been the most significant in the regional economy have not of course been uniquely available on the Gaspé Coast but are more generally available throughout the country. However their importance is much greater in a peripheral region such as the Gaspé Coast than in more prosperous regions simply because other sources of income are very limited. Three groups - the old, the unemployed, and those who are defined as unemployable - have become especially dependent on transfer payments.

Unemployment benefits originated in the Depression, at a time when virtually no cash income was available to people in the region. These benefits are now available to those who work for part of the year and who during that time pay sufficient unemployment insurance contributions (have acquired enough "stamps") to qualify for the benefit. This benefit is not available to those who are self-employed, for instance farmers. It has since 1957 been available to fishermen, the contribution being paid by the owner of the fish plant, and the amount of stamps awarded being proportional to the amount of fish caught in that week. Thus the fishermen have to maintain a certain minimum catch for a certain number of weeks in order to qualify

1. Hirsch (1967: 1-2), referring to what he calls "cette inadaptation des facteurs humains aux exigences du développement", elaborates on this contradiction.

for unemployment pay in the winter. Often at the end of the season they will extend or curtail their activities depending on whether they have qualified for the benefit. In Newfoundland, where the same system operates, this is known as "fishing for stamps". The same pattern of work and unemployment is practised by forestry workers, who like the fishermen now work in the summer and are unemployed in the winter. Daneau (1965: Ch. 1) finds that the average head of household on the Gaspé Coast works 29 weeks of the year and is unemployed for 23. He points out how "L'effort individuel se limite à l'obtention de timbres d'assurance-chômage qui lui permettront de vivre sans travail durant une période de temps plus ou moins longue" (Daneau, 1965: 14). It is generally more profitable to draw unemployment pay during the winter than to engage in any temporary work. Since it is illegal to work and to draw unemployment pay at the same time, unemployment benefits have acted to undermine any balanced exploitation of local resources. The implications of seasonal unemployment benefits for the household economy will be examined in Part III.

Social assistance or "welfare" payments are given to people who are out of work and who have not earned enough stamps in the previous year to qualify for unemployment pay. Welfare payments are based on family needs rather than on previous productive activity. Therefore, while winter unemployment pay is regarded as justly "earned", welfare carries with it all the stigma attached to a "handout". While a cycle of seasonal work and seasonal unemployment provides for some measure of productive activity, welfare militates against it. First, it is not permitted to have sources of income other than welfare (though many people do). Hence, two major possibilities - temporary wage work and subsistence farming - are removed, since neither of them

can bring a sustained living or access to unemployment benefits. Second, the relatively high level of welfare benefits that some families obtain (well over \$200 per month) may be more than it is possible to earn through some types of wage work, for instance in fish plants or sawmills. Third, welfare carries with it a spirit of hopelessness, of defeat and despair, and a host of social problems. Chapter Nine will describe the "welfare cycle" and the significance of welfare in the economic life of the community.

The government, through transfer payments of various kinds, has become the largest single source of income for the region. Daneau (1965: Ch. 1) estimates that 30% of all income comes from transfer payments, as opposed to 53% from wages and salaries.¹ In the Province of Quebec as a whole the figures are 10% and 66%. Initially the availability of cash, for the most part from government, undermined the credit relationships between the fishing companies and the region's population. Above a certain level cash income has discouraged subsistence agriculture as it has become possible to buy groceries at the store. Thus, while a little outside cash income may have helped to make the local adaptation more viable, a large cash income from government has relieved much of the population of dependence on local resources and has made it dependent upon government. Daneau comments on the involvement of the government in the life of the region and particularly on the consequences of transfer payments:

"Dans les régions sous-développées du Québec, plus que partout ailleurs peut-être, l'Etat joue un rôle extraordinaire. Il dirige pratiquement toutes les activités économiques de ces régions. Ses décisions affectent le comportement socio-économique de tous les agents économiques. Au niveau de la famille,

1. The remaining 17% comes from various sources such as loans.

l'influence économique de l'Etat pénètre tous les aspects de la vie communautaire. Les paiements de transfert, comme nous le verrons ultérieurement, constituent l'une des principales sources de revenus d'un nombre considérable de familles. En fait, ces paiements sont tellement importants qu'ils peuvent freiner la mobilité occupationnelle et géographique. Ils empêchent aussi l'expansion de certains secteurs de l'activité économique qui souffrent d'un manque de main-d'oeuvre. Cette situation est paradoxale dans une région qui a l'un des taux de chômage le plus élevé au pays.

(Daneau, 1965: 13-14)

The massive infusions of transfer payments in the regional economy discourage population mobility and discourage also productive activity. They maintain populations in traditional dispersed rural places of residence but they detach populations from dependence on traditional resource-based industries in these rural areas and encourage an ever-increasing dependence on government.

The activity of the government in the region has not been confined to disbursing transfer payments. It has also become involved in subsidizing the basic industries. For instance, in fishing, the Federal Government has been responsible for the maintenance of port installations (wharves, etc.) and the Provincial Government for the operation of cold storage plants. Initially these facilities were widely dispersed as a result of local political pressure: recently, their closure has been used as a means of centralizing the industry. Government has also been involved in the construction of boats. In recent years emphasis has been placed on the encouragement of the deep-sea fishery and therefore of larger longliners and trawlers. For instance, the Federal Government pays 30% of the cost of a longliner; the Provincial Government gives an interest-free loan for a further 55-65%. This leaves only 5-15% to be paid by the fisherman, which

can be raised by a loan from the Caisse Populaire¹, which itself is subsidized. The result of this almost total subsidy, and the general inability of the fisherman to repay the interest-free loan, is that the boats are felt to be the property of the government and the fisherman has little sense of responsibility for them. Further examples of government aid to the fisheries include marketing services (Quebec has recently joined the Canadian Salt Fish Board which markets the traditional product) and a 30% grant towards the cost of improvement of fish processing installations (BAEQ, 1965b: Chs. 2 and 3). These subsidies are increasingly being used as instruments of policy in encouraging large-scale and centralized operations.

The most comprehensive expression of government policy for the region has been the Federal-Provincial Development Plan for the Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé Coast, and Magdalen Islands. Because of its significance for the region, and because of its more general importance as a pilot scheme in comprehensive regional development, the objectives of the Plan will be considered at some length. In 1963 the Province of Quebec decided to initiate under the Federal-Provincial ARDA plan a comprehensive survey of the region prior to undertaking a social and economic development programme. According to the preamble to the programme, it was to be "a vast experiment in rural planning and social animation to develop the economy and the morale of one of the largest areas of extreme poverty in Canada" (Canada, Department of Forestry, 1968: 3).

A two-year survey of the region was carried out by an agency known as the Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ) which employed a considerable research staff and also sought advice from local committees. In 1966 the BAEQ published a 10-volume report, and subsequently a number of

¹ ... as co-operative associations for savings and loans.

supplementary studies. On the basis of the report a joint Federal-Provincial Development Plan was drawn up, and an agreement signed in 1968 for its implementation. Throughout the planning process great emphasis was to be placed on consultation with the local population. This was to be assured through the formation of local committees and through the Conseil Régional de Développement de l'Est du Québec (CRD), a non-elected body composed of interested regional leaders.

The basic principles of the Development Plan were enumerated as follows:

the main thrust of this Plan is to change the economic structure of the Area to meet the requirements of a modern economy and, in particular

1. to bring about structural change in the resource sectors through phasing out obsolete units and creating new and dynamic enterprises;
2. to increase the development opportunities in the fields of industry, services, and other related sectors;
3. to improve and develop the existing infrastructure in order to:
 - (a) modernize and rationalize operations in the resource sectors,
 - (b) meet long-term needs in the fields of transportation, urbanization and industrial services,
 - (c) assist in the development of tourism;
4. to balance supply and demand in the labour market by:
 - (a) raising the standards of education and training to enable the labour force to possess the required qualifications inside and outside the Area,
 - (b) assisting the mobility of population,
 - (c) assisting those people who, because of their age especially, cannot benefit from education, training and mobility programs, and who will remain unemployable,
 - (d) providing counselling and information services required to carry out (a), (b) and (c).

This section concluded by emphasizing once more that "the active participation of the people is a prerequisite to the success of the Plan " (Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 24).

From the point of view of the present study, the importance of the Plan falls into two main categories, mentioned particularly in points 1 and 4 above: modernization of the resource sectors and of the region's manpower. Thus, in the fishing industry, the main objectives of the Plan have been:

1. To encourage offshore fishing, concentrating it at centres with adequate fish-processing and boat-repair facilities. The main centre would be Fox River and subsidiary centres Sandy Beach and Paspébiac. Other centres would continue to operate as long as they remained economically viable.
2. Development of specialized types of inshore fishing away from salmon and lobster. A "progressive reduction in traditional inshore fishing activity (i.e. codfishing) of the kind that produces little profit and is highly seasonal". Abandonment of harbour maintenance and closure of about 25 fish processing facilities.

In the farming industry the main objectives have been:

1. Transfer to other uses of land presently being farmed but not suitable for agriculture (this involved classification of agricultural land: all land in the eastern part of the peninsula was classified as non-viable).
2. Development of viable farms on land suited to agriculture.
3. Encouragement of farmers in non-viable zones to move, either to

the major centres in the Area for training or welfare programmes, or to occupations outside the Area.

4. Rationalization of processing industries - for example reduction from 26 to 3 in the number of milk processing plants.

In forestry the Plan envisaged a small, stable, permanent labour force with greatly increased productivity, and a more rational management of forest resources, both with regard to exploitation and conservation.

The section on social and manpower development begins:

The structural changes that are bound to occur in the basic sectors and in industry will lead to serious problems of social and psychological adjustment and will require a considerable change in outlook. It cannot be assumed that all the people will automatically benefit from the investments that will be made in the resource sectors.

(Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 47)

All of the programmes for development in the basic sectors envisage an overall reduction in the manpower employed in those sectors, but an upgrading of the remaining work force. In the fishery it was stated:

Provision will be made for special training programs for fishery operations. The shortage of skilled labour in the fishing sector is one of the major factors retarding development. Modern skills are essential on the fishing vessels, in shore facilities, and in vessel maintenance. Traditional methods cannot be readily adapted to perform these new functions.

(Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 40)

Likewise, in farming and forestry, it was envisaged that certain farmers and forestry workers would be retained while others could abandon these activities.

The region's manpower was thus classified in the Plan under three categories:

- (a) Persons capable of being rapidly absorbed into the labour market after long or short periods of general and vocational training.

- (b) Persons who, for one reason or another, have not sufficient general and vocational training to be absorbed into the labour market and who will require special rehabilitation programs over a more or less long period.
- (c) Persons who will not, to all intents and purposes, be absorbed into the labour market."

(Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 50)

We can see therefore that the planners have had three basic intentions for the region's people:

1. Retraining of certain skilled sectors of the population to make them professional fishermen, foresters, or farmers in much reduced and modernized basic industries.
2. Redistribution of much of the region's population to growth centres within the region, or outside it.
3. Reduction of the region's employment base and the creation of redundancies by technological modernization; removal of less skilled workers from employment so that they retire or go on welfare.

The Plan focussed on the basic sectors of farming, fishing and forestry. Although it put forward proposals for tourist development (notably at Perce and the Forillon Park) and for building better roads, there was no mention of industrial development outside the primary industries.

The Plan was designed to achieve development with the participation of the population:

The Plan has been designed in co-operation with the people of the Area. To be fully effective, it must have their continuing co-operation and support. To ensure this, the people must understand the objectives of the Plan and be able to participate in its implementation.

(Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 27)

However, from the little evidence available, the Plan does not seem to enjoy the support or confidence of the people. At the initial stages of the Plan local committees were formed, ostensibly to participate in the drawing up of the Plan. However, when the local population realised that there were not likely to be any immediate and tangible benefits to their community, they generally withdrew from the planning process. At the same time the planners developed planning strategies according to the goals that they, rather than the local people, considered desirable. Thus the gulf between people and government was re-established, and the task of the planners and of political representatives has become that of informing the local people of their decisions and persuading local people to share their objectives. Not surprisingly there is a widespread feeling among the region's population that the planning process was a failure and that the implementation of the Plan has achieved nothing. Thus, even supposing that the economic objectives of the Plan are in part successful, the disillusionment of the people is probably of greater significance for regional development.

There is little evidence to suggest that the economic objectives of the Plan have been successful, and still less to suggest that these objectives were initially valid. The Plan has been based on the premise that

1. The old combinations of occupation were an inefficient means of production.
2. The revenue from the old occupations was inadequate.

To a large extent this was true. Thus the objective has been:

1. To create a "professional" or skilled, full-time labour force in each of the basic industries.
2. Thus to raise productivity and wages.

3. To encourage everyone else either to leave the region or to go on welfare.

By looking at each of the industries individually and not in terms of the region's traditional occupational pluralism, the Plan may achieve maximum efficiency of production in each basic industry. Efficient, capital-intensive industries are created in particular by the government's underwriting most of the costs of capital expenditure. However, as a consequence of its use of economic profitability as a criterion for industrial development, the Plan does not achieve maximal use of the region's labour force. First, it deliberately condemns a large segment of the population to enforced idleness (welfare). Second, it makes the working population dependent on seasonal unemployment benefits since neither forestry nor fishing nor farming is a year-round occupation. In economic terms this is wasteful, as although viewed in isolation the various industries become more efficient, this is only at the expense of enormous outlays on social security by the government. In social terms it cannot be viewed as other than disastrous.

The aim of the government is that the contradiction between its economic objectives and its social obligations will in the long term be resolved. The hope is that the present over-supply of labour in the region (over-supply defined in terms of the new capital-intensive industries) will be reduced by substantial migration of young people to centres where there is a demand for labour. The residual population now on welfare in the region is seen to be largely old and is therefore a one-generation phenomenon.

There are two reasons why this policy is at fault. First, there is no evidence to suggest that the urban job market can further absorb large quantities of unskilled rural immigrants. The overall trend towards a more

skilled, specialized labour force means that even with the improvement of rural schooling, rural people in most cases still do not possess suitable qualifications for urban employment. Further, urban rates of unemployment, especially in the Province of Quebec, are high. There is no evidence at all to suggest that the amount of rural unemployment is diminishing and that the policy is taking effect (Hirsch, 1967: 106). On the contrary, the amounts allocated in transfer payments continue to increase. Second, even if the policy showed some likelihood of being effective in the long term, its short term consequences - the deliberate creation of widespread unemployment - are extremely severe. At present the government both encourages an artificial free-market, private enterprise system (with all its consequences for the underdevelopment of the periphery); and at the same time is committed to alleviating the social consequences of that system. A great deal of waste of human capital, and a great deal of bitterness and frustration among the peripheral population, would be avoided if the government were to re-allocate resources already committed to transfer payments to the region. This reallocation would take the form of investment in planned, decentralized industrial development, using labour-intensive methods and relatively simple technology. Its goal would be the elimination of unemployment and the creation of jobs for the people which guaranteed security and a greater sense of fulfilment.

Plate 1



Summer and Winter: the Fish Plant at Mal Bay

Plate 1 shows the stage, sheds and flakes of the Mal Bay fish plant in the summer. In the winter (Plate 2), the stage in front of the plant is dismantled, the bay is frozen, and the longliners are drawn up on the beach.

Plate 2



Plate 3



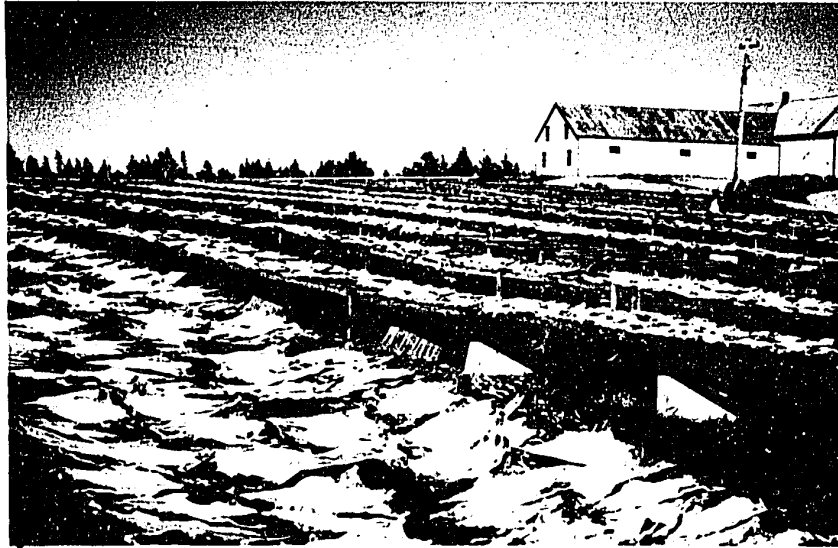
Mal Bay Wharf: Refuge and Moorings

In Plate 3, longliners (left) and scallop draggers (right) take shelter from a September storm. In Plate 4, a "fish-boat" (foreground) and three longliners have returned from an early morning fishing trip.

Plate 4



Plate 5



On the Flakes: Codfish Drying at Mal Bay

The Cove at Belle Anse

Plate 5 shows the fish drying on the flakes on a fine August day.
Plate 6 shows the empty cove at Belle Anse, now used only by a few
salmon and lobster fishermen. "In them days, mister, there was thirty
boats in that cove".

Plate 6



Plate 7



Robins Store at L'Anse a Beaufils

Perce: Tourist Centre around the Rock

Robins store (Plate 7) has changed little since the days of the Jersey regime. Its manager came to the Gaspé Coast as an apprentice nearly 50 years ago. Perce (Plate 8), once the largest fishing centre, is now devoted entirely to tourism. Hotels line the seafront facing the famous Perce Rock.

Plate 8 .



PART III

A COMMUNITY RESPONDS TO CHANGE

A Theoretical Framework: Peripheral Populations

Part II described some of the economic transformations that took place within the core-periphery system. While the Gaspé Coast remained underdeveloped, there was a restructuring of its economic organization. Control passed from a Jersey-based regime to Canadian metropolitan centres. New types of enterprise - fresh fish, mining, and pulp and paper corporations - came to dominate the regional economy. There was a rationalization of productive industries and services. Levels of production, which under the old system were determined by the local people, are now determined by the market objectives of the large corporations. To a large extent, the modern economic system operates without reference to the people. The result has been the creation of widespread unemployment. The villages of the Gaspé Coast are experiencing considerable economic and social decay.

In order to counteract the impoverishment of the Gaspé Coast, the government has become heavily committed to the financial subsidy of economic enterprises and of social welfare. It represents a metropolitan interest of even greater significance than private industries. Like the large corporate enterprises, it has adopted rationalization as its basic strategy for the development of the region as a whole.

This part of the thesis deals in detail with the response of a local population to the changes described in Part II. It analyzes the operation of economic and social processes at a community level. It also presents the local people's viewpoint on change. Since the village with which we are concerned is a minority-language community, the thesis considers the significance of the composition of the local population in affecting its response to change. As in Part II, the substantive material is preceded by a theoretical

introduction. The theoretical material is drawn from the discussion of "The Response of the Local People" in Chapter One, and from the analysis of regional economic change in Part II. It serves to define that information which is the most relevant at the community level.

In the "traditional economy" which persisted on the Gaspé Coast up to the 1930s, the local population may be viewed as peasant producers. As peasants, they disposed of part of their produce in commercial markets, but furnished most of their needs in terms of food, housing, and fuel through their own resources: that is, through "subsistence production". Generally, in peasant society, the family and the community have been the basic units in both economic and social terms. The family provided the labour force of the peasant and the goal of the peasant enterprise was the satisfaction of family needs. At the same time the peasant sought to preserve his family within the spatial and social context of the peasant community. In some instances the peasant is represented as having a deep attachment to his own land: in other instances, rather than being attached to a physical locality, this was an attachment to the network of kinship ties and of social and economic relationships that characterized the peasant village.

In order to preserve his position against the hazards of the external world (e.g. changes in production levels due to the weather; changes in marketing possibilities) the peasant adopted a strategy of risk minimization. He - or rather his household - followed a policy of occupational pluralism. This meant that members of the household engaged in a variety of activities, often on a seasonal basis and complementary to each other. Some of these activities, such as gardening or house repair, were subsistence-orientated and did not bring any cash return. Others were commercially

orientated, producing a commodity or offering labour services in return for cash payment. Some of the activities took place on the peasant smallholding (cutting firewood for domestic use; raising cattle for sale). Others, usually commercial activities, took place away from the smallholding, either locally (fishing) or in distant places, involving temporary migration (work in construction, at the harvest, in lumber camps). The basic concept underlying occupational pluralism was that, in a peripheral situation, no one activity offered a secure existence for the family. Subsistence activity was not viable without some cash income. Sources of cash income were often seasonal in nature, were not highly remunerative, and were liable to failure for climatic reasons or because of change in the prices of primary products. Thus the peasant attempted to maximize choice by using his available labour supply in a great diversity of activities. The possible loss through failure of any one of these activities was therefore at a minimum.

As a consequence of this, the peasant was reluctant to commit himself to any single commercial activity: and in particular reluctant to make any investment in the productive process. This reluctance was in part because there was little point in replacing an abundant resource (labour) with a scarce resource (capital). It was also because there was little point in committing scarce capital resources to production equipment, since in order to make such an investment worthwhile (for instance in an expensive fishing boat) it would be necessary to pursue full-time the particular activity implied by that investment. This would run counter to an opportunity-maximizing strategy and the peasant would then face the risk of complete destitution should that activity fail.

The peasant has found it necessary to share his risks with others

outside his family. In part this has been achieved through reciprocity: largely an exchange of resources or of services between neighbours or kin. In part also - and more significantly from the point of view of the Gaspé Coast - there has been sharing of risks with merchants. Merchants have extended long-term credit to peasants, implying semi-permanent postponement of debts. This has been associated with a non-monetary barter system of an export commodity supplied by the peasants for imported foodstuffs or production equipment supplied by the merchant. It has covered the peasant producer against failure in a particular year (though continuing failure of production ruins both peasant and merchant) but in return has given the merchant considerable control over the life of the peasant.

The peasant economy has been undermined at the community level by changes in the expectations of peasant producers. The development of metropolitan centres has been accompanied by a rise in urban living standards. At the same time various channels of communication - mass media, education, personal contact - which generally promote urban values have penetrated the peripheral regions. The people of the peripheral regions have then aspired to levels of income and patterns of consumption which they take to be characteristic of urban life.

The demand for a much higher level of cash income cannot generally be met by the old occupational pluralism. This occupational pluralism provided security only as long as it was based on a high level of subsistence (i.e. non-cash-dependent) activity. Subsistence production by its very nature cannot be converted to provide for cash income. Thus subsistence production is one of the first casualties of changing aspirations among peripheral populations. The former peasant producers are likely to specialize

either in production of a commercial commodity within the community (dairy farming, deep-sea fishing) or seek wage work outside the community: often by semi-permanent migration to the city. Since the openings for secure, full-time employment in the community are usually limited, this change implies not only a destruction of the old pluralistic occupational pattern but an erosion of the family and community basis of peasant society.

Peasant economy has also been undermined by the centralization of economic activities within the periphery so that they take place at the regional rather than at the community level. The process of change which has led to centralization on the Gaspé Coast has already been analyzed in Part II. The implications of centralization for the local people are drastic. The new regional industries require a specialized, full-time, small labour force in a few centres. Some of the region's people are able to benefit from this opportunity for secure employment by either living in or commuting to the regional centres where such work is available. The price of committing oneself to full-time employment in one of the modern industries is usually the abandonment of other activities such as subsistence production or seasonal work. In not all cases are the new regional industries sufficiently remunerative to make this abandonment worthwhile. Of greater concern is the fact that not all of the peripheral population can find employment in these industries, since the labour force which they require is relatively small. Hence, in the large number of centres which have not experienced modern industrial development, there is likely to be a high level of unemployment coupled with a minimal participation in traditional-type resource-exploiting activity (fishing, farming, forestry).

On the Gaspé Coast centralization has, as we have seen, had further

implications for the region's English minority. Formerly economic organizations were English-controlled and operated at a community level. They are now French-controlled and operate at a regional level. Thus a local English community - such as Mal Bay - is likely to be further disadvantaged unless its members are able to interact in French when they move outside the community. Since local demographic processes continue to determine patterns of bilingualism and assimilation, the English remain isolated linguistically and socially from the French.

The government has come to play an increasingly important role in the changing situation. Its action in encouraging industrial centralization has been described at length. In contradiction to this, it pays out increasing sums in transfer payments to those out of work. These transfer payments, some of which discourage productive activity, serve to maintain existing population patterns and run counter to the alternative policy of centralization. In a broader sense, the government acts to sustain the English minority - not only through transfer payments but through the full range of minority-language institutions - and does not encourage it to participation in the French-controlled regional economy, which would be a partial solution to its peculiar economic difficulties. The government's action in fact tends to isolate the minority from the majority.

Out of the decline of the traditional peasant economy and the intervention of the government through transfer payments has come a new local adaptation. This is one in which those who have not migrated to the cities or found full-time work in the regional centres are maintained in the traditional community with a traditional social structure. In some measure, a combination of seasonal work and seasonal unemployment has replaced the old

occupational pluralism. The government provides, in the case of fishermen, subsidies for boat-building, bounties for the catch of fish, and winter unemployment pay for the fishermen. For those without work, the government provides year-round welfare payments, which, if properly managed, can be financially as rewarding as sources of income from productive activity. Thus the government furnishes the basic security which the peripheral population previously sought through occupational pluralism with a subsistence base, and through risk-sharing with merchants. However, despite (or because of) this extensive generosity, the peripheral populations as a whole are deeply dissatisfied with the current economic situation. In spite of the very considerable significance of transfer payments in the economy of almost every household in the region, the people resent the failure of the government to provide work, and the decreasing amount of control (which had always been minimal) which they exercise over their own lives.

All these problems are likely to be magnified in the case of a minority community. Linguistically and socially isolated from participation in all kinds of activities at the regional level, the English communities on the Gaspé Coast have, as we have seen, been the most heavily reduced by out-migration. The remaining English populations tend to be the most conservative, lacking progressive leadership; and the most dependent on the resources of the government. It is unfortunate that these characteristics are likely to increase their existing isolation.

Chapter Seven

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

Occupational Pluralism and Risk Minimization

In Mal Bay, the period up to 1930 may be described as the "traditional economy". The main occupations at this time, as described in Chapter Three, were fishing, farming, and lumbering. The people of Mal Bay had created a peasant economic organization. They were independent small-holders who produced most of the commodities that they needed from their own land, while deriving a small cash income from off-farm employment, principally in fishing. The three basic occupations were combined at the household level to provide for a maximum of opportunities for productive activity with a minimum of risk by commitment to any one of these activities.

The pattern of activities was flexible in that it permitted a wide variation in the number of people involved. Unlike other peasant societies, there was no shortage of land: nor was there any limitation on the number of people who could exploit the resources of sea and forest. It was, however, necessary to organize productive activities at the household level rather than the individual level. The peasant economy only became viable when the various members of the household - children as well as parents - performed complementary tasks.

The first aspect of this household pluralism was that the type of work carried out by members of the household varied according to age and sex. In the case of the women, there was little change, except in intensity of work, through the lifetime. The woman's role was the management of the domestic economy; and the supervision of work done close to the home: most

especially the care of farm animals, of the garden, and of fish drying. Whilst unmarried and living at her parents' home, she was involved mainly in domestic tasks: cooking, cleaning, making and repairing clothes, and so on. Once married and in control of her own home, she took on additional responsibilities for certain outdoor activities. As the family grew, she supervised the children in the performance of these activities.

For the men there was rather more variation through a lifetime. Boys still at school (i.e. aged up to 14) carried out domestic tasks such as milking, watering, and feeding livestock, helping with haymaking and with gardening. The first "job" held by many boys on leaving school was to take care of the drying of fish as well as to assist with "work on the place". Older sons who were still living at home would go to the lumber camps from October to May. However, once a man was married and set up his own household, he would be likely to abandon the lumber camps, which meant many months of absence from home, in favour of local work on his own woodlot. This transition did not invariably take place at marriage: in some cases, men went into the camps for several years of their married life, while they were still young and active. At the same stage, young men went away for seasonal work in construction, in the harvest (as far as the Prairies), or in the cities. This kind of mobile pattern was particularly favoured by those who were unattached but who could nevertheless retain their roots in the community. At the same time as the adolescent men first went into the camps, they also began fishing with their fathers or with other relatives, such as an uncle.

When the men married and set up their own household, they began fishing "on their own account": possibly with a brother or relative of similar age. By this time they would have acquired the skills associated

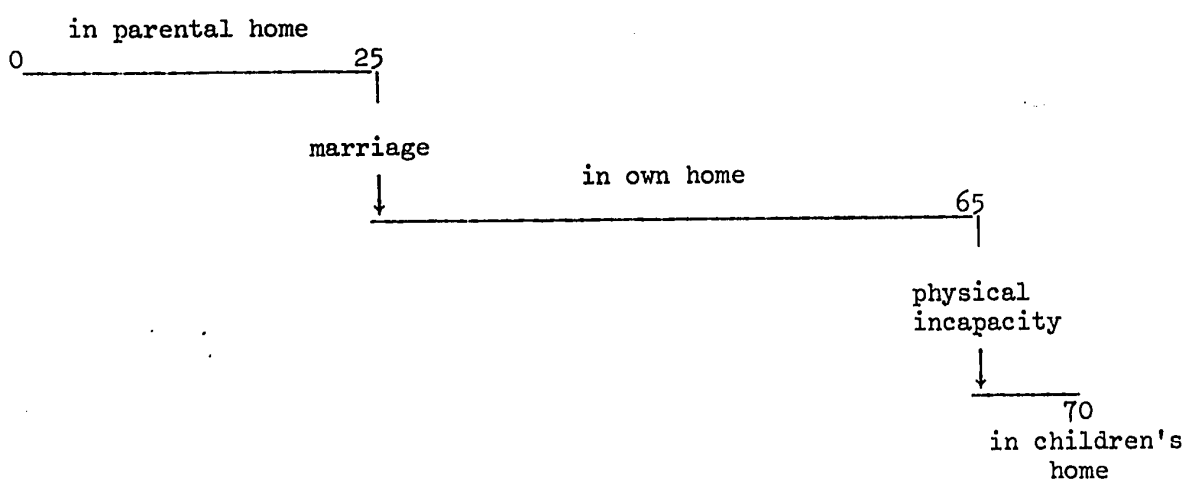
with fishing, and these would develop further as they became older. Eventually their own sons would also start to fish. For most men, the main preoccupations were the cod fishery and winter work on the woodlot, with work on the farm at times of greatest need: for instance haymaking. In the winter months there were also repairs to nets, farm equipment, the house, and the boat.

When a man's children reached adulthood and the man himself was aged about 55, he was likely to find that the fishery became too strenuous, and that it was no longer necessary or possible for him to bear such a heavy weight of household responsibility. He would at this stage continue intermittent fishing in a "flat", devoting more time to farm work, and possibly using his accumulated skills in a trade such as carpentry or boat-building. The craftsmen in the community were those who had reached this age. Eventually, if he became too incapacitated physically to maintain his own household, a man might go to live with some of his children. Many men did not reach this stage. Others were able to continue fishing until well after the normal time for retirement.

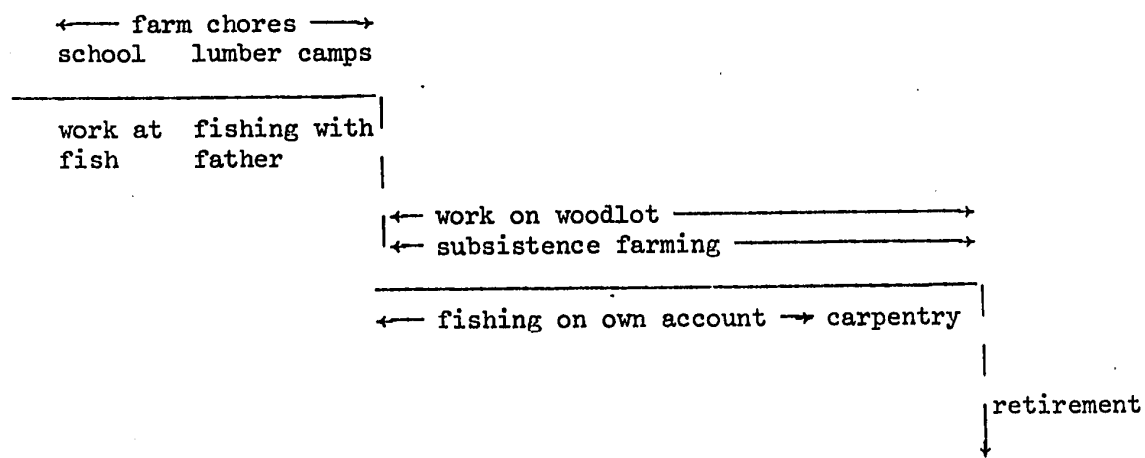
The theoretical evolution of occupations through a man's lifetime is summarized in Fig. 13. This was the general pattern for the great majority of people in Mal Bay. However, a few men, either because of physical inability (seasickness), through lack of desire, or through the emergence of other possibilities, never became fishermen, although all carried out subsistence production. Some of these people found openings as entrepreneurs: these were the most successful people in the community. Others concentrated on farming with perhaps salmon or lobster fishing: this too was not unprofitable. A third group sought wage work locally, at the fish plant, or in

Fig. 13 The Evolution of Occupations Through a Man's Lifetime

A. Age and Place of Residence



B. Type of Occupation



temporary manual labour. This was generally the least privileged group.

Economic activity was not only integrated at the household level. It was also integrated on a seasonal basis. The major complementarity was between the summer fishery and winter woods work. There was, however, both a complementarity and a conflict between farming and fishing. In a commercial sense it was not possible for the fishery to exist without the farm: financially each depended on the other. However, in terms of seasonality, both farming and fishing were carried on at the same time of the year and both demanded a considerable labour input. In Mal Bay there was a tendency to specialize in fishing to the neglect of farming. Nobody lived solely from the land, though the specialized lobster and salmon fishermen did more farming than the cod fishermen. In other parts of the Gaspé Coast, where agricultural land was better or fish more scarce, this conflict was resolved in different ways, with greater emphasis on farming.

There was a less important conflict between forestry and farming/fishing, the lumber camps tending to overlap with summer occupations. This occurred particularly in the fall, when the lumber camps started in October but the fishing did not finish until mid-November. However, there was nothing like the conflict reported elsewhere on the margins of Quebec (e.g. Biays, 1964: Fortin and Gosselin, 1960) where farmers gave themselves over almost entirely to lumbering, to the great detriment of their farm land. On the Gaspé Coast at least, the organization of economic activity at a household level enabled the pluralistic structure to be maintained and these conflicts largely overcome. Fig. 14 summarizes as far as possible the seasonal allocation of activities to various members of the household.

Another aspect of occupational pluralism as a strategy for

	<u>Month</u>											
	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Apr</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Jun</u>	<u>Jul</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Dec</u>
<u>Father</u>			prepare fishing gear	_____	cod fishery	_____						
			prepare fields ploughing	sowing		hay making		crop harvest potatoes		farm repairs		
	cut wood haul wood		on woodlot							cut wood on woodlot		
<u>Mother</u>				household tasks								
				supervise fish drying								
				supervise garden								
				—supervise farm chores (care of animals, milking, etc.)—								
						hay making		potatoes				
<u>Sons</u> <u>Age 16+</u>			lumber camps hauling — drive							lumber camps cutting		
				cod fishery with father								
						hay making						
<u>Sons</u> <u>Age 8-16</u>				occasional fishing trips								
				farm chores (milking watering feeding etc.)								
				fish drying								
				gardening								
			helping father			hay making				helping father		
<u>Daughters</u>				household tasks								

maximizing opportunity was that movement or migration was an essential part of the pluralistic structure. The usual distinction made in peasant society is that between on-farm and off-farm employment. In Mal Bay, where the people were essentially peasant fishermen, a more valuable distinction is between work in the community and work outside it. Work in the community took two forms. One of these was fishing - daily movement in quite a wide area but from a community base - and the other was "work on the place": farming and work in the woodlot from a territorial base owned by the peasant.¹ As long as work was done within the community and, effectively, on a self-employed or entrepreneurial basis, there was no reason why each individual should not combine several diverse activities in the time available. Work outside the community in the traditional economy meant long-distance seasonal migration for wage labour. Obviously work of this nature could not be combined with work in the community at the same time by any one individual. Thus, seasonal migration was dependent on the organization of economic activity at a household level. A man could only leave the household to go to the lumber camps if other members of the family continued the subsistence side of the enterprise. At the same time, his leaving to seek wage labour at seasons when no work was locally available helped to make the local adaptation more viable. Medium-term migration was an essential strategy in community survival.

The last, and most fundamental, aspect of occupational pluralism was that it combined commercial and subsistence production. This is one of the basic features of peasant economy. The seasonal nature of the fishery,

1. Barnes (1954) has made a stimulating analysis of fields of activity and social networks in a Norwegian peasant fishing community.

and its low profitability, meant that commercial fishing alone could not sustain the population. Since other sources of income, with the exception of forestry which was equally unprofitable, were lacking, a substantial subsistence sector was necessary. At the same time, since not all commodities could be locally produced, this subsistence sector was not viable without at least some cash income. In some sense the local economy was similar to a plantation economy, with the role of the subsistence sector being to subsidize the costs of producing an export crop. At the same time the merchants who were concerned with export found ways other than that of the plantation organization to exercise control over production by the local population. A local peasant economy developed, not as an evolution from a "primitive" economy, but directly from the desire of colonial entrepreneurs to organize a commercial codfishery. This contradicts the supposition that "peasant economy" is a stage in evolution from underdevelopment to development and shows it to be a consequence of existence at the colonial periphery.

Occupational pluralism as a means of risk minimization in the traditional economy was thus achieved in four ways: sharing of tasks among members of the family, undertaking different activities at different seasons, migrating to increase opportunities for wage labour, and combining subsistence with commercial activity. The four strategies were integrated at the household level to form a complex but flexible system. The system was adjusted according to individual household needs and capabilities. It did not bring prosperity - in cash terms, family income was unlikely to exceed \$200 per year - but it did bring a measure of security.

The Merchant and Risk Sharing

For most families occupational pluralism provided sufficient security. However, for some, who through bad fortune, lack of skill, or lack of motivation, could not guarantee themselves a sufficient annual livelihood, there was a further means of gaining security: through risk-sharing with the merchant. Since all households in the community traded fish for supplies with the merchant, the merchant acted as a redistributor of income within the community, as well as assuring profits for himself.

The Mal Bay - Point St. Peter area had been an important fishing place even under the French regime. Following the Conquest and then the American War of Independence various companies attempted to set up permanent establishments in the area. According to Charles Robin's summary of the regional history, in 1784 there was "one at Malbaye under the agency of Johnson; one at Port St. Peter under the agency of Ed. Square; another in the same place under the agency of John LeMontais" (Saunders, 1930: 214) but apparently all these failed:

... numberless other trials from different quarters in different posts have been attempted and all have failed except Daniel M'Pherson's fishery and supplying business at Point St. Peter, Mal Bay and Douglastown which has answered very well."

(Saunders, 1930: 214)

There is no record of what happened to M'Pherson's fishery and supply business but by the mid 19th century there were three fishing establishments at Point St. Peter (Collas, Fauvel, and Alexandre) and one at Mal Bay (Collas) (Pye, 1866: 29). As described in Chapter Five, Robin merged with Collas in 1892 and following this, operations were concentrated at Mal Bay. The other, smaller, merchants operating at Point St. Peter withdrew

from the fishery by the 1920s, so that at this time Robin was the sole fish buyer who was established in the area.

As was described above, some fishermen delivered their fish green to the company stage whereas others made their own fish, selling it to the company at the end of the season when it was dry. Included in the former category were the "wages men". These men were hired to fish by the company - sometimes in boats supplied by the company - hence their name. They were paid "by the draft": per draft of fresh fish delivered to the stage. The "independent" fishermen on the other hand built their own boats and cured their own fish, selling to whichever company paid the best price.

The decision as to whether to fish for the company or to fish independently was not an arbitrary one but depended on the credit relations which bound the fishermen to the company. Since the inception of the fishery the merchants had advanced to the fishermen provisions and fishing equipment against their catch of fish. This system still applied in the 1920s. The relationship had never been conducted on a cash basis to any substantial extent, but rather on long or short term extension of credit by the merchant to the fishermen. The merchants had operated a dual system of fish plant and store. They could then derive, indirectly, a profit on the sale of provisions; a profit which offered them greater security than the much less certain markets for the sale of fish.

The better (more skilful, more hard-working, more fortunate) fishermen were those who built their own boats and dried their own fish. Dried fish sold at a much better price than green fish, while the only further cost to the fisherman was in terms of labour which could be supplied through his household. There was also the possibility that by retaining the fish until

the end of the season the fisherman might be able to secure a better price from an outside merchant than from Robin at Mal Bay. Despite his "independence" this class of fisherman still received supplies on credit from the merchant, though he was unlikely to be heavily in debt over a long period. The merchant equally was quite ready to grant credit to the better fishermen so as to try to ensure that these fishermen would sell him their fish.

The "wages men" who fished "by the draft" were generally the less fortunate and more indolent fishermen. Frequently they were heavily indebted to the company. Sometimes men who were heavily indebted, who were bad credit risks, but who wanted further advances of supplies during the winter, would pledge themselves to fish "by the draft" the following summer in order to get more credit. The contract stipulated that all the fish they caught up to a certain date would belong to the company. If their account was not paid by that date they would have to continue fishing in this way. If their account was paid, they would be able to fish on their own behalf for the rest of the season. Quite clearly, it was difficult for such fishermen to break out of the cycle of indebtedness.

Robin's establishment in 1925 was still run on traditional lines.¹ The manager was a Jerseyman. Two clerks and a bookkeeper were employed who were also from Jersey: the clerks being boy apprentices. All these staff lived under strict supervision in the company house. Besides the store staff, there was a farmer (from France) who managed the considerable amount of land owned by Robins, raising provisions for consumption in the Robin

1. For reasons described in Chapter Three, 1925 is taken as a baseline for discussion of the "traditional economy" in Mal Bay.

household. Local people were employed as carpenters and as blacksmith. The beachmaster, who supervised the 10-20 men employed to dry the fish, was a locally resident Jerseyman. Thus the management personnel, even in an English-speaking community, constituted an ethnically-defined elite quite distinct from the local population.

The credit relationship was arranged through personal negotiation between a fisherman and the Robin manager. Since each family had its own account at Robin's store and each had its own degree of indebtedness, asking for and granting of credit was a highly personal affair arranged between fisherman and manager in the privacy of the manager's office. This meant that relations between the fishermen and the company were individualized. Likewise each fisherman's household was an individual economic unit in the field of fishing activity, competing rather than co-operating with others. The system of individual treatment ensured that there was no co-operative mechanism for negotiating fish prices, or for improving conditions. The organization of the fishing system was determined entirely by the company. The individualism of the fishermen showed itself in the comparative failure of the locally-based co-operatives and is still evident in the weak development of community action at the present.

The whole relation between the company and the fishermen was one of a flexible mutual interdependence. The credit relationship was the crux of the fishing economy at that time, acting as a kind of insurance system for the company and the fishermen. For the company, the credit relationship served to ensure a continuing supply of fish and thus a continuing profit in the store (which was the more predictable part of the business). For the fishermen, the credit relationship permitted them to share the risks involved

in fishing: the risks of a bad season, or the risks of losing the boat in a storm. Innis comments on the cod fisheries as a whole:

The commercial organization provided a crude insurance system which balanced declines in one district against profits in another, losses in one season against gains in other seasons, and the losses suffered by some fishermen against the gains made by others.

(Innis, 1954: 494)

The advantages of risk-sharing were most apparent to the less fortunate fishermen. There were two ways in which the company acted as a redistributor of income within the community and thus discouraged too much productive effort. Firstly, in times of crisis or economic depression the company would take fish first from the fishermen who were most heavily indebted to it. The paradoxical situation might therefore arise by which the good fisherman was unable to sell his fish. However the company seems to have felt itself to be under a moral obligation to buy all the fish offered to it, so this mechanism was probably not of great importance. Secondly, there were some fishermen so heavily in debt that they were never able to meet their obligations to the company. To counter this the company was able to recoup its losses by requiring men to serve as seamen on its schooners (this had died out by 1925) or by confiscating property and obtaining court orders to evict the unfortunate fishermen (this continued in 1925). However there were some losses the company was forced to write off. To cover these losses the company made higher profits elsewhere. Since in a competitive market which was outside its control, it could not raise the selling price of fish, it made profits where it exercised a more effective monopoly: by marking up prices on the credit accounts in the store. This acted to the disadvantage of those fishermen who through greater thrift or good fortune

had not incurred losses.

The fishermen found a further means of risk-sharing by exploiting the divisions between merchants. This they would do by contracting debts to the local merchant during the fishing season. However, instead of delivering their fish to him in order to repay the debts, they would sell their fish to another merchant who would give a better price, or who would offer immediate cash payment. This would leave the original merchant to carry their debt. This procedure was mainly carried out through mobile fish pedlars, who did not own establishments but who would come round at the end of the season offering to buy fish, much to the annoyance of Robin.

At the local level Robin dominated the supply of goods and the export of the principal commercial commodity, fish. Its relation with the local population may be described as "paternalism"; this operated through the credit mechanism. The fact that the local population was English-speaking and Robin was an "English" company helped to disguise the sense of colonialism or exploitation. In other parts of the region the fact that Robin was identified with a language and religion alien to that of the French-speaking majority may have helped the co-operative movement to gain a firmer footing.

Thus the two basic strategies of the local population in the traditional economy were to minimize risks by taking up many occupations, and to share risks with merchants. However their adaptation remained marginal. Because of their heavy commitment to the fishery, and the lack of local economic alternatives, they were always liable to impoverishment through environmental hazards, through undue exploitation by the merchant, and through failure of the fish market. As a result of this marginality, there was, even at this time, considerable emigration towards urban centres. Although there

was no great pressure on resources of land or sea, all the best coastal sites had been settled. There was difficulty in establishing oneself locally in the early years of raising a family. It was desirable to have one's own place, independent of the parental household, on marriage. However the number of vacant houses and cleared plots of land was limited. The tasks of clearing land, building a house, a boat, and obtaining equipment were considerable. Also, there were young children to support who did not yet contribute towards the family labour product. This was the stage of life at which demands on time, energy, and finance were heaviest. Thus many young people saw few opportunities for local advancement and were more attracted by the possibility of a new life in the city.

Chapter Eight

THE MAIN THEMES OF CHANGE

The Decline of the Traditional Economy at the Local Level

In the postwar years, dissatisfaction with the traditional livelihood has increased rapidly. Changing expectations have been a main factor undermining the peasant economy at the community level. During this century Canada has become urbanized. Rural populations have become the exception rather than the rule. In material terms, urban standards of living have become very much more attractive than rural standards. Cash income in cities such as Montreal remains more than twice as high per capita than on the Gaspé Coast.

At the same time communications dominated by urban values have penetrated the rural regions. The three principal means of communicating urban values have been the educational system, the mass media, and personal contact. The educational system has always been orientated towards urban and middle-class standards; for instance in the depiction of suburban life in the text-book, in the stress of success in the educational system and then in the professions, and in the downgrading of the types of activity pursued in the rural region. The mass media - particularly newspapers and magazines, then the radio, and most recently and most powerfully television - have stressed constantly the desirability of urban patterns of consumption. People from the community who have been to live in the city have brought back - and continue to bring back - glowing reports of wage rates which are often two to three times as high as for wage labour in the rural region. Often the new emigrants embrace wholeheartedly the urban values, contrasting

the modern life of the city with the traditional ways of the countryside, and giving those who remain in the rural area a sense of inferiority with regard to their lifestyle. Rural people have thus come to aspire to what they perceive (often unrealistically) as urban living patterns.

A further factor undermining the peasant economy has been that of structural change. This has taken two forms. First, the lumber camps, which were a source of winter employment and cash income, now have either been phased out or operate in the summer and in conflict with other activities. Although winter cutting on woodlots in the community is still possible, the old complementarity is no longer available. The trend towards summer lumber operations has been described above in Chapter Five and is widespread in Quebec (Fortin and Gosselin, 1960: 33-60; Legendre, 1966: 95-96). It has removed a significant source of cash income which was previously available at a time of year when little other activity was possible.

The second, and even more important, change, has been in the availability of a family labour force. In the traditional economy, the organization of economic activity at the household level was vital to the system of occupational pluralism. The family worked as a team to provide a substantial combined labour input in a diversity of activities. This is no longer the case. The increase in the intensity and duration of schooling has removed much of the contribution of young people. In 1925 most children left school at age 12 or perhaps 14. In 1970 they left, at the earliest, at 16. In addition to this, instruction for those who reach Grade 9 (Protestant school) or Grade 7 (Catholic school) is now given in Gaspé, and daily travel to Gaspé for those at High School makes further inroads in their time. Wives and children are in any case less willing to undertake tedious tasks

associated with the subsistence side of the peasant enterprise - farm chores - and few of the young men are anxious to learn the skills of fishing or farming. Their outlook is more orientated towards urban styles of life and success in urban occupations.

The chief casualty of changing expectations and the changing nature of the family labour force has been subsistence production. Formerly most household needs came from subsistence production. The cash income furnished by the fishery, and by work in the woods, once expenses had been paid, provided only a few marginal dollars to buy those things which could not be produced locally. Over the past 40 years the possibility of carrying out subsistence production has declined. It is now much more difficult to substitute unpaid family labour (in milking cows, drying fish) for cash payment (for milk from the store, for beach workers to dry the fish). The decline of family labour, as we have seen, is partly a reflection of the unavailability of such labour because of increased schooling, and partly a reflection of the lack of interest of members of the family in what they regard as arduous and unattractive tasks. This means that commodities which could once be produced "on the place" must now be bought at the store. This applies to a whole range of provisions: meat, eggs, milk, often potatoes, vegetables, etc.

The fact that it is now necessary to pay cash for commodities which were formerly locally produced is not the only problem. Changing aspirations have altered even more drastically the types of product that are required. The range of material possessions demanded in the rural household is far wider now and could never be produced locally even if willing family labour were available. Formerly most commodities - not only food, but also

furniture, fuel, and, in an earlier age, clothes - were locally produced. However locally-produced goods are no longer satisfying. There is a demand for new types of product which can only come from the store - perishables such as a wide variety of packaged foods; durable goods such as clothes, oil stoves, televisions, refrigerators, washing machines - and which require a very substantial cash investment. Rural people are anxious to attain urban patterns of consumption as they are portrayed by the educational system, on television, or by their relatives now living in the city.

Therefore, while the old means of livelihood ensured survival provided that it was accepted that most necessities must be produced "on the place", the new demands are for large quantities of cash which the subsistence-based adaptation cannot provide. There is what Ottar Brox¹ describes from his Newfoundland experience as a "conversion barrier" between subsistence and commercial production. Although the products of the farm can be used in the household, they cannot generally be sold in the market for cash. The household cannot through traditional farming convert its labour into cash. Some subsistence activities persist where the cost of buying the same service or product is prohibitive. Everyone in Mal Bay builds his own house, perhaps with the help of relations or occasional hired labour for specific tasks. Other examples include repairs to fishing equipment, automobiles, and machinery. This means that, despite the abandonment of farming and thus of home production of food, the cash cost to the people living in Mal Bay is still considerably lower than it would be in the city. However, the Mal Bay population has largely abandoned the agricultural kinds of subsistence activity in favour of types of employment which ensure sufficient cash income for the new consumer requirements.

1. Brox (1969)

With the removal of subsistence farming one of the main pillars of the traditional economy has been undermined. The demand for a much higher level of cash income has been a further source of stress. This has had consequences for other types of activity which were combined with subsistence production to form a pluralistic occupational structure. As has been pointed out, neither commercial fishing nor forestry work had themselves been sufficiently remunerative to provide enough cash income for survival through the year. They had only been feasible in combination with each other and with subsistence farming. Thus, if farming were to decline, it was natural that traditional fishing and forestry should decline also.

There were three possibilities as to future developments from the breakdown of the old adaptation. One was that there would be a movement out of the traditional fishing and forestry work to some more remunerative source of income. The second was that a new supplementary source of cash income to fishing or lumbering would be found. Thirdly, it was possible that fishing or forestry might themselves become more profitable. The decline of the old occupational pluralism in Mal Bay has been very marked. In its place has come a move to all three of the alternatives mentioned above. The new local adaptation will be discussed at length later.

The Consequences of a Regional Economy

In the traditional economy the few basic commercial enterprises - principally fishing companies - were widely dispersed. Each village had a merchant who bought fish and who supplied the people with provisions. In this respect Mal Bay in 1925 was similar to many other villages, having a Robins establishment as the commercial focus of the community. However, there

has been over time a centralization of economic activities accompanied by some, though not much, diversification. This process was discussed in Part II as the "regionalization" of the economy. This section examines the implications of the development of a regional economy for the economic life of Mal Bay. It bears directly on the previous section in that regionalization both contributes to the breakdown of the old occupational pluralism (a full-time job in a regional centre is incompatible with seasonal fishing or with "work on the place"); and, by creating a certain amount of full-time employment, it provides a solution for some people to the problem of inadequate cash income.

In Mal Bay as in the region as a whole an early challenge to the traditional economic institutions came from local entrepreneurs. In 1925 this challenge had just begun to emerge, in the form of small stores and a local co-operative. Improvements in communication (the railway) and in education had provided the impetus for this development. Both the stores and the co-operative were run on a family basis, employing no hired labour and stocking a small range of goods. They depended on the extension of credit by their suppliers but were weakened by giving credit to their customers. They lacked the financial resources to manipulate a long-term credit relationship with the people in the manner of the fish company. The stores were concerned simply with provisions; the co-operative also bought codfish and lobster. The financial position of all these institutions was weak and their management often inexperienced. Change of ownership was frequent: even the co-operative, in which most people had originally taken out shares, lasted only a few years.

The period 1935-1960 was the heyday of the local entrepreneur.

In 1925 small locally-owned stores were only beginning to emerge, and did not offer a substantial challenge to the Robin hegemony. Local cash flows were limited and the main commercial transaction was the exchange of fish for a few necessities at the company store. The region's trade (apart from fish) was small and diversification of activities limited. However, in the period 1935-1960 some quite large locally-owned enterprises grew up, including chains of stores, wholesale companies, fish companies, garages, and lumber companies. One or two of these were based in Mal Bay.

An example of Mal Bay entrepreneurship was Charles Cotton and his brother Alfred Cotton.¹ Their father was a Mal Bay man who had been a schooner captain, and who in the later years of his life had opened a store in Mal Bay. Both sons had about four years in school followed by a few seasons' experience as fishermen. The elder son, Charles, then went away to work for several years in Philadelphia, realizing, as he said, that there was little future in being a fisherman on the Gaspé Coast. Charles Cotton's experience in Philadelphia was similar to that of many other rural migrants to the city. He went there, alone, because, he said, he "had an uncle that had worked there and he said it was a nice place". Arrival in Philadelphia was a shattering experience: "I remember that when I got off at Broad Street station we had to walk ... I felt everybody was walking over me I felt so small. When I left home I thought I was nicely dressed ... but everything was different. I felt pretty small." Finding a job was not easy: "When I got there, you know, I was speaking the English language, but the accent was so different between the Canadian and American that it was just a little difficult to ask, at the beginning". He concluded: "That's the hardest thing I ever went through in my life".

1. The names are fictitious throughout the thesis, though the personalities are real.

After two years Charles Cotton had saved \$400, and he returned to Mal Bay to take over his father's store. The younger son, Alfred, who was skilled as an engineer, had in the meantime worked on the construction of a sawmill at Magdalen River, and then on various coastal boats. The two brothers in 1928 secured a contract to supply lumber, and became the first entrepreneurs in the region to truck lumber to the ports rather than sending it by rail. However the Depression put an end to this activity. Still retaining the family store, the two brothers then attempted a move into the fresh fish business, securing a grant from the government to build the first cold storage plant on the Gaspé Coast in 1932, and shipping fish fillets to Montreal. This proved financially unsuccessful and the Cotton brothers sold the cold storage plant to the government and instead expanded the store business. In due course they acquired five stores in as many villages, from Gaspé to Mal Bay. Their enterprise became more diversified, by developing a wholesale warehouse at Barachois, by acquiring new contracts to supply pit-props to importers in England, then by developing a trucking business to move the lumber from the woodlots to Gaspé for shipment, and lastly by opening a garage in Mal Bay to service the trucks. In later years they acquired a hotel in Murdochville. Finally the brothers sold their stores and by the 1960s had retired, though Alfred worked in Montreal during the winters and Charles continued to operate a store in Mal Bay.

Other enterprises in the Mal Bay area followed a similar pattern to the Cotton brothers. In the period 1935-1960 there were a number of local fish buyers, concerned either with dried fish or with fresh fish production. There was a greater development of stores, of garages, and of a movie hall. Lumber companies were active locally, with several sawmills at Barachois.

Barachois was a minor regional centre with a considerable variety of stores. Even in 1970 there is a greater diversity of local enterprises in Mal Bay than there was in 1925. There are three general stores, two of which specialize in dry goods and groceries and one in groceries and beer. There is also a campground, a motel and restaurant, and a garage/trucking business (Map 3).

However the general pattern was for a development of economic activities to take place in regional centres and for a relative decline in the villages, of which Mal Bay was one. The example of the Cotton brothers perfectly illustrates the rise and fall of the period of village-based entrepreneurship. The village entrepreneur's greatest asset was an ability to seize economic opportunity at a time when opportunities were developing as a result of a relaxation of control by the traditional merchants and a greater availability of cash income to the people. The first local entrepreneurs were often - as in the case of the Cotton brothers - members of the Protestant group.

The weakness of these local entrepreneurs was twofold. On the one hand they lacked adequate capital and lacked formal education and thus professional managerial ability. They were primarily entrepreneurs and not managers or administrators. Thus in the 1960s their enterprises were challenged by regional or provincial companies with a sounder financial base and a more expert and widespread organization. The threat of supermarket chains to small stores is a prime example of this. On the other hand, to accentuate this process, the position of the Protestants themselves had become weaker, both because of the demographic decline of the English at the regional level, and because of the greater self-assertion, linguistically and in other ways,

of the French. The Cotton brothers, like most other Protestants, were not bilingual. However, if they were to continue their enterprise, it was necessary for them to become bilingual and to operate at least in part in French. Rather than struggle with economic and linguistic uncertainties, many of the Protestant entrepreneurs such as the Cottons have retired while their children have left the region.

Regionalization has, as we have seen, been most prominent in the fishery. Accompanying regionalization has been a change in techniques, in the type of product, and in the control of the enterprise. There has been a move from traditional fish companies producing dried fish in the community fish plant to large co-operatives producing fresh and frozen fish in large regional fish factories.

These changes have been reflected in developments - or lack of developments - in the fish plant at Mal Bay. The Mal Bay fish plant continued under Robin management until 1961. In later years their regime of fish plant and company store was softened by the development of other sources of income and supply. In the last years the staff were no longer Jersey men nor was the manager as powerful a figure in the community. There was one important organizational change in the fish plant, in about 1950. In the traditional economy very little fish had been "made" by the workers in the plant itself. Most had been dried by the fishermen on their own flakes, under the supervision of their families, and later sold to the companies. This had permitted maximum use of family labour but not optimal use of the fish in terms of the type or quality of the product. With the development of longliners in the early 1950s, the volume of fish caught at any one time became much larger than could be handled by family labour. This brought about the

end of the "independent" fishermen making their own fish. Instead, all the fish was delivered green to the fish plant, and handled there by paid workers. At the same time a more effective use was made of the fish within the fish plant. Instead of nearly all the fish being dried, the small fish was filleted and frozen, the medium fish was dried, and the larger fish green salted. These organizational changes permitted a more profitable operation. In 1961 Robin sold their Mal Bay fish plant to a local man who had formerly been an employee of the company. He has made one further organizational change. Under Robin the functions of ownership, management, and supervision of the fish plant (beachmaster) were separate. The new owner, Henri Bourget, combines all three functions but in fact spends most of his time at work with the men at the fish. Since Henri Bourget comes from a long-established Mal Bay Catholic family, the considerable social distance which separated the previous management from the local people is reduced to a minimum.

Thus some alterations occurred in the Mal Bay plant. However, they did not represent a particularly far-reaching transformation. The Mal Bay fish plant - the stage, the sheds, the fish drying on the flakes - is not greatly different from what it was in 1925. The main product is still dried codfish, and the techniques for producing it in 1970 would be recognizable by the Mal Bay population of 1800.

This is in contrast to changes at the regional level. Whereas in the fishery, as in local entrepreneurship, limited development has taken place in the community, at the regional level much more drastic changes have occurred. The Mal Bay fish plant, once typical of all others on the Gaspé Coast, is now typical of only a small minority of plants. Instead, most production is fresh and frozen fish - of a much more diversified range than

the traditional cod - in the large fish factories of Fox River, Sandy Beach, and Paspébiac. The position of the Mal Bay fish plant must be seen against the background of other larger, more modern, fish plants in regional centres. Likewise the development of local stores in Mal Bay must be viewed bearing in mind the fact that most people now do their shopping in supermarkets in Gaspé. The economy as a whole has been regionalized. This has meant that, while traditionally Mal Bay was the equal of all other places, in the contemporary context the community has stagnated as development has occurred elsewhere. Mal Bay entrepreneurs, though prominent in the period 1935-1960, now play little part in the economy of the region.

The situation of Mal Bay is typical of that of most other communities. However, one of the reasons for the failure of Mal Bay - formerly one of the most important fishing sites - to benefit from modern fisheries development lies in its lack of participation in the co-operative movement. Co-operatives - particularly in the fishing industry - formed the basis of much modern economic development. However, the Mal Bay population was isolated by language and religion from the core of the co-operative movement which lay in the Catholic church. It is thus significant that there are now no fishermen's co-operatives, co-operative stores, or Caisses Populaires in the Mal Bay area.

Regionalization has not been confined to economic activities such as the fishery or the retail trade. Its effects on the community are also apparent through the evolution of social institutions such as school and municipal administration. For instance, in 1925 there had been a Protestant school and a bilingual Catholic school in Mal Bay. By 1970 consolidation of schools had taken place so that there is a larger English

Catholic school in Barachois, a Protestant school in Mal Bay, and a French Catholic school in St. George. In addition to this, there are high schools and a CEGEP in Gaspé. Most education is still divided on religious and language lines. However there has been an important shift in the location of educational services so that they are now given for most children not in Mal Bay but in other neighbouring villages and 25 miles away in Gaspé. In order to support this regionalization an elaborate system of bussing has been developed.

Centralization of the schools has been paralleled by a regionalization of the school boards. In 1925 and up to about 1950 the administration of the schools - both Protestant and Catholic - was locally based. Each municipality had two denominational school boards which controlled all the schools within the municipality. These school boards received increasing government grants, but retained an almost complete local autonomy. A position on the school board was thus a significant position of leadership in the community, particularly as school taxes comprised the bulk of local taxation. Even with the development of "consolidated schools" in about 1950, control of these schools remained at the local level. With consolidation, each school board was responsible for one school only.

In the period 1965-1970, regional school boards (still divided on denominational lines) have been developed which have taken over most of the powers of the consolidated school boards; such as hiring and firing of teachers, planning for improvements in the school, and determining expenditures. The consolidated school boards at the local level are left with residual functions such as the physical maintenance of the school. The regionalization of school boards has taken power out of the hands of

unqualified but locally-elected people and put it into the hands of full-time, professional, but remote regional officials. There has also been an increasing interest in educational planning by the Provincial Government which supplies a large percentage of the funds for education. Regionalization poses problems in particular for the English Catholics. The local Catholic school board was "regionalized" in 1970 and control passed to a school board in Gaspé to which the municipality elects one commissioner. However, this school board includes both French and English Catholic schools, and the English find themselves in a minority position, and feel isolated from control of their school. School board regionalization arouses a great deal of bitterness among Protestants and Catholics alike. People resent the disappearance of the small schools and the high level of taxation which the new schools entail. Regionalization of schools represents an important loss of local control and involvement against which must be balanced the benefits of a more skilled and progressive school administration.

A similar process has taken place in the system of local government. Mal Bay formed part of the municipality of St. George (known officially as St-Pierre-de-la-Malbaie No. 2) which was created in 1919. The Municipal Council included members who filled the role of Rural Inspector (fencing and animals disputes), Road Inspector, and Pound Keeper (stray animals). Meetings were chaired by the Mayor, though the most influential figure was the Secretary-Treasurer. Through the years the Council was controlled continuously by a group of Protestant families, despite the fact that the English-speaking group as a whole never comprised more than 45% of the municipal population. The Mayor and Secretary-Treasurer were invariably Protestants; meetings were conducted and minutes kept in English. The outlook of

this group of Protestant families was orientated towards thrift and laissez-faire policies. For instance, in the Depression, when sources of cash income were virtually nil and it was no longer economic to fish, most municipal councils began to give out relief and to accumulate debts in the hope that the government would repay them. The Municipal Council at St. George was one of very few which did not give relief. The view of the controlling Protestant group was that the Council's first responsibility was to balance its budget. They felt that the problem of survival in the disaster of the Depression could be overcome by economical household management, and was in part a problem created by the lack of thrift of many of the people. This laissez-faire outlook persisted through the 1960s. Finances were sound and expenditures low. However, the relative importance of the Council declined as its responsibilities became irrelevant (control of stray animals, fencing disputes) or taken over by other levels of government (roads). It did not feel it necessary to provide any new services such as street lighting, or public water and sewerage systems.

In 1970 the region's municipalities were reorganized by the Provincial Government in order to strengthen the system of local government and to increase the provision of services to the local populations. In the Mal Bay area this meant the consolidation of five municipalities, of which St. George was one, to form a new "City of Perce". Elections to the new municipal council are to be held by ballot throughout the new municipality. In the "City of Perce" the old St. George municipality forms about 20% of the population.

As with the school amalgamation, the Mal Bay people are hostile to change. This is in the first place because of the loss of local control

and the fact that the amalgamation means increased taxation. The Mal Bay people feel that the new taxes will go to finance services in Perce village itself and not to provide benefits for Mal Bay. They point out that whereas the St. George municipality was financially viable, Perce municipality had in the past incurred large debts. The second implication of amalgamation is that the English are moving from a situation in which they held local control to a situation where they are a much smaller minority group. The proportion of people of English mother tongue in the region served by the new City of Perce is 24%: 1,573 out of 6,667 (1961 Census). The new Council is thus predominantly French, and the leaders of the English group are confronted with the practical problems of operating in French at Council meetings. Somewhat surprisingly, the first elections to the new Council (fall 1971) produced several English-speaking candidates. However it is too early to say what the long-term reaction of the Mal Bay English will be: whether they will participate, or, as seems more likely, withdraw from political affairs.

The centralization of economic and social institutions at the regional level has had three general consequences for the Mal Bay people. The first is that there has been a decline in the importance of the local community in providing the services needed by its people. This is true of employment, of stores, of education, or government. Formerly all services could be obtained without moving outside the community. Now many of them are only available at the regional level. Local organizations of all types have therefore become less important. The second consequence, following from this, is that the opportunities for local entrepreneurs and leaders are much diminished in favour of more professional or bureaucratic regional direction. At one stage, between the decline of the Jersey regime and

the growth of the modern bureaucratic regime, local initiative in economic, social and political development was relatively important. However in all these areas there is at present a growing alienation of the people from control over their own lives. The third point is that to a large extent employment - as distinct from income from transfer payments - is only available at the regional level and to comparatively few people. It is a mistake to assume that the growth of regional fish plants or pulp and paper mills has eliminated the possibility of carrying out the traditional fishing, farming and forestry at the local level. The traditional activities are still feasible. There are two structural reasons - summer lumbering, and the declining family labour force - why the old occupational pluralism is less practicable. However the primary factor is that the local people's aspirations have changed. The only sources of employment which bring satisfaction in terms of cash income are located not in Mal Bay but in regional centres such as Gaspe, Murdochville, and Chandler. Even these opportunities are limited because the new regionalized industries require only a restricted labour force. The community itself can no longer provide work which its people will regard as worthwhile.

The Composition of the Local Population: The Linguistic Implications of Centralization

There is a further consequence of centralization which applies peculiarly to Mal Bay and to other English-speaking communities. The Mal Bay English have been put into a particularly disadvantageous situation by this process. Formerly they controlled a system of social and economic organization which operated at the community level. Now they are forced not only to

take part, with diminished power, at a regional level, but also to encounter for the first time the fact of their regional minority position. Yet processes of population change at the community level - particularly with regard to bilingualism - do not make this regional participation easy. Their response has generally been an outmigration of many of the community's leading members and a withdrawal of others into isolation, bitterness, and non-participation.

Over the last 50 years the total population of Mal Bay has changed little. In 1925 there were 62 households in the community: in 1970 there were 60.¹ The number of people in both cases was a little over 300. The range of ethnic-origin groups found in Mal Bay - Channel Island, French (both Acadian and French-Canadian), Irish, and British - was representative of the Gaspé Coast in general. Mal Bay had always been a predominantly Channel Island community. In 1925 well over half the heads of household were Channel Islanders. By 1970 the number of Channel Islanders had declined, by comparison with a growth in the population of French and Irish origin (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15 Ethnic Origin of Heads of Household

	<u>1925</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Channel Islands	38	22	- 16
France	15	18	+ 3
Ireland	5	11	+ 6
Britain	2	5	+ 3
not known	2	4	+ 2

1. Data from this section is from fieldwork in the community. For a critique of the data, see Appendix C.

There was representation in Mal Bay from all three of the region's groupings by language and religion. Over the period 1925-1970 Mal Bay remained an overwhelmingly English-speaking community. However, in common with the rest of the region, there was a decline in the Protestant population and a rise in the Catholic population (Fig. 16).

Fig. 16 Heads of Household by Language and Religion

	<u>1925</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Protestant	39	28	- 11
English Catholic	15	21	+ 6
French Catholic	8	11	+ 3

In 1925 the Protestant group - or more particularly some families from the Protestant group - comprised an economic and social elite within the community. The bulk of the heads of households - 28 out of 49 working heads of household - were fishermen. It can be presumed that these households pursued the typical fishing/farming/forestry occupational pluralism. A further 9 heads of household were labourers - the lowest socio-economic category. Of the remaining 12 working heads of household, 6 might be described as entrepreneurs and 6 as specializing either in farming or in a trade. These 12 families, who did not depend solely on the fishery, were generally the most prosperous and respected in the community. Of the 12 families, 11 were Protestant (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17

Occupations of Heads of Household by
Language/Religion Group, 1925^a

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Protestants</u>	<u>French Catholics</u>	<u>English Catholics</u>	<u>Total</u>
entrepreneur	5	0	1	6
farmer or trade	6	0	0	6
fisherman	13	10	5	28
labourer	4	4	1	9

^a13 heads of household were retired

The economic ascendancy of certain Protestant families coincided with other marks of social status. These families were also those who provided leadership in the Protestant School Board and in the Municipal Council. Their pre-eminence within what was generally a homogeneous and egalitarian community cannot be explained with complete certainty. To some extent it was a function of the local majority position of the English. It may have resulted from the fact that education in the Protestant schools, and more generally the ethic promoted by the Protestant school and Anglican church, stimulated some families among the Protestant group towards thrift, interest in education, and entrepreneurial effort. The position of the Protestant group was further reinforced by the status of the real social and economic elite of the community: the Jersey merchants and the Anglican minister. This elite came from outside the community and were not perceived as part of it. They were viewed not in terms of their family name as were the local people but in terms of their function: "the minister" or "the Robins manager" rather than "Sydney Radley-Walters" or "Jack de la Haye". However the fact that Robin, with its control over fish buying and retail trade, was identified

on the Gaspé Coast with the Anglican religion and English language enhanced the position of the local Protestant, English-speaking group.

The economic ascendancy of the Protestant group and the more generally favourable status of the English language in Mal Bay meant that the Mal Bay English were in 1925 in no way threatened by their linguistic minority position at the regional level. At the community level, where nearly all economic and social transactions took place, English was the dominant language. Even in French-speaking parts of the Gaspé Coast, control by English companies ensured that the English group as a whole enjoyed a privileged status. Thus in the traditional economy the Mal Bay English were under no pressure to learn French or to become French for economic or social reasons. In general, at least at the community level, the opposite was true: it was more advantageous for the French to become English.

The Mal Bay English thus enjoyed a certain isolation from the regional majority. This isolation was reinforced by processes of population change operating within the community. The first of these processes related to assimilation. Linguistic assimilation in the Mal Bay context has taken place as a result of marriage between members of the two language groups, followed by a decision by bilingual parents to use one of the languages in the bringing up of their children.

In Mal Bay there has been very little marriage between Catholic and Protestant. In 1925, out of 34 married Anglican men, 33 were married with Anglican women. In 1970, out of 23 married Anglican men, 17 were married with Anglican women. The reasons for this have been firstly a specific ruling on the part of the Catholic church that marriage was only valid if it was between Catholics, and secondly a more general social pressure against

intermarriage as a result of the hostility between the two religious groups. Therefore the Protestant group did not over the years suffer any significant attrition or make any significant gains through marriage with the Catholic group. Examination of data for language, religion, and ethnic origin shows that for both 1925 and 1970 nearly all the Protestants were of either Channel Island or of British (not Irish) origin. In 1925, out of 38 Protestant heads of household whose origin was known, 37 were from Britain and the Channel Islands. In 1970 the corresponding figure was 24 out of 27. Equally, out of 40 Channel Island and British heads of household in 1925, 37 were Protestant; out of 27 in 1970, 24 were Protestant. This lends further support to the hypothesis that the Protestant group in Mal Bay was, and has remained, isolated from intermarriage with Catholics. Only in very recent years has there been a relaxation of tension between the two churches and the possibility of greater social interaction. As a consequence of their isolation, the Protestants have not in general been exposed to the possibility of absorption by the region's French majority.

Within the Catholic church there has been considerable marriage across language lines. In particular, English Catholic men in Mal Bay have frequently married French Catholic women. Out of 12 English Catholic men who were married in 1925, 6 were married to English Catholic women and 5 to French Catholic women. Out of 15 who were married in 1970, 9 were married to English Catholic women and 5 to French Catholic women. One was married to a Protestant in each case. French men, on the other hand, married French women. The long term effect of this very considerable marriage across language lines within the Catholic church was, in Mal Bay, the assimilation of the French by the English. This is as true in 1970 as it was in 1925. In 1925,

of the 14 English Catholics whose ethnic origin was known, 7 were originally French. In 1970, out of 20, 10 were originally French. Conversely, the French mother tongue group remained overwhelmingly of French origin.

The pattern of intermarriage and assimilation in the Catholic group in Mal Bay had the same effect for the English as in the Protestant group - it tended to increase their isolation from the regional majority. The trend was for the position of the local English Catholics to be strengthened and that of the local French to remain static or to be weakened. Thus not only in the traditional economy, but up to the present time, processes of population change operating within the community have reinforced the English group. It might be expected that, with an increasingly French regional population, and with a regional economy in which French has replaced English as the dominant language, local English communities would be gradually assimilated by the French. This is far from being the case in Mal Bay, where in fact the reverse process tends to occur.

A second process of population change tending to increase the isolation of the English is that related to bilingualism. It was suggested as a general model for the region (Fig. 10) that in situations where the English were in a majority at the community level, the French would tend to be more bilingual than the English. At the same time the Catholics, who interacted across language lines both socially and in the work world, would be more bilingual than the Protestants, who only encountered the French in the work world. This model explains the pattern of bilingualism in Mal Bay (Fig. 18).

Fig. 18Percentage of Heads of Household Bilingual

	<u>1925</u>	<u>1970</u>
Protestant	23%	14%
English Catholic	53%	24%
French Catholic	100%	91%

Many of the English people in Mal Bay have some understanding of French but very few are willing and able to attempt to speak it. Not only are the French generally highly bilingual and the English poorly bilingual, but there has actually been a decline in the proportion of the English population who are bilingual. This is due to the disappearance of the winter lumber camps, in which many English men had gained a minimum knowledge of French. Further, the French bilinguals are generally much more fluent in English than the English bilinguals in French.

The low level of bilingualism among the English, like their lack of assimilation by the French, acts to increase their isolation from the regional majority and from the developing regional economy. For the region's French population, employment at the community level has in part been replaced by employment at the regional level. For the Mal Bay population the centres of regional employment are Gaspe, Sandy Beach, Murdochville and, in the summer, Perce. For work in many of these places a knowledge of French is necessary. Yet the Mal Bay population has not to any extent taken up work outside the community and remains isolated from regional activities. This lack of participation is both a cause of their lack of bilingualism - if they worked in Gaspe or Perce they would learn French - and a consequence of their lack of bilingualism - if they learned French they could work in Gaspe or

Perce.

The key to the situation lies in the experience and attitudes of the people; in the way they perceive language issues. The English in Mal Bay express a general attitude which is favourable to bilingualism: "It's good to be bilingual" or "It's good to know both". This seems at least in part to be a reflection of government and other propaganda in recent years in favour of bilingualism. In more practical terms, the English are pessimistic as to their chances of learning French: "French is a harder language to learn" or "It's harder for the English to pick up French than for the French to pick up English". They do not see any opportunities to learn French: "Round here it's all English". This last statement reflects the traditional pattern of interaction at the community level. In the old socio-economic situation the English, being a community majority, had neither the need nor the opportunity to learn French. In the new regionalized situation they find that their community experience equips them poorly to deal with regional interaction. However, they are unable to correct this - i.e. to become bilingual - at the community level. Only at the regional level can they become bilingual, yet regional interaction is difficult unless they already speak French. Thus it is not surprising that the Mal Bay English see little chance in finding work in the regional centres. One man summed up the general feeling: "You go to Gaspe now and you can't get a job. If you don't speak French they don't take you. Years ago you went to Gaspe, you could work the whole summer." Whatever the reality of the situation (and there is good reason to believe that there are some employment opportunities, particularly at Sandy Beach, for English speakers) the general pessimism of the Mal Bay English contributes further to their isolation from the regional

economy.

Local processes of population change have acted to isolate the English minority from participation in regional activities. The Mal Bay English have lost a formerly favoured economic position and find it difficult to adapt to the new situation. For most of the people in Mal Bay, migration to Montreal or to Ontario has become the main means of adaptation. Outmigration is not solely a result of the current linguistic difficulties of the Mal Bay English. Migration has taken place throughout this century - witness the slow rate of population growth since 1920 - and clearly has affected all groups in the community. The main reason for migration is an economic and not a specifically linguistic one. Very few steady jobs are available in the region and people from Mal Bay have not in general taken advantage of those that do exist. Young people are less willing to take up seasonal and uncertain occupations such as farming, fishing, or part-time work in carpentry or service industries. Conversely, they are attracted by the prospect of steady jobs and seemingly high wages in the cities.

It is certain that there is a high correlation between level of educational achievement and likelihood of outmigration. Certainly all those with higher education leave the community. Of the majority of people, who have only elementary education, the migrants are likely to be those with more initiative and who are anxious to adapt to urban life. There are a number of people in Mal Bay, often resilient and enterprising, who, lacking much formal education, have nevertheless carved out for themselves a successful niche in the rural milieu, whether as fishermen or as entrepreneurs. However most of those who remain in the community are those who have low aspirations, who may have failed in the city, and who go on welfare.

Although the main reason for outmigration has been economic, this does have a linguistic aspect. We have seen how at the regional level, the English population has declined while the French population has grown. At the community level, the same type of process has taken place, except that it is more specifically the Protestant population which has declined. The pattern of change is clear. Those who have left the community have been the more educated or more enterprising. In the Mal Bay context this has meant the departure of most of the children of Protestant families whose parents were entrepreneurs or local leaders in the 1935-1960 period. These people through family background had a higher level of aspiration than most of the population, and the least chance of realizing this aspiration at the regional level, since they were not bilingual. Therefore they have migrated to English-language urban areas. Those who have remained in the community have been the less ambitious and the less well-equipped. In Mal Bay this has meant a growth of the English Catholic population. They are people whose parents were fishermen or labourers and who have not had the family motivation or educational background to move to a higher social status. In Mal Bay they generally remain at the lowest level on the economic scale. The French too have remained in the community. This is not, like the English Catholics, because they are isolated and poor, but because their linguistic ability and their membership in the regional majority has orientated them more to regional-level activities.

The whole complex of processes of population change is thus of great significance in the present status of the Mal Bay population. The Mal Bay English are isolated from the regional majority by population processes affecting assimilation and bilingualism at the community level. They have

lost most of their previous social and economic elite through outmigration. Thus they lack the dynamic leadership which might encourage them to make a more active adjustment to the changing situation. Instead, there has been a growth of the poorest and most conservative sectors of the community who are unable to attain economic and social success either in the city or in the Gaspe Coast. The small French community, which might have been expected to provide a new source of leadership for Mal Bay, has turned aside from community participation towards economic activity at the regional level. In this it has achieved a measure of success and prosperity. The Mal Bay English meanwhile remain isolated and have little hope that the situation will change.

Government and the People

In Chapter Six the two contradictory policies of government were discussed. On the one hand government economic planning encourages the centralization of industry and the reduction of the region's employment base. On the other hand government concern for social welfare means that it disburses large sums in transfer payments which counteract the rationalization process by maintaining the people in their places of residence. These general consequences for the region as a whole are accompanied by more specific consequences for the English minority which tend to increase their isolation from the majority.

The Development Plan did not promise, and has not brought, any benefits for the Mal Bay area. The Plan envisaged a "rationalization" process for the peninsula's basic industries. This was to consist of the development of a few large units in the primary industries in regional growth centres.

Mal Bay was not one of these. The Plan did not give a clear indication as to the future of the Mal Bay fish plant, which was the chief economic institution in the community, except to say that "minor centres" in the fishery would be continued as long as they were profitable.

Any definition of "profitability" is, however, arbitrary. The fish plant itself as it operates in 1970 is profitable. However it is run at a minimum-maintenance level. There has been no substantial capital expenditure since the departure of Robin. A change in technology towards greater emphasis on fresh fish production, for instance, would require new investment in physical plant. Further, the government provides various subsidies to the fish plant: cold storage facilities, a wharf at Mal Bay, fishermen's unemployment benefits, grants for boat construction and equipment purchase, and bounties for achieving a certain annual catch. Thus the continued existence of the Mal Bay fish plant depends on an assessment of profitability defined by the government.

The Plan encompassed not only industrial development but also redeployment of manpower. This was to take the form of retraining of those who were sufficiently educated to equip them for modern industrial sectors; redistribution of population to growth centres; and reduction of the region's employment base. Since the Mal Bay area was not zoned as a growth centre for any kind of development (except tourist development, which may in the future mean the creation of a provincial park and camping ground), it was to be expected from the Plan that the Mal Bay work force would at least in part be obliged to seek retraining in order to qualify for skilled work elsewhere in the region.

This has not occurred at all. In the first place, the people of

Mal Bay do not possess sufficient schooling to enter retraining programmes. Adult education courses designed to improve their level of schooling have not so far succeeded except inasmuch as people on welfare have sometimes been compelled to attend the courses in order to receive their welfare benefits. In the second place, there is no evidence that the Mal Bay people want to move elsewhere in the region or that they would be able to find work if they did so. Certainly they are not aware of whether employment opportunities exist in other places: even if they did exist, it is unlikely that Mal Bay people could or would contemplate moving into a French-speaking milieu.

The alternative to taking part in retraining as outlined in the Plan is, as the Plan suggests, welfare. The Plan states that "It cannot be assumed that all the people will automatically benefit from the investments that will be made in the resource sectors" (Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 47) so that a category is provided for "Persons who will not, to all intents and purposes, be absorbed into the labour market" (Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968: 50). Unfortunately, the Mal Bay community as a whole is one that will not automatically benefit from the Plan. Most of its people lack the educational, occupational, and linguistic capability to adapt in the way that the Plan requires. Hence, in the view of government policy, they are condemned as "conservative", "traditional", or "non-productive", and are not expected to be able to find work. Instead, the government has provided them with the alternative of welfare. Not surprisingly, the Mal Bay people, insofar as they understand ARDA policy, are uniformly hostile to it. "ARDA, that's what's making all the trouble round here" said one man. This sentiment is universal in the community.

Government policy as expressed through the Development Plan is

thus to maintain populations such as that of Mal Bay through massive infusions of transfer payments. The population is regarded as incapable of making a useful contribution to the developing regional economy. At the same time transfer payments serve to detach the people from the necessity of exploiting local resources. Many Gaspé Coast communities, French and English, are transformed into a state of alienation from their physical environment and from regional economic and social life and become dependent on government for most of their needs. In the case of the English minorities - as in Mal Bay - the situation is further compounded by the linguistic problem. First, the fact that the English are separated by linguistic barriers from the regional majority makes it less likely that they will be susceptible to redeployment in terms of spatial or occupational mobility. Instead, their lack of bilingualism makes them more likely to become isolated from the modern regional economy and dependent on transfer payments. Second, other types of government policy act to sustain the minority in their place of residence. Such policies, broadly speaking, are those related to the promotion of "bilingualism and biculturalism" in Canada. They include, in Mal Bay, the continued provision of English-language schooling for both Catholic and Protestant, and the availability of most public services (post offices, telephones, government bureaux, etc.) in English. These services, although they sometimes appear inadequate to the local English, are in fact wide-ranging and sufficient to provide for a viable English-speaking community. The survival of the English on the Gaspé Coast is no more threatened by lack of mother-tongue facilities than it is by linguistic assimilation by the French majority. However, the very sufficiency of English language facilities means that little pressure is put on the English to integrate into regional life. Their

existence commercially (through transfer payments) and socially (through bilingual public institutions) remains separate.

An important aspect of any government policy is the communication of that policy to the people it affects. We have already suggested that one of the most important reasons for the failure of the Development Plan at the regional level was because the planners were not able to retain the confidence of the people. The gap between government and people is accentuated in the case of the English minority, when linguistic barriers arise.

For the Mal Bay people there are two ways in which they obtain information and form impressions about government. The first of these is by direct contact with government officials. Government has become the main factor of community life in terms of providing income and of planning for the community. Its greatly increased role in the community has meant extensive contact with government officials in a "bureaucratic" or impersonal context: i.e. in a context different from encounter with government employees such as the postmistress or the manager of the cold storage plant who are members of the local community. These contacts with government officials in a "bureaucratic" context take place in the welfare or manpower offices, in licensing departments such as the fisheries office in Gaspe, or with a fisheries patrol vessel on the fishing grounds, to name but a few. The contacts create two main impressions among the Mal Bay people: firstly, that their lives are increasingly regulated by the government through a vast expansion of officialdom which is largely wasteful and constitutes "interference"; and secondly, that the officials, many of whom are French and not bilingual, only understand rather poorly the needs and aspirations of the

English people in Mal Bay.

The second means of communication is by non-personal contact through the various mass media. One of these is broadcasting: there is a French-language radio station at New Carlisle and television station at Carleton. Another is the written word: a local weekly paper published in Murdochville as well as provincial daily newspapers from Montreal and Quebec City; and the host of brochures and pamphlets that are issued by every government department. These methods of communication are generally much more effective for the French population than for the English. There are no radio or television stations that carry local news or other programming in English. Radio and television in English comes from New Brunswick and deals with Maritime and not Quebec problems. This is one of the biggest single barriers to psychological integration of the English population into regional and provincial affairs. Other means of communication - the weekly newspaper, most but not all government publications - are more or less bilingual. However the overall process of communication has left the Mal Bay people cynical about development possibilities and suspicious towards the region's political leaders.

The hostile and negative attitude to government of the Mal Bay population is expressed in criticism of specific institutions, such as ARDA. This points to a failure in at least part of the task of these institutions: gaining the confidence of the people. There is also a more general scepticism which derives from specific problems but which also transcends them. This scepticism is manifested in a suspicious and critical attitude towards all forces which are outside the community but which impinge upon it. The scepticism is expressed, it would seem, in two ways. Firstly, there are those

who draw attention to the failure of the democratic system. They point out how institutions which were once locally controlled have now passed out of their hands. They describe how government plans and policies affecting the region are developed without any reference to the local population. They believe that the weakness of their voting power and of their representation on any official bodies precludes their receiving any benefits from government, which, they assume, will go to areas with greater population and thus greater voting strength. Secondly, there is a general pessimism about the future of the English in the region and the Province and a belief that the French are "taking over". This is not a hostility directed against the local French-speaking population. Relations between the French and English at the local level seem to be good, though the two groups lead separate existences. Again and again local people emphasized that "we all gets along fine" or "there's no trouble around here". Rather, their hostility and fear is directed towards government (both federal and provincial) which they see as "pushing French" or "making trouble". As one man said, "If they keep on the way the government is going they're going to keep forcing the English out". Some people felt that the election to power of the Parti Québécois - "the separatists" - would mean that the English would be compelled to leave: "The day for the English in the Province of Quebec is over: we'll be lucky if we can get out of here". The general consensus was "They should have left it the way it was".

There are thus three levels at which government acts to increase the social and economic disadvantage of the Mal Bay people. The first is the most general - the conflicting policies of economic rationalization and social subsidy which produce large unemployed populations throughout the

region. The second applies specifically to English minorities: because of the difficulties these minorities encounter in participating at the regional level, they tend to choose the option of subsisting on transfer payments at the community level. This process of isolation is reinforced by government policies designed to support minorities through the provision of minority language institutions. The third level is psychological. The Mal Bay people are highly alienated from government. They can see no prospects of development opportunities for themselves and no good in the motivations of politicians or planners. Thus the real problems of social and economic backwardness which do exist are magnified by the complete lack of confidence of the people in their ability to change the situation. No current government policy is likely to reduce this alienation or to foster a spirit of hope.

Chapter Nine

THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITY

The New Local Adaptation

The people of Mal Bay who have not migrated away from the Gaspé Coast have generally devised new means of livelihood at the local level rather than working at the regional level. In 1925 the bulk of the population undertook a combination of three types of activity - fishing, farming, and lumbering - during the year. This tradition of occupational pluralism persisted through to 1970. The people of Mal Bay still describe themselves as "jack of all trades" and many of them possess a variety of skills and have taken part in a variety of occupations. While occupational pluralism remains an important strategy, the old simple combination of commercial production (fish and lumber) with subsistence production ("work on the place") no longer generally applies. New combinations of occupations have emerged.

The present occupational patterns may be divided into four groups: a subsistence/commercial employment combination; a commercial employment/unemployment combination; full time commercial employment; and full time welfare or retirement. Fig. 19 shows the participation of the Mal Bay people in these activities. The type of occupation does not seem directly linked with the age of the head of household, nor are there any striking correlations between occupation and household size (Fig. 20). This may be in part a function of the small size of the sample, and of the difficulty of classifying a diverse range of activities.

Fig. 19Occupations of Heads of Household by
Language/Religion Group, 1970^a

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Protestants</u>	<u>English Catholics</u>	<u>French Catholics</u>	<u>Total</u>
subsist./comm.	4	0	0	4
comm./unemploy.	6	5	3	14
full time comm.	3	2	5	10
full time: welfare	5	7	2	14
retire.	8 /26	6 /20	1 /11	15

^athree heads of household who are summer-only residents are omitted.

Fig. 20Occupation, Age and Household Size, 1970^a

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Average Age of Head of Household</u>	<u>Average Household Size</u>
subsist./comm.	44	5.0
comm./unemploy.	46	4.9
full time comm.	47	5.8
full time welfare	49	5.4

^aretired and summer-only householders are omitted.

Twelve people, drawn from all occupation groups but including the four people in the subsistence/commercial group, carry out some farming activity. Nine of the farmers are Protestants. Even excluding the two farmers who also receive retirement pensions, the farmers are on average older than the rest of the population. They also have slightly larger families (Fig. 21).

Fig. 21Farmers, 1970^{ab}

	<u>Average Age</u>	<u>Average Household Size</u>	<u>Total Number</u>
Heads of Household Farming	50	5.9	12

^a calculations are based on the 10 non-retired farmers

^b the minimum definition of a farmer is that he should make hay and keep a cow

Information on the past work experience of the Mal Bay people shows that nearly all the men have been involved in the three traditional activities of cod fishing, farming, and work in lumber camps. Only a few of the youngest heads of household have not been to the lumber camps. About a quarter of the men have been away to work in the city: the same percentage have worked in the mining town of Murdochville. Urban work experience is less common among old people (Fig. 22).

Fig. 22Work Experience of Heads of Household^a

<u>1970 occupation</u>	<u>Total</u>	← former occupations: % participation →				
		<u>cod fishing</u>	<u>farming</u>	<u>lumber camps</u>	<u>work in city</u>	<u>Murdoch.</u>
subsist./comm.	4	100	100	100	67	67
comm./unempl.	14	100	70	67	14	15
full time comm.	10	75	75	86	30	40
welfare	14	86	100	80	29	31
retired	15	85	100	89	21	7

^a information in this table is not available for the whole population: calculations are based on the data which was collected, representing 80% of heads of household.

Subsistence-Based pluralism

The first group of people comprises those who remain quite close to the traditional pluralism. They persist with the old pattern of some commercial activity supported by subsistence farming. The types of commercial activity therefore have to be those with flexible working conditions which permit "work on the place" and therefore which do not take the man far from the community for long periods of time. One possible commercial activity is part-time fishing. The lobster or salmon fishery provides a suitable complement to farming. Both of these are highly remunerative, but the season for them is short, lasting no more than the months of May and June. It is only possible for a few people to participate in this fishery, since the supply of lobsters is restricted by their having been overfished and the supply of salmon is restricted by stringent government control as to where salmon nets may be set.¹ The salmon and lobster are sold to dealers from Gaspe who organize their collection from the fishing cove. The likely income from the salmon fishery is \$1,500 per year: that from the lobster fishery rather less.

Another possible commercial activity is the cod fishery: either inshore in a small boat or offshore on a longliner. This fishery is much less remunerative than lobster or salmon and lasts throughout the summer months. There is then a much more serious conflict with farming in the absence of other labour on the family farm. Deep-sea fishing in particular, which requires membership in a crew on a longliner rather than fishing on one's

1. The salmon "stands" - Newfoundland equivalent "berths" - are handed down on a hereditary basis.

own account, is very difficult to combine with farming. In any case there is, as we shall see, little economic reason to combine the codfishery with farming.

Further possible types of commercial activity include a variety of temporary sources of wage labour in which working conditions are flexible and permit an "entrepreneurial" freedom. Examples of this are auto repair, taxi driving for local people, driving school buses, carpentry, and construction work. The general attitude of people pursuing this type of work is expressed by one man who declared "I'll work wherever I can catch a dollar".

The type of "work on the place" associated with this part-commercial part-subsistence adaptation varies a good deal according to commercial opportunities. Essentially the farm provides an insurance against periods of unemployment. The pattern of farming activity is similar to that pursued in the traditional economy. The farming season runs from April to November. The main peak of farming activity is haymaking in July. Because farming is still largely a non-commercial activity, there is little mechanization and no employment of hired labour, though there is some sharing of machinery and co-operation between relatives and neighbours at crucial times. The main function of the farm is to provide subsistence produce - pork, beef, eggs, milk, potatoes - but some commodities are sold off the farm. In particular, one or two farmers specialize in the sale of beef cattle.

In addition to summer farming, those who practise this pattern of activities also carry out winter work on their woodlot, partly to provide firewood for home consumption or for sale, but mainly to cut pulpwood to sell to the pulp and paper mill at Chandler. Cutting on the woodlots is

restricted by government regulation - a cut of half a cord per acre is the maximum permitted - and by the amount that local pulpwood dealers will buy. The only major market for pulpwood is the Chandler mill, which is subject to stoppages following labour disputes and uncertainties in the pulp and paper industry. For this reason the local dealers impose quotas on the amount of wood that they are willing to buy. In theory, cutting wood is highly remunerative. The "farmgate" price paid by the pulpwood dealers is slightly more than \$20 per cord. It is possible to cut two cords per day with a small power saw. At this rate, ten weeks' work will furnish \$2,000. However, because of restrictions on the cutting and sale of pulpwood, because of unfavourable climatic conditions for cutting and hauling of wood, and because of a general desire to minimize outdoor work in the severe winter weather, \$2,000 represents a maximum rather than an average income from this source.

Only four households have a farm-based livelihood, though a further eight carry out some farming while receiving regular income from other sources such as cod fishing or welfare. A rather larger number carry out other types of "work on the place" such as house building and maintenance (nearly everyone) and gardening (about a third of the population). The fact that only one out of every five households now carries out some measure of farming points to the declining importance of subsistence production since 1925, when everyone carried out farming. There has been widespread abandonment of agricultural land and a decrease in the intensity of cultivation. Many people simply permit those who are farming to cut their hay crop. Even for the farmers, the range of subsistence products is less wide than in 1925 and the degree of dependence on subsistence products much more slight.

For the most part the people practising this adaptation belong

to Protestant households: 9 out of 12. This is a reflection of the traditional orientation of the Protestant group towards an independent existence as fishermen-farmers, as opposed to the English Catholic group, traditionally orientated towards wage labour. The people following this means of livelihood value highly their self-sufficiency and ability to determine their own work patterns. A further characteristic is that several of those carrying out subsistence farming have large families: a large family makes subsistence activity more worthwhile, and the availability of some child labour makes subsistence farming more feasible, than in a smaller household. These households thus correspond most closely to the traditional pattern, and through their occupational pluralism are sharply in conflict with what government plans conceive as the future employment structure of the region.

The advantages of this subsistence/commercial livelihood are similar to the advantages of the traditional occupational pluralism. These are firstly that the adaptation permits a high degree of flexibility in types of commercial activity. It does not require full-time commitment to one source of cash income, which would exclude other activity. It permits the householder freedom of working conditions, so that he retains his status as an independent entrepreneur. Secondly, the financial commitment of the householder is small. He does not need to invest in expensive equipment either for the farm or for his commercial activities. Most of his tools (an exception being the power saw) are simple and traditional. Thirdly, the subsistence side of the enterprise provides a very basic security. It can be exploited more vigorously for subsistence products when cash income is scarce. It can be abandoned or scaled down if a secure job becomes available.

The weaknesses of this adaptation are twofold. Firstly, it entails reliance in part on subsistence activity and not on cash income and therefore on home-produced rather than store-bought commodities. The gains in personal independence and flexibility are set against the heavy and continuous labour commitment of a subsistence farm enterprise. Because of the higher level of cash income that is required now as compared with the traditional economy, subsistence activity does not provide the same measure of security as before. Further, the reliance on casual wage labour in the commercial sector is always bound to create uncertainties as to whether opportunities for such work will arise. Secondly, this livelihood does not bring access to unemployment insurance benefits. Being self-employed entrepreneurs, these people do not pay unemployment insurance contributions. Essentially they rely on the subsistence farm and not on the unemployment benefit as a basic security. If this security fails, welfare is the only remaining option.

Seasonal Employment

A second type of adaptation is one which combines seasonal work with seasonal unemployment. Certain kinds of summer wage work, if carried out for a sufficient length of time, permit the acquisition of enough unemployment insurance contributions to qualify for the benefit the following winter. Foremost in this type of adaptation are the cod fishermen. There are also those engaged in the lumber industry and those concerned with on-shore operations in the fishery.

Many of the features of fishing in Mal Bay - its seasonality, its almost exclusive emphasis on cod, its community base - are unchanged

from the traditional economy. Transformations in the Mal Bay fishery have not been as far-reaching as in some of the major centres in the fishery where the large, modern, fresh-fish plants have developed. Instead, Mal Bay ranks as a minor, traditional fishing port. However, several important alterations have taken place.

The most significant of these is that a distinction has arisen between two types of fishing: fishing on the longliners, and fishing in traditional smaller boats. There are four longliners fishing from Mal Bay. They carry a crew of three or four and can go to sea for several days. They range as far as the "Orphan Bank" about 30 miles south-east of Perce. In a good week a longliner may take 40,000 lb. of fish: in a poor week very little fish is caught. There are constant problems in obtaining enough herring to bait the long lines, in locating the fish, and in delays due to adverse weather conditions, particularly at the beginning and end of the season. In addition to these, life for the crew of a longliner is hard as working hours are extended and accommodation on board very limited. Disputes between captains and crews, and difficulties in making up the crew, cause further delays in putting to sea.

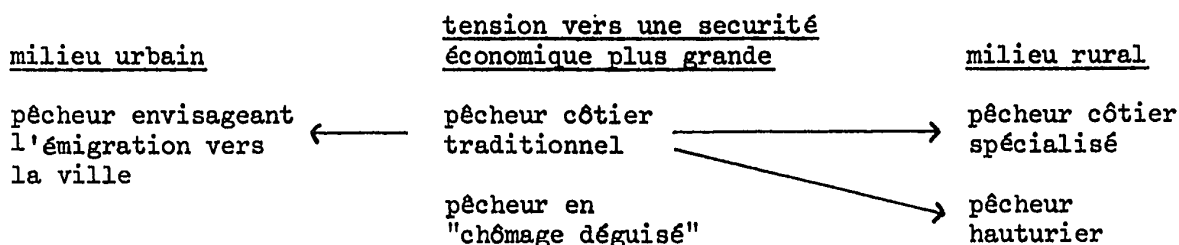
Even in a relatively good year such as 1970 the best of the Mal Bay longliners took no more than 300,000 lb. of fish. The price of codfish in that year was 6c/lb. - a gross income of \$18,000. Operating expenses - gasoline, repairs, nets, lines, etc. - were about \$2,500. Partial repayment of the loan from the Provincial Government for the purchase of the boat (repayable at 14% of the landed value of the catch per year) amounted to \$2,500. Thus, without taking into account depreciation to the boat (average life 14 years), the net income to the fishermen was in the region of \$13,000.

It is hard to obtain information on how this was divided up, but the crew members (as distinct from the captain) received no more than \$3,000 each. In 1971, when the longliners only took 200,000 lb., the income of the crew members (even supposing that because of the poor fishing season no repayment was made to the provincial government) would have been less than \$2,500 each.

The smaller boats go to sea daily and are operated by one or two men. Since they do not travel far from shore they represent a much more flexible arrangement than the longliners. Working conditions are more pleasant and it is possible to be at home in the afternoons and at night. However their catch of fish is much smaller than the longliners. The most successful inshore fisherman is Lionel Cotton, who has built a small boat powered by an outboard motor and has rigged it so that he is able to carry out long-line fishing on his own. His catch in 1971 - the first year that he had been running his new boat - was 50,000 lb.: gross value \$3,000. Unlike the longliners, his operating expenses are no more than a few hundred dollars and he has no loan to repay on his boat. Contrasting work on the longliners with inshore fishing, Lionel Cotton stressed not only the financial benefits but also the greater individual freedom and less unpleasant working conditions that he had achieved. The other inshore fishermen, who generally fish in pairs, are not usually as diligent or as financially successful.

The BAEQ survey of the region's fishery envisaged movement away from the traditional adaptation as portrayed in Fig. 23.

Fig. 23

The Future of the Inshore Fisherman

(BAEQ, 1965b: 232)

In the period 1950-1965 it seemed as though this model provided an accurate prediction of the course of events in the fishery. Fish prices remained low at between two and three cents per pound. At the same time other types of work were available: especially construction work at Murdochville in the period 1953-1957. Many former fishermen migrated to the city at this time: others eventually moved on to welfare. There was a need either to leave the fishery for more remunerative wage work, or to find some new supplementary source of income, or for the fishery itself to become more worthwhile.

The assumption of BAEQ planning was the deep-sea fishery and a specialized coastal fishery would be the most profitable future options. However the deep-sea fishery has never become more remunerative than the traditional inshore fishery, except for the captain. The BAEQ figures for the period 1959-1963 show that the average crew member received a net wage of \$1,260 from deep-sea fishing in the Province of Quebec. On the Gaspé Coast, the inshore fishermen had an average gross income of \$1,150 (probable net income slightly more than \$1,000) from fishing, whereas the crew member of a longliner received rather less than \$1,000. Further to this, the inshore fisherman derived only 42% of his income from fishing whereas the deep-sea fisherman probably derived over 70% of his income from fishing

(BAEQ, 1965b). The same pattern is true of Mal Bay: deep sea fishing is financially less attractive than inshore fishing. The other option suggested by the BAEQ was a specialized coastal fishery, diversifying away from salmon and lobster to exploit various kinds of shellfish. This possibility has not been developed in Mal Bay even though scallop draggers from New Brunswick come to fish in the bay.

In recent years the cod fishery as a whole has become much more profitable through a dramatic rise in fish prices. This proves further that the fundamental problem from the point of view of the fishermen has not been a lack of modern, deep-sea equipment but continuing low fish prices. The price per pound of fish landed at the wharf rose from a low point of 1.85c in the mid 1950s to 6c in 1971. It is expected to rise to 7c/lb. in 1972. It is worth noting that it was not until 1966 that it rose above the postwar level of 4.06c in 1945 (Fig. 24).

As a consequence of this recent rise in prices there has been a movement back into the inshore fishery. However one of the problems with the abandonment of the fishery has been that, once it has been given up, it is not easy to begin again. To start in the fishery requires some investment in boat and equipment. More importantly, it also requires considerable skills in the location of the best fishing grounds and in the assessment of conditions of weather and tide. These skills have to be transmitted orally and through experience over long periods of time. Thus, even if a man wants to begin the fishery, it is impossible without a considerable period of apprenticeship. This apprenticeship is to some extent available through working as a crew member on the longliners. However, this work is hard - the physical strain is too much for some men - and not particularly rewarding.

Fig. 24

The Landed Price of Codfish

218

cents
per pound

6

5

4

3

2

1

0

1945

1950

1955

1960

1965

1970

Mal Bay

Quebec
Province

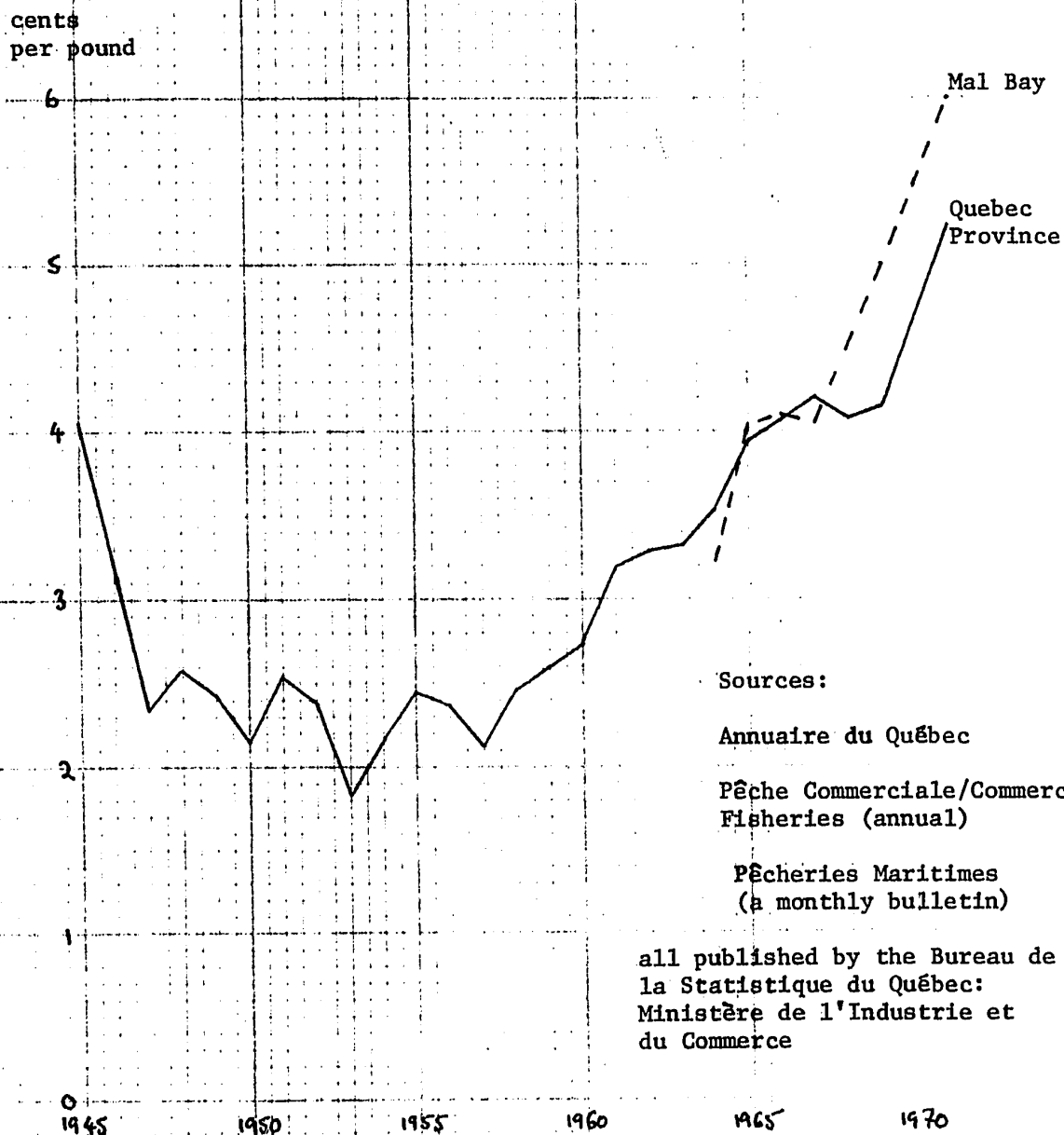
Sources:

Annuaire du Québec

Pêche Commerciale/Commercial
Fisheries (annual)

Pêcheries Maritimes
(a monthly bulletin)

all published by the Bureau de
la Statistique du Québec:
Ministère de l'Industrie et
du Commerce



Despite the restrictions imposed by the loss of skills the number of inshore fishermen is increasing. On the other hand, the longliners - on which a crew member requires rather less skill - are having great difficulty in recruiting and keeping their crews. At the time of writing (March 1972) the two most successful Mal Bay longliners are without crews for the current fishing season. Thus recent developments in the fishery at Mal Bay are the opposite to those intended by the government.

The cod fishery has become more profitable not only through the recent rise in fish prices but also through the availability of a new source of income supplementary to the fishery. Since 1957 the fishermen have been eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. To obtain enough unemployment insurance "stamps" to qualify for the benefit at the maximum rate it is necessary to maintain weekly earnings of more than \$100 for 15 weeks during the summer.¹ This provides for unemployment benefits for five winter months. Not surprisingly this system encourages some fishermen, who seek a minimum of physical discomfort (i.e. fishing in bad weather at the beginning and end of the season) rather than a maximum income to arrange their fishing activities so that these are at the minimum level necessary to qualify for the benefit.

These fishermen - who include most of the inshore fishermen at Mal Bay and some of the deep-sea fishermen - are of the type described by the BAEQ as "pêcheur en 'chômage déguisé'". The BAEQ view of these people was:

C'est le plus souvent le type même du déraciné; il est dans l'attente d'une solution quelconque à ses problèmes et tire,

1. The structure of unemployment benefits is described in Appendix D.

en attendant, le meilleur parti de la situation. Il a perdu tout espoir que la pêche lui offre un jour une solution; s'il s'y livre encore, c'est pour en tirer un revenu d'appoint. Il se livrera à d'autres travaux du genre sans y mettre d'intérêt et dans le but principal d'amasser de timbres suffisants pour jouir tôt à l'automne de l'assurance-chômage.

(BAEQ, 1965b: 233)

The government's approach is thus to blame the lack of a more active interest in the fishery on the pessimistic attitudes of the fishermen. In fact the fishermen's strategy of minimizing effort is quite reasonable given the available sources of cash income. Although from the point of view of management interests in the fishing industry, it would be more profitable if the fishermen were to engage in deep-sea fishing over a prolonged season, this promises less benefits to the fishermen. As we have seen, deep-sea fishing as a crew member is not only less pleasant than inshore fishing but tends to be less remunerative. Thus the problems of inadequate manpower in the deep-sea fishery are not so much the fault of the fishermen as of the government, which has created an economic structure in which the fishermen naturally ~~the~~ the best opportunities open to them.

The same pattern of seasonal work and seasonal unemployment also applies in two other less important forms of activity. In the lumber industry, cutting now takes place in the summer. The workers reside in the traditional camps but improved transportation has made weekly commuting more feasible. The work in the lumber camps is usually unremunerative, and is physically unpleasant because of summer heat, mosquitoes, and black flies. It often implies extended periods of absence from home which are less and less acceptable to those with families. Those who work in the lumber camps are recruited through the Manpower Center and are frequently those who would otherwise be on welfare. The labour force in the lumber camps, to a

much greater extent than in the fishery, is demoralized. The rate of labour turnover is very high. With the changing aspirations and expectations of the region's people, the status of forestry work has become very low and this kind of work is generally avoided if at all possible. According to Camille Legendre in his excellent survey of the forestry labour force:

Dans ce processus de changement, le travail en forêt n'est pas voulu et désiré, mais accepté ou mieux subi comme un pis-aller temporaire qu'on espère toujours abandonner au profit d'une occupation offrant un revenu plus régulier et plus élevé, un emploi plus sûr, des conditions de travail meilleures et un statut social (prestige) mieux reconnu.

(Legendre, 1966: 93-94)

The shift of the seasonal lumber camps from winter to summer has destroyed the old complementarity between farming, fishing and forestry. Thus work in the lumber camps, like fishing, is combined with seasonal unemployment benefits. The effects of this are the same as in the fishery: the workers simply attempt to achieve the longest possible period of paid unemployment:

Les travailleurs forestiers particulièrement dans certaines parties du territoire cessent de travailler dès qu'ils ont accumulé suffisamment de timbres pour être éligibles à l'assurance-chômage. Ce phénomène est si répandu que des entreprises forestières ferment leur opération tôt en hiver faute de main-d'oeuvre.

(Legendre, 1966: 86)

The difficulties of the forestry industry with regard to its labour force are more severe than in the fishery. In the fishery most fishermen are semi-independent entrepreneurs operating from a community base. In forestry they are wage labourers employed by a large company in a distant lumber camp. Legendre comments:

Il semble donc à propos de se demander si la vogue aussi importante des allocations sociales ... ne tiendrait en partie au fait que les entreprises forestières n'ont pas su (ou pu) donner des conditions de travail telles qu'il soit plus alléchant de continuer à travailler en forêt que de rester inactif à la maison, pensionné par l'Etat.

(Legendre, 1966: 90).

The other type of work in Mal Bay that is combined with seasonal unemployment is work in the fish plant. About 20 men are employed at maximum in the plant itself, though few of these are from Mal Bay. The work involves gutting or filleting the fish, and turning the fish drying on the "flakes". Work at the fish plant has always been considered an undesirable occupation. It is often dirty and involves long hours. The wages are at the provincial minimum: about \$1.20 per hour in 1970; \$1.45 per hour in 1971. There are also two men employed by the government at the cold storage plant. By contrast this is a pleasant, secure (if boring) occupation involving maintaining machinery and, on the side, selling frozen fish to casual buyers. All these fish workers draw unemployment pay in the winter. However, the level of income from the fish plant is so low that for some men fish plant work alternates with welfare payments. Others, despite the low status of the job, work at the fish plant rather than draw welfare, even when income from fish plant work (\$250 per month) is similar to that from welfare (\$200 per month).

Nine heads of household in the community were fishing regularly in 1970, including three who own longliners, three who are crew members on longliners, and three who fish in small boats. There are a number of people from outside the community (about 20) who fish from Mal Bay, since Mal Bay has the only government-maintained wharf with fish plant between Sandy Beach

and l'Anse a Beaufils. A few more people, who are mainly on welfare, have small boats in which they fish occasionally. As with farming, the Protestants are slightly over-represented in this traditional-type occupation. Five out of nine fishermen are members of this group. The fishermen do not generally have any occupation other than fishing. Only one does a substantial amount of farming, and a few cut pulpwood. Five heads of household combine other types of commercial activity with seasonal unemployment. These people are distributed among all three groups.

The advantage of this type of adaptation is that it ensures a relatively high level of year-round cash income (especially for the owners of fishing boats) for a seasonal effort. It still permits work at the community level using traditional skills and does not demand a great deal of participation in the modern regional economy. However it represents a move away from the traditional occupational pluralism and it frequently entails some diminution of flexibility (especially through investment in expensive boats). Essentially, the security provided by the subsistence side of the traditional enterprise has been replaced by a security provided by government : unemployment benefits. Just as in the traditional economy the subsistence farm "subsidized" the fishery by permitting very low prices for fish, so in the modern economy the government subsidizes even more heavily the labour costs of the fishing and lumbering industries by paying unemployment benefits, thus ensuring that these industries do not have to meet the full cost of their labour. This is not so much a subsidy to the workers as to the enterprises and less directly to the consumers. On the one hand government permits the continuance of low fish prices. On the other hand, unemployment benefits actively discourage local work during the winter.

It is not permitted to work (for instance, cutting pulpwood) and to draw unemployment pay at the same time. Since the revenue from unemployment pay is likely to be as great as that from pulpwood, and requires no effort, the fishermen are generally idle during the winter. Some of them, however, cut pulpwood and find ways of circumventing the regulations. Effectively, then, by prohibiting productive activity in winter, the seasonal work/seasonal unemployment pattern acts to discourage a full exploitation of local resources and, as we have seen, encourages a dependence on government.

Full-Time Employment

The third type of adaptation is even more divergent from the traditional economy than the seasonal employment/seasonal unemployment pattern. It comprises those who have a year-round source of income which is sufficient without recourse either to subsistence farming or to transfer payments: in other words, those who have achieved an urban kind of full-time, specialized employment. Not surprisingly, the people in this category are few and do not make up more than a small proportion of the heads of household in Mal Bay. They are divided into two classes: those who work in regional centres, and those who are full-time entrepreneurs at the local level.

There are two main potential sources of year-round work outside Mal Bay. The first is the Murdochville mine and the second the service centre of Gaspe. When the Murdochville mine opened in 1953 many people were employed there as construction workers. However, while they welcomed the opportunity for temporary work above ground using their skills in carpentry and building, fewer people were willing to take a job in the mine

itself. The local people did not find the regular hours and conditions of work at the mine congenial. After a major strike and lock-out in 1957, which involved some of the Mal Bay people, few of the original labour force returned. In 1970 no-one from the community was employed at Murdochville.

With the widespread ownership of automobiles, daily commuting to work in Gaspé has become possible. Employment is available in hospitals, schools, construction, and (at Sandy Beach) in the shipyards and fish plants. Jobs are not plentiful but vacancies sometimes occur. The ones that are suitable for the Mal Bay population involve manual labour rather than, say, office work. However, as with the Murdochville mine, the Mal Bay people have not taken up this kind of employment. Two of the three people from Mal Bay working in Gaspé are French-speaking: two are carpenters and one is a laundry worker.

The fact that only one English person is employed outside the immediate locality is highly significant. The general lack of regional employment is not the sole reason. Many people from the neighbouring French-majority village of St. George travel weekly to work in Murdochville or daily to work in Gaspé, and few pursue any kind of local livelihood. The reasons for the lack of participation of the Mal Bay people do not seem to lie wholly in linguistic discrimination against the English. There are undoubtedly jobs which are only open to those who are bilingual, or in which French is the sole language of work. However, there are other jobs - for instance with B. C. Packers, a fishing company operating at Sandy Beach - where to be English is actually an asset. The main reason for the non-participation of the English population of Mal Bay is that they perceive their chances of finding regional work as being very small. At the regional level they feel

threatened by the majority, even if no such threat exists. They prefer the security of community-level existence.

At the community level there are seven people who are full-time entrepreneurs. From the community point of view the most important of these is Henri Bourget, the owner and manager of the fish plant. The fish plant, as we have seen, buys the fish "green" from the fishermen. The intake of the plant has doubled from 1961 (when Henri Bourget acquired the plant from Robin) to 1970. This compares with a provincial catch of cod which has changed little in the same period (Fig. 25). The plant is an integrated, low-cost operation producing fillets (the small fish), dried fish (the medium fish) and green salt fish (the large fish). Cod tongues, sole fillets, and halibut are subsidiary products. The dried fish constitutes the bulk of the output. It is sold through Robin to the United States.

Other entrepreneurs include two store owners, the manager of the cold storage plant (not strictly an entrepreneur since he is employed by the Provincial Government), a campground owner (who is also the Protestant School Board secretary and a school-bus driver), a motel/restaurant owner, and a garage/trucking business owner. Some of these cater strictly to the local population and are year-round enterprises: notably the two stores and the garage, which specializes in auto repair. Others are more or less seasonal, such as the campground and motel/restaurant (open for 2½ months during the tourist season), the cold storage plant (open throughout the maximum fishing season: 8 months) and the trucking business (which continues only while the roads are clear). The tourist trade, which is highly seasonal (July and August) also means temporary employment for up to 10 women in the motel and restaurant.

Fig. 25 Quantity of Codfish Landed, Mal Bay and Quebec Province

227

thousand
pounds

1500

1000

500

Mal Bay^a

Source:

"Pêcheries Maritimes"

Bureau de la Statistique du
Québec: Ministère de l'Industrie
et du Commerce

60,000

50,000

40,000

Quebec Province

^athe figures for Mal Bay
have only been available
since 1964

1964

65

66

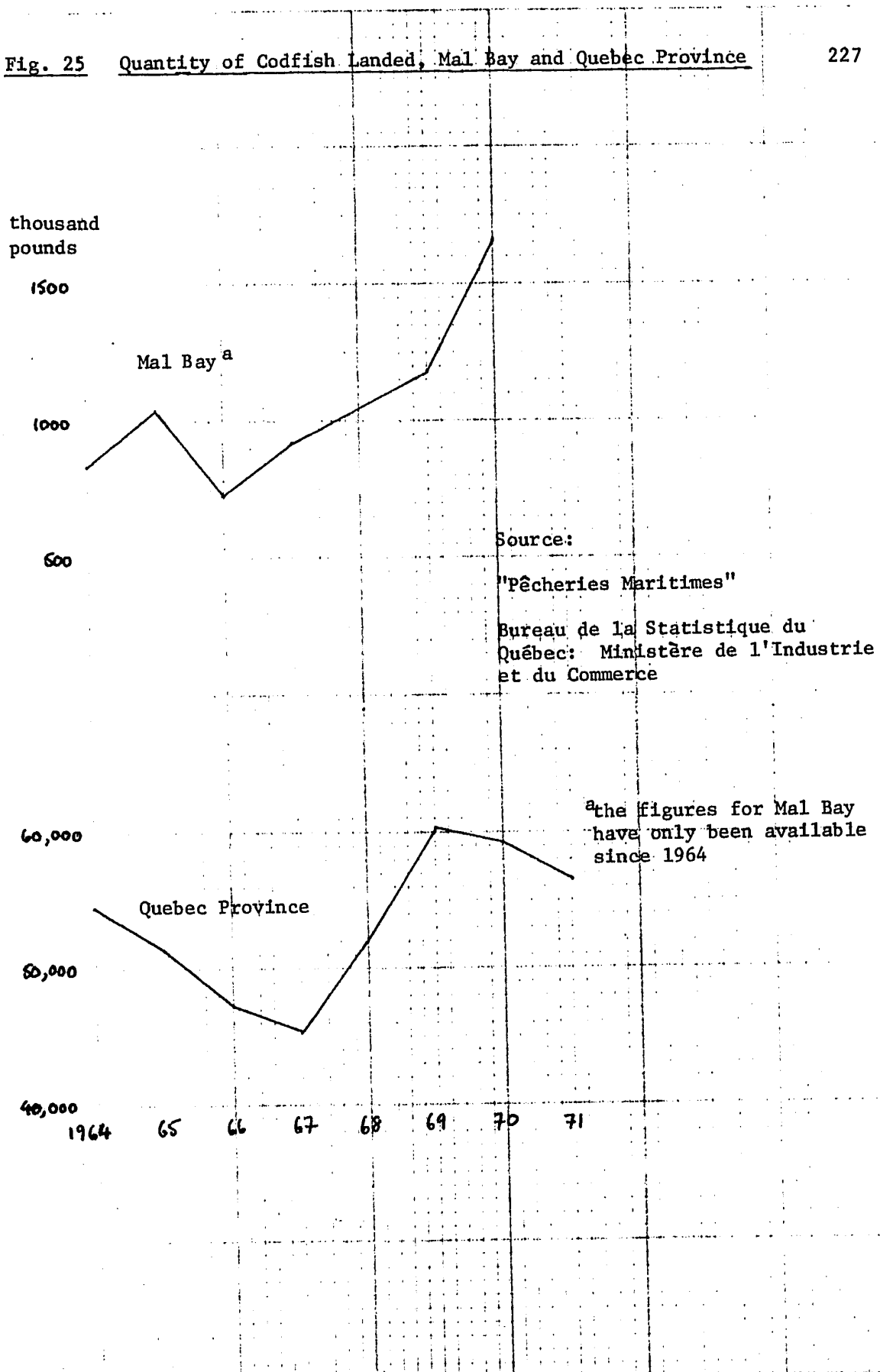
67

68

69

70

71



It is impossible to gauge the income from these local enterprises. However the people involved in them do not depend on subsistence farming or on transfer payments. They are the most prosperous people in the community. Despite the fact that the Protestants are still the largest group in Mal Bay, most of the entrepreneurs are Catholic. This is in marked contrast to the position in 1925. Further, three of the seven entrepreneurs are French, including the fish plant owner. All three are highly bilingual, whereas three of the four English-speaking entrepreneurs are not bilingual.

Finding full-time work at the regional level, and, more especially, finding full-time work at the local level, requires considerable initiative as a substitute for the educational qualifications which the local people do not possess. In particular, to be a local entrepreneur, it is necessary to create one's own niche in the local economy: a procedure which requires a great deal of hard work and self-sacrifice in a situation where most people tend to do as little work as possible. In the last years of the traditional economy - the period 1935-1960 - it was the Protestant group who furnished the local entrepreneurs endowed with this kind of ethic. In the contemporary situation the former Protestant entrepreneurs have reached retirement while their children have left the region. The new entrepreneurial class, even in an English-speaking village such as Mal Bay, is tending to be French and bilingual. Because of the impinging of the region on the community, the remaining three entrepreneurs speaking only English all encounter difficulties through not being fluent in French. Thus, in addition to the problem of creating economic opportunities in a peripheral situation where few openings exist, the English group, even if they are prepared for hard work, find that rather than being privileged by

the language situation (as in the traditional economy), they now discover English (without ability in French) to be a disadvantage. Because of this, the new local entrepreneurs - and the new local leaders - are tending to be French-speaking.

Reliance on the State

The fourth and final kind of adaptation is the direct opposite of the entrepreneurial type. It involves no work, and instead, requires complete dependence on transfer payments. Over half the population of Mal Bay - 29 out of 57 households - practise this kind of livelihood. These are divided evenly between those on welfare and those who are retired.

Welfare benefits are paid to those who are semi-permanently out of work. Often those on welfare are classified as physically unfit for work - in the government's view those who are "unemployable" - but generally they are not so much physically or mentally deficient as simply unable to participate effectively in the modern sectors of the economy. Unemployment benefits depend on the unemployed person having worked sufficiently during the previous year to accumulate enough unemployment insurance contributions to qualify for the benefit. However welfare payments are made on the basis of demonstrated need and vary according to such criteria as family size. Welfare benefits are not difficult to obtain but the social stigma attached to them is very considerable.

The welfare recipients constitute the poorest sector of the community (average household income not more than \$200 per month) and welfare is one of the most sensitive issues in Mal Bay. This is not so much because of the welfare payments themselves as because of the attributes and attitudes

associated with them. Since welfare is based on need rather than being a reward for previous productive activity, many people who are on welfare feel a sense of shame and demoralization. Welfare provides a sufficient income but is incompatible with work. Although some people on welfare carry out fishing or farming or cut pulpwood, in theory it is illegal to have any source of income other than the welfare cheque. To avoid detection, people on welfare take out fishing permits or handle cash in the name of another member of the family. Those who have been on welfare some time, and whom the social condemnation of welfare has driven to defeat and indifference rather than getting clear of welfare, develop considerable skill both in holding supplementary sources of income and in extracting the maximum amount from the welfare office. Welfare is not only dispensed in the form of monthly cheques but also by means of payment of heating and lighting bills.

The attitude of those who are either working or retired towards those on welfare is more or less critical. Some people expressed sympathy with the welfare recipients, stating that it was impossible to find work locally. Others - the majority - felt that people on welfare were lazy and did not want to work; that the fact that many people received substantial handouts made a mockery of those who did work; and that people on welfare mis-spent their money on drink and neglected their families. "Bond's (the local hotel) biggest night is when the welfare cheques come in" commented one man bitterly.

Welfare is generally associated with a sense of defeat and defensiveness. The most characteristic - but by no means universal - expression of this demoralization is a turn to heavy drinking and in some instances to

alcoholism. Other expressions are a lack of interest in the well-being of the family - most significantly, a lack of interest in education - and a lack of interest in finding new work locally or in migrating outside the region to work in the cities. Some of those on welfare have in fact tried and failed to establish themselves in the city, and have returned defeated to Mal Bay. The highest percentage of welfare recipients is found among the English Catholic group: one third of them are on welfare. This reflects the fact that the people on welfare are frequently the sons or grandsons of those who were labourers - the poorest class - in 1925. The whole complex of attitudes - pessimism, lack of interest in education, demoralization - which accompanies welfare means that poverty is very likely to be transmitted from one generation to another. It is not, as the Development Plan suggested, a one-generation phenomenon.

Fifteen heads of household in the community are in retirement. Retirement pensions are available to those over 65 years of age. If inadequate, they can be supplemented by welfare benefits, though this is not generally necessary. Some old people carry out a minimum of farming, gardening, and pulpwood cutting, which are not incompatible with the receipt of a pension. Like unemployment benefits, retirement pensions are regarded as a reward for previous productive activity and so do not incur the social stigma of welfare. Predominant among those in retirement are the Protestants, of whom over a third are receiving their pension. At the other extreme, nearly all the French group are still working.

The advantage of an adaptation involving total dependence on the government - if one can qualify for it - is that it permits a life of almost no work with a secure basic income. The disadvantages are that the basic

income is at a low level (for both pensions and welfare) although this can be augmented more or less illegally by other types of income. In the case of welfare, there is a very considerable social stigma attached. This results in a high level of initial resistance to receiving welfare payments. However the resistance diminishes as welfare recipients become more and more accustomed to and dependent upon this mode of living. Eventually they accept the general condemnation of the working members of the community but only at the cost of becoming largely demoralized and entangled in a vicious circle of continuing poverty.

The Survival of Mal Bay

The essential strategy of the Mal Bay population has remained the same throughout the process of economic change. They have sought to maintain themselves in the community and to minimize the risks involved in doing so. In the traditional economy they followed a subsistence/commercial occupational pluralism and shared the risks involved in commercial activity with the local fish merchant. In sharing risks with the merchant (through indebtedness) they also surrendered to him a large measure of control over their lives. Effectively the merchant charged high interest rates for risk-sharing by maintaining low fish prices and high store prices. However, the local people retained their independent status as peasant fishermen/farmers even if this did mean a low living standard.

Through the process of changing aspirations and rising levels of cash income the Mal Bay people have continued to maintain their independence and their community. A vast new source of cash income and of security has become available: government. The security provided by transfer payments

has replaced the security provided by subsistence production, so that subsistence production has been largely abandoned. Of the 57 male heads of household in Mal Bay, 47 receive either winter unemployment benefits or year-round welfare or retirement pensions. For many of these 47 - for people working part-time as well as for people who are wholly unemployed - economic activity consists of trying to utilize to the full this abundant resource. Just as, in the old situation, the subsistence economy was made viable by having a small cash income from the fishery, so in the modern situation, the transfer-payment economy is made more viable by carrying out temporary, and often illegal, commercial activity.

One of the costs of the transfer-payment economy is the surrendering of local control. This is not so much a feature of simply being on welfare - though this implies a dependence on government - as a feature of the entire regional economy, which in every respect is now regulated by the government. Far from being a more democratic or participatory regime than that of the fishing companies, the government is highly alienated from the people whose interests it claims to represent.

The other cost of the transfer payment system - and particularly of being on welfare - is social condemnation. Welfare is not respectable, and welfare recipients are severely criticized by those who are working. Many people point out - including regional leaders - that a good deal of employment is available. There are undoubtedly job vacancies - in temporary construction work, in the deep-sea fishing fleet, in the lumber industry - at the same time as very high unemployment levels. However many of these jobs are short-term, and do not bring access to winter unemployment benefits. Without unemployment benefits, there is little point in giving up welfare

for short-term work. Further, those jobs which could be combined with seasonal unemployment benefits, such as work in the lumber camps or on the trawlers, often involve poor working conditions and meagre pay. For those who have large families and low educational qualifications, welfare (combined with illicit pulpwood cutting, fishing, auto repair, etc.) represents a more profitable alternative than work. Thus, given that welfare is easily accessible, and that genuine employment opportunities are few, it is wrong to blame local people for making the most of this alternative. What is surprising is not that so many people are on welfare, but that some families, even when those around them are all enjoying a government-sponsored life of leisure, still have the courage to continue to struggle to find work and to create a viable and productive livelihood.

Most of the people born in Mal Bay leave the community to go to live and work in the city. The people who remain in Mal Bay are often those who lack the qualifications of education and initiative to adapt to city life. The Mal Bay population is one that is increasingly impoverished by this migration as regards leadership and enterprise. However, Mal Bay is not simply a community of the less fortunate. In many respects it still includes those who have gone away. Migration to find work was an integral part of the traditional economy. Young men went to lumber camps, to construction sites, and to Prairie harvests for many months, and sometimes years, at a time. The object of their migration was not to create new homes for themselves but to make the Mal Bay community more viable. Even among those who went away for several years, many eventually returned. The present pattern is not totally dissimilar. In the months of July and August there is a vast influx of "visitors": people who have themselves grown up in the

village and who are now working in Montreal or Toronto, but who return to Mal Bay to spend their holidays staying at the houses of their relatives. The economic significance of the returning migrants is not as great as in the traditional economy, as they do not contribute substantial remittances to those living in the community. However their social significance is enormous. Despite the fact that July and August are the busiest months in most occupations, homes which are receiving visitors take on the aspect of a festival. Many people commented that the community only "came alive" during this period when its residents who were away returned for their annual visit.

Many of the young people who leave the region are undoubtedly attracted by the rural milieu and retain a deep attachment to the community. One of the most common statements made on the subject in Mal Bay is "if only there was work around here, they'd all come back". While some of this may be wishful thinking on the part of present residents, there is no doubt that the creation of local employment would encourage many to return from what is often a struggle in the alien world of the city. Since secure employment is not available in Mal Bay, the emigrants must continue to work in Montreal or Toronto. However, like the seasonal migrants in the traditional economy, the Mal Bay people in the city remain members of the Mal Bay community, and it is to this community that many of them hope to return. The summer reunions are a symbol of the continuing unity of resident and non-resident Mal Bay people. It is on these reunions that the social survival of the community largely depends.

Mal Bay has become detached from both its immediate physical environment and from its regional context. This is largely a result of government policy. Transfer payments, as we have seen, have removed the need for

subsistence production. More than this, they actively discourage exploitation of local resources. The old occupational pluralism required maximum use of the local opportunities of physical and economic environment. Transfer payments - welfare, unemployment pay - prohibit the use of this environment. The people are forced to choose between either local resource exploitation - for instance, farming, or winter work on the woodlot - and transfer payments. Usually the latter are more profitable. However it seems to be a mistake for this choice to be posed at all. Transfer payments should encourage, rather than discourage, productive activity. One of the reasons for the government's transfer-payment policy is that it hopes to encourage participation in modern, regional industries and conversely to discourage the traditional, local, occupational pluralism. In a few French-speaking villages this objective may have been attained. Local people then become commuters to full-time work in regional centres. However, as we have seen, local population processes - resistance to assimilation and to bilingualism - have tended to isolate the English in Mal Bay. This isolation is supported by the institutional support which they receive as a minority-language group. They have not therefore overcome the linguistic and psychological barriers to regional integration, and prefer to retain their transfer-payment support at the community level.

We therefore have a picture of contemporary Mal Bay in which the economy is supported by the government and the social life by those of its members who return as visitors from the city. As long as these supports are continued there is not likely to be any threat to the future existence of the community. However it no longer possesses its own economic and social dynamism: it is a dependent, residual community. For this reason its members

are powerless, frustrated, and bitter at being unable to alter the course of events. However they possess a very high degree of ability to adapt externally-directed changes to suit their own ends. Their goal, as in the former peasant economy, is one of survival. Their aim is the preservation of the community - the familiar social group living in the familiar place - to which they are so deeply attached.

PART IV

THE FUTURE OF THE PERIPHERY

Chapter Ten

UNDERSTANDING THE PERIPHERY

The Core-Periphery Framework: Elaboration and Assessment

The theoretical framework used as background for this thesis describes how the development of a peripheral region such as the Gaspé Coast has been constrained by its economic relations with metropolitan or core regions. Economic development of the Gaspé Coast was initiated from Europe by merchants who exploited a primary resource - codfish - for export. Control of the export enterprise in terms of management and finance remained in the core region. In the long run, the export trade in dried codfish became unprofitable and the original colonial entrepreneurs - the Jersey merchants - withdrew from the export business. At the same time, the resources of the Gaspé Coast - mines, forests, fisheries - have been developed in new ways from a North American rather than from a European core region. The North American metropolis has replaced the European metropolis in dominating the economic life of the Gaspé Coast, but the Gaspé Coast has at all times retained its peripheral role.

The core-periphery model outlined in this way does not fully explain why the Gaspé Coast has failed to develop. It provides an explanation of the phenomena of outmigration, high levels of unemployment, and rural poverty which characterize the present economic and social life of the region. However account must be taken of the fact that some areas of North America which were formerly themselves peripheries have now become prosperous and dominant core regions. Here the "staple theory" is valuable in accounting for the origins of growth. At the same time, the core-

periphery framework is retained to explain the continued existence of disparities.

The "staple theorists", of whom Harold Innis (1954, 1956) was foremost, have sought to interpret Canadian economic development in terms of the consequences of reliance on various types of export commodity - fish, fur, lumber, agricultural products, and so on - for growth in the peripheral regions. The extent of development at the periphery has been a function of the nature and quality of the particular resources found there. In some regions - for instance southern Ontario - a favourable resource base has led to sustained economic growth. In others, such as Newfoundland and the Gaspé Coast, a less favourable resource base has given rise to persistent underdevelopment.

Economic growth is also affected by the accessibility of resources. On the Gaspé Coast, the long winters limit the fishery to five or six months of the year. Likewise, farming is severely restricted by the short growing season. In times past, when forestry was a major source of winter employment, the three types of economic activity were largely complementary to each other. The shift of forestry operations to the summer months has decreased the profitability of each of the primary industries, since very little work is carried out during the winter.

The economic impoverishment of the Gaspé Coast is not to be explained solely by a "lack of resources": this type of explanation would be directly in contradiction with the core-periphery framework and would substitute an environmental determinism for a model which tends towards economic determinism. In any case, to characterize the Gaspé Coast as lacking in resources is an over-simplification. The Gaspé Coast experienced relatively

early colonial penetration because it did possess in abundance a resource that was in great demand: codfish.¹ However the economic linkages associated with codfish were small. The region has never supported a large population.

The main backward linkage (investment in home production of inputs for the export sector) associated with staple production has usually been the building of transport systems. These in themselves imply an extensive investment in the colonial area and may create further important spread effects. In the cod fishery, this type of backward linkage was unimportant. The cod fishery did not require any investment in land transportation but relied on shipping. For a brief period before the advent of steamships this linkage did lead to the construction and operation of sailing schooners from the Gaspe Coast. But in general, shipping was supplied either by the fish merchants themselves or by metropolitan-based entrepreneurs. Thus the benefits of investment in this linkage went almost entirely to the metropolitan areas which supplied the shipping.

Forward linkage consists of investment in industry which uses the export commodity as an input, "adding value" to it by further processing. In the traditional fishery, the only value-adding process was fish drying. In some respects, drying codfish rather than simply pickling it and shipping it "green" was a significant linkage as it encouraged the development of permanent settlement as opposed to seasonal fishing ships. However the manner of its drying, by family labour, did not generate commercial investment.

1. Much of this discussion is based on Watkins' (1967) excellent analysis of staple theory.

Only recently, with the opening of plants processing fresh fish, has the industry developed commercial forward linkages.

Final demand linkage (investment in industries producing consumer goods for the domestic market) has been weak on the Gaspé Coast because the region has supported only a small population. At the same time, the lack of industrial development is itself a cause of the small population. Traditionally, this population has had low income levels and has furnished a large proportion of its consumption needs by subsistence production. In recent years the increased demand for consumer goods has been met by importing supplies from metropolitan centres and not by local industrial production. The only significant final demand linkage on the Gaspé Coast has been the stimulus to development in the tertiary sector: services, and particularly retailing. However these have often been controlled by outside entrepreneurs (traditionally: the fish merchants; recently: metropolitan-based supermarkets) and have given relatively little benefit to the Gaspé Coast.

The fact that the fishery has created few linkages has been a major problem in regional expansion. A further problem has been the lack of alternative development-generating resources. The forest reserves of the Gaspé Coast are substantial but have not given rise to sustained growth outside of the pulp-mill towns. In the past, much of the lumber has been cut and then exported to other areas - to New Brunswick pulp mills, to British mines as pit props - generating virtually no forward linkages. At the present time, the two main pulp and paper companies are controlled from outside the region. They do not contribute any investment in linked industries on the Gaspé Coast. The same is true of the mining industry. Gaspé Copper Mines, a subsidiary of Noranda Mines, has invested little in the region out-

side the mine complex and the mine town of Murdochville has not become a growth pole.¹

The most basic deficiency on the Gaspé Coast has been the lack of agricultural resources. A well-developed agriculture not only provides commodities for export but also meets local needs. It quickly leads to import substitution (replacing of imported agricultural products by home-produced goods) and to development of a domestic commercial economy through processing plants, markets, and finally domestic production of agricultural machinery. The variety of agricultural products leads to a much more diversified economy than single-staple fisheries or forest resources. However Gaspesian agriculture has never developed much beyond a subsistence stage. Climatic limitations make general commercial agricultural expansion unprofitable. There has in the past been widespread subsistence agriculture, which has meant that there has been little need to import foodstuffs and no local agricultural marketing structure. At present most foodstuffs are imported: this has generated local retailing activity but has virtually eliminated any local agricultural base. This important spur to development has been absent on the Gaspé Coast.

Initial differences in resource potential thus provide the starting point for present disparities. They do not explain the vast divergence in development between core and periphery. It is not the presence of resources in Montreal and their absence in Mal Bay that accounts for the different levels of prosperity in the two places. Rather, the initial differences in the characteristics of the staples and in their stimulus to development are magnified by subsequent processes of change.

One reason for the escalation of disparities lies in the process

1. LaBarre (1966) analyzes the lack of spread effects from the Murdochville mine.

of investment in new industries. Resources at the periphery are developed by enterprises at the core, which provide capital and management. The profits made by these enterprises are reinvested in what appear to be the most financially lucrative areas. This generally means either investment in expanding export production at the periphery, or investment in other economic activities at the core. For instance, there is a tendency for processing and manufacturing of raw materials to take place at the core rather than in the peripheral region. The alternative economic opportunities of the periphery tend to be disregarded, either because they present too high a degree of risk, or because they are less profitable than metropolitan opportunities. Thus, while the economy of the peripheral region remains controlled by core-based enterprises, there is likely to be a net transfer of wealth from periphery to core. Substantial investment will not take place at the periphery and hence autonomous development will not be generated.

The only way in which a region can overcome its peripherality and become a core is by securing control of its economy and promoting economic development through indigenous entrepreneurship and indigenous financing. The development of New England appears to be an example of this. As in Atlantic Canada, the fishery in New England was a major commercial activity. New England merchants, unlike the English West Country merchants of the Newfoundland fishery, were based in the colonial region. They pursued an aggressive commercial polity and were able to gain substantial economic independence even before the American revolution. They organized a fishery in Canadian waters, bought fish from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and developed an important shipping industry. They were aided by the possibility of a winter fishery, and a geographical location closer to the West Indies

markets than was Atlantic Canada. Most significantly, there was considerable potential for local agriculture. Hence, in contrast to the lack of development arising from the fisheries in Atlantic Canada, New England experienced commercial prosperity. With a growing population, this prosperity became cumulative. Once a peripheral region, New England became a metropolitan region through securing control over its own future.

In the same way, though rather more slowly, Canadian metropolitan centres have emerged, in areas well endowed with development-generating staples and able to gain economic autonomy. However the Gaspé Coast has remained a periphery. Its location, far from major urban centres, has remained a disadvantage. Its resources are still exploited by metropolitan-based enterprises. Outside the primary industries (fisheries, forests, mines) it does not offer a potential for investment comparable with the core regions. No major centres of population have emerged. Hence the profits made from the exploitation of the resources of the Gaspé Coast are reinvested elsewhere. The Gaspé Coast remains impoverished, unattractive to new investment and contributing to the development of the core regions rather than to its own development. The fact that the European core has been replaced by a North American core has not altered this process.

Inequalities in development, initially a result of different resource endowment, are accentuated not only by patterns of investment but by the "backwash effects" of growth centres. Within a single country where there are no political barriers to the mobility of factors of production, these affect both industries and populations at the periphery. Peripheral industries, except for those immediately concerned with the exploitation and processing of primary resources, are undermined by metropolitan-based

industries, which have greater locational advantages such as transport, services, access to raw materials and to markets. The sparseness of peripheral as opposed to metropolitan populations makes many types of industry, which rely on mass production and a large volume of sales, impossible in regions with limited markets. The improvement in communications between core and periphery makes core-produced goods cheaper in the periphery: it thus forces peripheral industries, with their weaker competitive position, out of business. Industrial growth in the metropolis tends to be cumulative and industrial decline at the periphery endemic. At the same time, peripheral populations are unable to find employment in the peripheral regions because of the lack of industrial development. The most educated and most enterprising young people migrate to the growing metropolitan centres, leaving the periphery with a stagnant or declining population with an impoverished age structure. As a result, peripheral communities tend to decay and become even less attractive to new investment.¹ The present disparities within Canada are explained in part by differences in initial resource potential. The staple theory accounts most adequately for the beginnings of development in some areas and the lack of such development in others. The core-periphery model, which relates the growth of core regions to the underdevelopment of the periphery, provides the most accurate understanding of the persistence of disparities between regions over long periods of time. Together, the two theories provide a clear picture of the cumulative poverty of the Gaspé Coast.

1. This aspect of the core-periphery framework is best summarized by Myrdal (1963) in his model of cumulative causation. A good Quebec analysis is by Hirsch (1967).

A Comparative View: Populations at the Periphery in Atlantic Canada

The contemporary economic position of the Gaspé Coast is similar to that of many other regions of Atlantic Canada. The ARDA maps (Canada. Department of Forestry, 1964) have shown most rural areas of the Atlantic Provinces to be in an equally disadvantaged position. Many of the environmental features of the Atlantic Provinces are the same as those of the Gaspé Coast. Abundant marine resources and forested interior regions, but limited agricultural potential because of the cool summers, are common to Newfoundland, Labrador and the Quebec North Shore, and much of Nova Scotia. Like that of the Gaspé Coast, the historical development of these regions has been based on the cod fisheries. The fishery was initially organized by British-based merchants for an export trade to European and Caribbean markets. Settlement was promoted indirectly by the fishery and was confined largely to coastal regions. The same systems of production and processing have been used as on the Gaspé Coast: the same types of relationship have existed between peasant producers and merchants. In recent years, the traditional economy of many of these regions has undergone transformations similar to those on the Gaspé Coast: movement towards a centralized, deep-sea fishery supplying large fresh-fish plants; the pressure towards relocation of dispersed rural communities. The Atlantic region as a whole encounters the same kinds of problems as the Gaspé Coast: high unemployment levels, dependence on transfer payments, cynicism about government, and the chronic inability of the rural economy to support the rural population.

The adaptive strategies used by the Mal Bay people in the traditional economy were those of household occupational pluralism, and risk-sharing with merchants. These enabled the people to maximize use of the

opportunities open to them and to minimize the risks involved in commitment to any one activity.¹ These strategies are characteristic of peasant producers operating under the uncertain economic conditions of the periphery.

Similar strategies are reported among rural populations elsewhere in the Atlantic region. Biays (1964) identifies a pluralistic occupational structure as being characteristic of the marginal zones of northern Quebec and Labrador. Like the government planners on the Gaspé Coast, he views pluralism as an impediment to progress. The lack of specialization contributes to an anachronistic agriculture and fishery. In the Magdalen Islands, Daigle (1968) describes a rural economy up to the early 1930s which was very similar to that of the Gaspé Coast in the same period. Tasks were shared by members of the household, with the men playing the main role in fishing, and the women directing the farming and fish-drying operations. Two major studies of the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by Junek (1937) and Tremblay, Charest and Breton (1969) contain lengthy accounts of the seasonal round of activities in traditional-type communities. The latter outlines the main economic changes taking place during the preceding 50 years as well as providing considerable information about the occupational structure of the community. Both studies lack an analysis of the way in which the various kinds of activity are combined. However, on the North Shore, as in the Magdalen Islands, the key features of seasonal occupations, seasonal migration, the combining of subsistence and commercial activity, and economic organization at a household level, are similar to those found in Mal Bay.

In a general analysis of economic change in rural Canada, Whyte

1. These strategies are described in Chapter Seven.

draws attention to two of these features: the nature of the household labour supply and the way in which subsistence and commercial production are combined. For instance, he points out the value of child labour in rural areas:

In most rural areas, children are assigned farm chores at an early age, and provide a significant contribution to the total labour supply of the farm enterprise long before they reach what is considered in urban areas to be the minimum employable age of 16 years.

(Whyte, 1966: 21)

In the Atlantic Provinces the farm has provided a subsistence base while the farmers have sought off-farm cash income:

In contrast to other regions of the country, the farmers in parts of the Atlantic provinces and Quebec have traditionally been employed in other primary industries besides farming, such as fishing and forestry. Many farmers rely on their farms primarily for food, shelter, and fuel, and derive the larger proportion of their cash income from nonfarm employment.

(Whyte, 1966: 35)

In the Notre Dame Bay area of Newfoundland Wadel (1969b) finds a rural economy that still maintains its traditional pluralism. The resources - farms, forests, fish - are the same as those formerly exploited in Mal Bay. Wadel distinguishes between the combining of several jobs by one man, and the combining of various labour inputs at the household level. Thus there are two types of linkages in the outport economy: "... linkages between actual physical sources of income which may be termed occupational pluralism, and linkages in the form of specific reciprocal relations within the household which may be termed household pluralism" (Wadel, 1969b: 55). The other kinds of pluralism found in Mal Bay were also present in Notre Dame Bay. The principal seasonal migration was from Newfoundland to the summer Labrador

fishery.¹ Production was for both subsistence and commercial purposes: "The distinguishing feature of the traditional outport economy was a balanced combination of subsistence production ... and production for exchange. While the subsistence sector of the economy comprised a variety of products, outport production for exchange was largely restricted to cod " (Wadel, 1969b: 9).

Risk-sharing with merchants involved in the supply business as well as the export trade was also general throughout those regions of Atlantic Canada which were concerned with the fishery. The merchants advanced the fishermen equipment and provisions on credit in return for their catch of fish. In the more marginal environments, the lack of a diversified economy - particularly the lack of agricultural development - gave rise to an almost complete dependence on the trading companies. Juneke describes the system of unequal barter in Blanc-Sablon:

Neither the Hudson's Bay Company nor the L. T. Blais Company, Ltd., - the two trade monopolies operating in and around Blanc-Sablon - pays cash for codfish, salmon, or furs. The fishermen, trappers, and hunters, after bringing in their products receive their remuneration in merchandise, most of which is of an edible nature. The two companies - the only outlet the folk have for their wares - profit both ways, therefore; first, on the goods they receive in trade and at figures dictated by themselves, and second, on the merchandise they give out in trade and upon which they place their own values. Each of these is naturally to the detriment of the folk, who nevertheless, being almost entirely helpless, and with no way of ordering their commercial affairs, are forced to submit to such terms.

(Juneke, 1937: 85)

The exploitation of the fishermen by the merchants through long-term indebtedness has been described by countless writers, both contemporary and modern.

1. The equivalent in Mal Bay had been summer migration to the North Shore.

Less attention has been given to the "symbiotic" nature of the merchant-fisherman relationship, by which the fisherman depended on the merchant as a supplier of credit just as the merchant depended on the fisherman as a supplier of an export commodity.

The commercial interdependence of fisherman and merchant was reinforced by their personal interaction. As Wadel (1969b) points out, the fishermen did not have any collective relationship with the merchants. Each fisherman bargained, and made a contract, with the merchant as an individual. The personal relationship between merchant and fisherman was reflected in their attitudes to each other. The merchant, on the one hand, saw himself as having a paternalistic moral obligation to help the fisherman. The fisherman, on the other hand, needed the merchant but was suspicious and resentful of him. Richardson sums up the situation as it existed on Long Island, Nova Scotia:

The fish buyers feel a strong obligation to buy the fishermen's catches and they supply most of the fishermen with gear. During the depression they gave credit to a large number of fishermen. The fishermen have ambivalent feelings towards the fish buyers: on the one hand, they are dependent on them and respect the leadership the buyers give to the community in many cases; on the other hand, they feel jealous and resentful of the profits they feel the buyers make for the work they do.

(Richardson, 1952: 20)

The merchants performed two other roles in the fishing communities. Firstly, they acted as redistributors of income. They bore the risk involved in outfitting the fishermen, and insured themselves against the inevitable losses by marking up prices in the store. By "carrying" the heavily indebted fishermen, the merchants redistributed income from successful to less successful fishermen. In doing this they guaranteed a minimum standard

of living for all the fishing population. Secondly, the merchant acted as an intermediary between the people and the outside world. These two roles are summed up by Wadel:

The merchants indeed took upon themselves many of the functions that at present are regarded as the responsibility of governments. They established 'public' facilities and most important they gave a basic security to all outport residents. The latter role they performed through a well recognized government technique, redistribution.

(Wadel, 1969a: 7)

Thus a simple view of the role of the merchant as "exploitative" is inaccurate. The merchants had a complex relationship with the fishing communities in which mutual interdependence was an important factor. Undoubtedly many merchants did gain wealth and power at the expense of the poverty of the fishermen. Their periodic large profits protected them (and therefore the population) from cyclical fluctuations in market conditions. However both merchant and fisherman were involved in what was generally an unprofitable peripheral economy. In this situation the merchants, for a price, offered the fishermen one means of ensuring security.

In all but the most remote parts of Atlantic Canada change has undermined the "traditional economy". On the Gaspé Coast, important structural modifications have taken place in regional economic organization. There has been a move towards centralized processing plants in the primary industries, employing rationalized technology and a smaller labour force. This has been accompanied by a change of control, from the old locally-identified merchants to new metropolitan-based corporate enterprise in which government is a major partner. Centralization of economic institutions has been paralleled by "regionalization" of many social and political institutions

such as school boards and municipal governments. The structural modifications that have taken place on the Gaspé Coast have been generally repeated throughout Atlantic Canada.

In the Magdalen Islands, Daigle (1968) identifies two phases of change similar to those taking place on the Gaspé Coast. The first phase, in the period 1931-1951, involved the breakdown of the traditional barter economy and its replacement by a monetary economy. It was a period of organizational rather than technological change. The old fish merchants were successfully challenged by local co-operatives. However, both the merchants and the co-operatives were threatened by the low profitability of producing the traditional commodity: salt codfish. As a response to this, important technological changes took place in the period 1951-1967. These changes included the move from salt to frozen fish, the development of trawlers and the declining importance of coastal fishing, a reduction in the number of harbours, and a concentration of fish processing facilities in larger plants: in other words, the same process of "rationalization" as was characteristic of the Gaspé Coast.

At the time of Richardson's (1952) study in Nova Scotia, the first phase - organizational change - was under way. A co-operative had emerged as a challenge to private merchants but all buyers were still concerned with salt fish production. The second phase - technological change - was imminent, and this constitutes the focus of Richardson's work. A detailed description of the various technological alterations in the period 1845-1950 showed that none had seriously disrupted the traditional way of life. However, in the early 1950s, the inshore fishing communities were seriously threatened by the encroachment of deep-sea trawlers. The communities were

under pressure to adopt new fishing techniques which were likely to mean a complete re-organization of the old ways.

The most important analyses of structural change in the regional economy have been made in Newfoundland. Here, there do not seem to be two phases of change (organizational and technological) as on the Gaspé Coast. The co-operative movement has never gained a firm footing. The traditional, highly-dispersed, inshore fishing communities have been directly challenged by centralized fresh-fish plants using deep-sea fishing techniques. The two types of economic structure persist side by side in the Newfoundland fishery; hence some writers such as Brox (1969) interpret the economy as "dualistic": "On the one hand, there are very modern, sophisticated, technologically up-to-date industries. On the other, there are economic practices and techniques that appear almost medieval ..." (Brox, 1969: 7). At the same time the government has intervened, to an even greater extent than in the Province of Quebec, on the side of modern industry. It has encouraged the deep-sea fishery and attempted to close many of the outports, more or less forcibly resettling populations in central locations.

Biays (1964), viewing the situation in Newfoundland in the same terms as the government, considers the traditional occupational pluralism of the outports inefficient. Centralization of population and industry is necessary to create a "professionalized" commercial agriculture and fishery, and hence to eliminate underdevelopment:

A Terre-Neuve, la réorganisation des pêcheries amène la destruction progressive de l'agriculture complémentaire. La concentration de la pêche dans quelques grands ports industrialisés, son évolution vers une activité à plein temps, l'abandon des outports isolés ne permettent plus l'exploitation de la terre, par manque de temps et manque de place et par suite de l'inutilité d'un supplément de

revenu. Le processus d'urbanisation qui accompagne ces transformations favorise, en outre, le développement de l'agriculture commerciale au détriment de l'agriculture d'appoint. Ces deux formes d'économie rurale sont de plus en plus antinomiques. Maintenir la seconde serait maintenir le sous-développement.

(Biays, 1964: 329)

Two facets of change in the Newfoundland outports are described by Wadel (1969b). Firstly, there has been an expansion of the service sector: a trend which corresponds to the emergence of local entrepreneurs on the Gaspé Coast in the period 1935-1960. In the outports, local businessmen have replaced mobile traders or pedlars:

The progressive increase in cash trade, however, together with the building of roads, has in turn forced some of the pedlars¹ out of business and made possible the expansion of others to the level of specialized businesses such as gas-stations, 'restaurants', suppliers of building materials, T.V. repair services, etc. This group of businessmen has become a kind of new 'middle class' in the outports and as they are dependent on the outports, they act as important promoters of the continued existence of the outports.

(Wadel, 1969b: 87)

Secondly, as on the Gaspé Coast, the traditional merchants have been weakened by the competition from local entrepreneurs on the one hand and by the development of large frozen fish producers on the other. As a response to this double threat, some merchants have gone out of business while others have moved into the retail trade. The decline of the old merchants represents a considerable loss for the outports:

The dual attack led to a breakdown in the traditional merchant system, and not merely to a substitution of one group of merchants for another. The decline of the old merchants

1. Mobile fish pedlars were, as we have seen, an early form of competition for the established merchant in Mal Bay.

was in some respects a great loss to the outports, the merchants being the only people in the outports with any capital and expertise in the fish business and with some kind of local attachment. Thus, to better their position, the fishermen had to go around the merchants, by selling their fish to non-local buyers. But in doing so, they put the merchants out of business without getting any local substitute.

(Wadel, 1969b: 90)

The "urbanization" of the rural population in Newfoundland is now taking place very rapidly. According to Brox (1969) it occurs in three forms: changes in settlement patterns, changes in occupational structure from self-employment to wage labour, and change from subsistence to a cash economy. The intervention of government in promoting radical "modernization" of the economic structure has been even more vigorous than on the Gaspé Coast.

The main strategy of the Newfoundland government has been to encourage resettlement in the belief that profitable fishing can only take place from large ports. It also hopes that centralization of the population will diminish the costs of providing public utilities and will lead to industrial development. Its policies have come under severe criticism from social scientists as well as from the people of the outports. Resettlement has led to the destruction of the traditional way of life, which has been replaced by dependence on the government rather than by stable employment in modernized industries. The same contradiction arises as on the Gaspé Coast: policies designed to make certain industries economically profitable are socially unsuccessful, leading to the impoverishment of the local population.

In the face of broadly similar structural changes in the rural economy, the populations of Atlantic coast fishing communities have shown

similar types of response. We have seen that in Mal Bay there has been a decline of the traditional occupational pluralism and a high level of out-migration. A new, pluralistic, income structure has developed, incorporating a high degree of dependence on transfer payments; there has been a decline of community control over social and economic institutions which has given rise to a deep disillusion with government.¹ This pattern of response has been reported in other studies throughout the Atlantic region.

In Mal Bay the main cause of the decline of the traditional pluralism has been the increased aspirations of the people coupled with the availability of new sources of cash income. Subsidiary causes have been the declining availability of the family labour force and the removal of some sources of income, such as winter work in the lumber camps. In most studies the causes of change are assumed rather than analyzed: more attention is given to the consequences of change.

The demand for a higher cash income has led many people to leave the rural regions and to seek wage work in the cities. The phenomenon of rural-urban migration is extensively reported and has been the subject of much comment. For instance, research for an ARDA project in Nova Scotia reveals that the principal migrants are the most highly qualified young people:

... a substantial contribution of the project area and its schools to the larger society is evident through the disproportionate movement of its high school graduates into white collar occupations outside the project area and often beyond the province

(Connor and Magill, 1966: 44-45)

1. Economic and social change in Mal Bay is discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

This trend leads Abell (1966) to argue that rural education is not a benefit since it deprives the rural area of all its most enterprising people. Selective outmigration leaves rural communities with an impoverished population. Hence, Abell suggests, "education, per se, would seem to be a potent force combatting farm modernization ..." (Abell, 1966: 199).

To meet the need for a higher income, some people have sought "professionalized" or full-time wage work within the rural regions. In the forestry industry, Fortin and Gosselin (1960) have described this process in the Province of Quebec, and Legendre (1966) has analyzed some of the difficulties encountered on the Gaspé Coast. In Newfoundland, large fresh-fish processors have tried to persuade fishermen to take part in a full-time trawler fishery. The attempts to create a professional labour force in both fishery and forestry have met with limited success owing to the unsatisfactory working conditions and low financial returns. There has, however, been some development of a semi-specialized longliner fishery in the Newfoundland outports.

Throughout Atlantic Canada, it has been a stated objective of government planning to find full-time, year-round employment for a stable labour force in the rural milieu. We have seen how this was one of the main goals of the Development Plan for the Gaspé Coast.¹ A stable labour force meets the requirements of the large corporations now becoming involved in the primary industries. It is economically rational if an assessment of profitability is made on the basis of each industry alone. However it is

1. Described in Chapter Six.

in direct contradiction with the traditional occupational pluralism of the rural people. Full-time commitment to a single job precludes drawing on a variety of sources of income. For this reason "professionalization" as a solution to the economic problems of the Maritimes has so far met with very limited success.

Instead of taking up unrewarding full-time work - often requiring resettlement - in forestry or fishing, most of the people in Atlantic Canada who have not migrated to the city have remained in their communities and have preserved a flexible approach to economic opportunity. We have seen that the rising expectations of the people have been met by the availability of new sources of cash income. Chief among these new sources have been transfer payments, which offer a guaranteed high level of income at times when little work is available. Therefore the rural populations have developed pluralistic occupational strategies incorporating a maximum use of transfer payments.

An example of the impact of transfer payments is found in Saint-Augustin. Here the principal source of transfer payments has been winter works projects. These were first introduced in 1963. Immediately, everyone who wished to could work for wages for five or six months of the year. In response to this new opportunity for substantial cash income, there has been drastic modification of the traditional pluralism. There has also been a return to the village of the less successful migrants. Tremblay, Charest and Breton comment on the winter works projects:

En premier lieu, ils ont rompu le cycle traditionnel de subsistance durant les mois d'hiver. Les chasseurs et les trappeurs ont presque tous cessé leurs voyages périlleux et économiquement incertains dans l'arrière-pays. En second lieu, les émigrants défavorisés sur les marchés du

travail par leur manque de préparation sont revenus au village tenter leur chance, prendre un nouveau départ.

(Tremblay, Charest and Breton, 1969: 40)

A third consequence of the winter works projects has been a diversion of interest of the fishermen from fishing, hitherto the main commercial activity, towards making maximum use of the income from winter works. This guarantees a more prosperous and secure livelihood than the fishery.

In Newfoundland, Wadel (1969b) provides a skilful analysis of the impact of transfer payments on the traditional economy. Cash income through these payments replaces the need for subsistence activity. In contrast to Saint-Augustin, winter unemployment benefits are not associated with winter works projects but, as in Mal Bay, are paid to the fishermen as a "reward" for fishing activity. Wadel describes how the length of time during which the fishermen continue to fish in the fall is a function of whether they have accumulated sufficient "stamps" to qualify for the benefit. Many fishermen stop fishing once they have paid enough contributions. As in Mal Bay, unemployment benefits are incompatible with work during the winter. The position of welfare is different from that of unemployment benefits. Rather than being a reward, it is allotted on the basis of need. It is subject to individual manipulation and has connotations of disgrace. However it is an increasingly viable alternative for households with many children and low educational attainment.¹

The importance of social security benefits in the rural economy means that government social policy dominates the lives of most of the

1. Informative accounts of the rural economy are given in Pépin (1967) and of the outlook of the people in Hughes, ed., (1960).

people. Throughout the fishing communities of Atlantic Canada, the government has replaced the fish merchant as chief patron. Formerly the fish merchant, by providing long-term credit, shared with his clients the risks involved in the fishery. Effectively, he taxed the richer fishermen to provide security against destitution for those who were less prosperous. The government has now assumed the role of provider of security. The nature of the patron-client relationship remains the same. However there are two important differences. Firstly, the patronage extended by the government is much more extensive than that afforded by the fish merchants. Thus the people, for whom the fish merchant was only one means of minimizing risk, are now almost totally dependent on the government. Secondly, the relationship of fisherman to government is impersonal whereas that with the merchant was personal. The merchant was involved in the community and aware of the needs of each individual. The merchant may have exploited the people, but both he and the fisherman had a common interest in the prosperity of the fishery. The government is remote and not responsive to local opinion. Its policies are dictated by considerations much wider than those of the community. Though it is lavish in its spending, its actions seem to the people arbitrary, wasteful, and unjust. The people were exploited by the fish merchants but they understood the merchants' activities and could afford them some respect. Though they are now heavily dependent on the generosity of the government, the people are suspicious of bureaucracy and have no confidence in it.

The demoralization created by a transfer-payment economy is fomented by social and political developments. Throughout Atlantic Canada there has been a trend towards centralization not only of economic activities

but of social institutions. At the same time as regional-level organizations, often backed by the government, become more important, there is a decline in the quality of local leadership. This decline occurs through the loss of outsiders who are nevertheless locally identified (such as fish merchants) and through the outmigration of the more skilled and enterprising local people.

In Saint-Augustin, for instance, the only economic and political initiatives come from the outside. Leadership is in the hands of outsiders since individualism and jealousy make local leaders unacceptable. The chief entrepreneur is the Catholic priest: "Les entreprises économiques de ce prêtre sont nombreuses. Il est à la fois propriétaire d'une scierie, entrepreneur pour la compagnie Quebec Power, hôtelier, banquier, marchand. Il est un Jack of all trades dans la tradition des gens de la Côte " (Tremblay, Charest and Breton, 1969: 135). The local people simply react in a critical way to the forces which impinge upon them: "Les Augustiniens laissent aux étrangers l'initiative de leur organisation et de leur exploitation et se réservent pour eux le droit de critique. La communauté ne semble avoir pratiquement aucun ressort poussant ses membres à prendre en main son avenir " (Tremblay, Charest and Breton, 1969: 144).

Even in the early 1950s Richardson found that on Long Island local government had lost its power, and that there was a lack of potential community leaders. Instead, government action through the Department of Fisheries was becoming increasingly important. The local people reacted critically to the external forces which were affecting community life: "... they tend to be suspicious of and hostile towards any form of authority which in any way curtails their independence; for example, centralized govern-

ment and large business organizations (Richardson, 1952: 24)."

In Newfoundland, government is highly centralized and until recently there has been an almost complete lack of local political organization (Wadel, 1969b). The political system has been one of paternalism or patronage. By its provision of social service benefits and community development projects, the government has succeeded the merchant as community patron. In the patronage system, amenities have become rewards for returning the right candidate. As a consequence, the local people, who regard government spending as extravagant and irrational, show no political initiative except to try to outwit the government and obtain the maximum benefit for themselves. Hence, as on Fogo Island (Wadel, 1969a) leadership is only accepted on a temporary basis: there are no long-term local leaders.

In the eastern regions of the Province of Quebec, the Development Plan had as one of its objectives the involvement of the local people in the planning process, and the formation of new, progressive, local leadership. The degree of success of local participation has been studied in the Magdalen Islands by Daigle (1968) and Gagnon (1970). In 1964 local planning committees were formed under the Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ). Their objective was to find leaders who would be favourable to change and who would influence local opinion and activity. Support at the initial meetings of the planning committees was low, and soon dwindled. Local members of the committees were not optimistic about possible solutions and, once they realized that there were not likely to be any immediate benefits to their community, they lost interest. Eventually the local committees were replaced by regional councils which did not represent the mass of the people. The final Plan abandoned the participation project, and the people of the

Magdalen Islands have become largely alienated from the development process and hostile to government.

We have seen how economic dependence on transfer payments has become widespread throughout the Atlantic region. Transfer payments have permitted the people to continue their traditional peasant strategy of occupational pluralism. Instead of taking jobs in the professionalized primary industries as preferred by the government, they have chosen to maintain their old communities and way of life. Transfer payments provide greater prosperity than a subsistence-based economy. However the new pluralism is less flexible than the old. In the traditional economy, the people could survive almost any economic crisis by living off local natural resources of land, sea and forest. They have exchanged a self-reliant poverty for a wealthier dependence on the vagaries of a government which they cannot control.

Loss of control is characteristic also of the social realm.¹ The local community has declined in importance and many rural areas have become economically depressed. The people lack the financial, educational, and motivational resources to change their circumstances. The communities manifest a drift without direction, their functions having been taken over by other organizations and institutions at the regional level, with no alternative function which can sustain them. There has been a failure of the local democratic system so that people feel that they are controlled by a remote bureaucracy. Many communities, failing to develop links with the new regional centres and administrative units, experience a feeling of isolation and pervasive structural disintegration.

1. Material in this section is drawn from Whyte's (1966) analysis of social change in rural Canada.

Chapter Eleven

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

Reconciling Government and People: Alternative Policy in Development

The problems of Mal Bay are thus the problems of most rural regions of Atlantic Canada. The pattern of community decline is found everywhere, except in those few places where there has been substantial economic development. In their most general sense, the difficulties of Mal Bay are those of lack of suitable economic opportunity, and an accompanying feeling of social alienation and powerlessness. The only kind of solution to these difficulties which is likely to have any degree of success is one that reconciles government and people. Operating on a broad front, development policy has to integrate the objectives of government with the objectives of the local population in a manner which is mutually acceptable.

The government, as we have seen, has pursued two contradictory policies in development on the Gaspé Coast. In the strictly economic realm, it has encouraged the centralization of industry into large, modern, capital-intensive units. It has planned for a reduced, professionalized labour force concentrated at regional growth poles. This is designed to make the primary production and transformation industries at the periphery profitable and to secure steady employment for their labour force. On the other hand, in the social realm, the government has given out liberal transfer payments to those unable or unwilling to become part of the new regional labour force. The abundant transfer payments have become the main feature of the rural economy. They have acted to sustain populations in their place of residence - in the dispersed villages - while relieving them of the need for dependence on the

resources of the local environment. These two policies have produced a sharp conflict between the economic objectives and the social concern of the government: a conflict which has become extremely expensive for the government, which is now the principal provider of regional income.

While the government has pursued these two contradictory policies, the objective of the local people has been to maintain themselves in their communities by making maximum use of the diverse economic opportunities open to them. In general, they have relied on a plurality of sources of income. In the traditional economy, they combined subsistence with commercial production, organizing the family labour force to exploit the maximum range of seasonal opportunities. In the modern economy, transfer payments have replaced subsistence production, but the same pluralistic structure has been retained. In Mal Bay, leaving aside migration to the city, we have seen four possible strategies:

- (a) subsistence farming: sporadic commercial activity: work on woodlot
- (b) summer work (cod fishery): winter unemployment benefits
- (c) full-time regional wage work or full-time local entrepreneur
- (d) full-time welfare with sporadic commercial activity.

The people make full use of the abundant resource of transfer payments - hence the official view that they "exploit" the government - but this is simply a reflection of their traditional opportunity-maximizing, risk-minimizing strategy.

The redistribution of wealth by government from rich to poor regions is increasing and is likely to continue. There is a sense in which the poverty of the Gaspé Coast contributes to the prosperity of Montreal, in that relatively low prices paid by the metropolitan region for primary

products are only possible through the low living standards of the peripheral region. Thus the government acts to return to the peripheral region its own wealth which has been extracted by private industry. Since the government has become the main provider of income for the Gaspé Coast, the initiative for development lies in its hands. Such an initiative should involve an overall view of the flow of payments to the periphery, and overall planning of their use rather than strict division into "economic" and "social" goals. At the same time, development policy should be devolved to the local level so that local people may not only put forward ideas but are obliged to take responsibility for the success or failure of their projects.

The objective of the government is to minimize its losses arising from redistribution of wealth. The objective of the local people is to maintain their traditional communities and to do so by maximizing opportunities. Given these two goals, any development policy must have two features to succeed. Firstly, government must reallocate its resources so that work becomes both more available and more profitable than "no-work". Local employment opportunities which are economically and socially worthwhile must become financially much more attractive than transfer payments. The resolution of the government's dichotomy of action (economic rationalization/social subsidy) must come about through an emphasis on labour-intensive local industries. Secondly, and in conjunction with this, development policy must encourage dependence on local resources - resources of the environment and of the population - rather than creating alienation from these resources. Such a policy would involve promoting exploitation of forest, farm and sea in the way that the local people find most viable. This would involve a return to something approximate to the traditional occupational pluralism.

In more practical terms, there is much that could be done without resorting to the planned decentralization of manufacturing industry that would be possible in a socialist economy. In the fishery, the present government policy is to encourage, through subsidy, the deep-sea fishing fleet. However local people are unwilling to work on deep-sea boats. An alternative policy would be to divert resources from subsidizing the deep-sea fishery to providing a guaranteed, high, price for fish: possibly through a central fish marketing corporation. This would encourage the development of the local inshore fishery, which, unlike the deep-sea fishery, is compatible with other types of productive occupation. At the same time, inshore fishermen such as those at Mal Bay should be encouraged to pursue a wider range of fish - for instance scallops - rather than have these resources exploited by boats from outside the province. The overall position of the fisheries is threatened on ecological grounds by the exhaustion of supplies of fish. This scarcity, apparent in recent years through the steep rise in the landed price of fish (particularly cod), is a result of the increased intensity of fishing by foreign fleets off Canadian coasts. National policy may in time safeguard the resources of the Canadian continental shelf. At a more local level, fishing by trawlers is highly destructive since they drag a net which catches all types of fish indiscriminately. Longliners and the smaller boats, however, use fishing techniques which catch a much more selective range of fish and do not create the same wastage as the trawlers. For ecological reasons, therefore, traditional fishing operations may again become necessary.

The Newfoundland scholars stress the need for "intermediate technology" in the outports: "... intermediate technology is taken to refer to a set of production methods which are simple, cheap, and easily lent to

decentralization; but capable of producing goods at prices competitive with other technology" (Paine, Skolnik and Wadel, 1969: 3). In the fisheries, one example of this would be fish processing plants such as that at Mal Bay: plants run at low cost by local entrepreneurs and producing fresh as well as salt fish on a relatively small scale at a local level. The Newfoundland writers all place great stress on the longliner as a further example of intermediate technology (Wadel 1969b; Brox 1969; Skolnik and Wadel 1969). The longliners are decentralized, use existing skills, are labour-intensive, and are compatible with local social conditions. However the longliners, although apparently technologically ideal, are not completely successful in Mal Bay, where they have difficulty making up crews. The longliner, then, is only likely to be a partial solution to local fisheries development: guaranteed higher fish prices are probably more important.

A major potential source of occupational complementarity to the summer fishery, replacing winter unemployment benefits, is woods work. Lumber camp operations have shifted to the summer months and, as at present organized, have become highly unpopular with the labour force. However winter work on woodlots remains a viable option. This kind of local work, and its significance, is a foremost example of neglect on the part of the BAEQ planners. Work on small woodlots is a vital source of cash income to many households. It is conservation-orientated, since individual loggers cut tress selectively whereas forestry operations destroy all the trees over a wide area. It is economically important, since 31% of all the region's commercial lumber supply comes from small woodlots (BAEQ, 1965a: 32). Yet discussion of the potential of this kind of lumbering was limited, through lack of adequate data, to a few pages in a 175-page survey. Conversely, the

rest of the survey gave a great deal of attention to large-scale, mechanized forestry operations. Potentially, local lumbering on private woodlots could become much more important. It is already remunerative. However it suffers from two limiting factors: restriction on permissible cutting, and competition from winter unemployment benefits. At present, the area of forest designated for use by local people is quite small. However the government could release more forest for local use, and at the same time provide information on conservation techniques. Instead of drawing unemployment pay, people who had woodlots would be expected to work during the winter. If necessary, higher, guaranteed prices could provide a further incentive to productive effort. It is vital to create a differential between transfer payment receipts and earned income.

The agriculture of Mal Bay, and of most of the Gaspé Coast, does not have a diversified commercial potential. However certain types of agricultural production could provide for local needs and assure farmers of a substantial, though not full-time, cash income. In this respect, beef cattle, milk cows, pigs, and chickens could be successfully reared for local markets. At present the government discourages local commercial agriculture: for instance its refusal to help build a new dairy at Gaspé. However government aid to provide information, financial backing, and local outlets for produce to local wholesalers; and guaranteed prices to local farmers, would generate a limited commercial agriculture. In view of the high cost of imported foods, this would not be a particularly expensive venture.

A further avenue for government aid would be in the encouragement of local initiative and local entrepreneurship. There is a tendency for government intervention to mean centralized, bureaucratic control of the

various industries. In this way, even schemes that are economically feasible tend to alienate the local people, engendering the failure of the scheme. A guaranteed price system for fish and for agricultural commodities would minimize government control and encourage local initiative. However, local entrepreneurs or local co-operatives need further encouragement in projects such as tourist developments, fish plants, dairies, sawmills, or slaughterhouses. This should take the form of information provision (lack of awareness of government grants is a constant problem) and financial backing in the form of loans or subsidies. For instance, a premium might be paid on each job created, or wage levels subsidized in low-income industries.

These projects would create a more viable local economy based on exploitation of local resources. They would demand emphasis on a pluralistic occupational structure using traditional skills. At present, many of those on welfare are defined as "unemployable" because they are not able to adjust to modernized industrial sectors. However, a re-definition of "unemployable" would occur with increased attractiveness of traditional-type local opportunities; and this, coupled with a stringent control of handouts, would reduce dramatically the number of people on welfare rolls. Social security payments should be made sparingly as a supplement to productive activity. At present they are a replacement for it: this should be changed so that wage work or subsistence farming can be carried out as well as drawing limited welfare benefits.

The types of employment pattern available might then be:

- (a) subsistence/commercial farming: commercial activity: work on woodlot
- (b) summer cod fishery: winter woodlot work

- (c) full-time regional wage work or full-time local entrepreneur
- (d) seasonal wage work/fishing/subsistence/farming/commercial activity supplemented by welfare.

Economic transformation at the local level would solve many of the social and political problems of the community. A greater dynamism in community economic activity would reduce the bitterness and disillusionment with the outside world. However it is vital that government-sponsored economic change is accompanied by political devolution at the institutional level. All types of organizations - regional school boards, government bureaux, regional development councils - have become insensitive to local opinion. A means must be found of permitting local people to make responsible decisions while having access to the necessary technical expertise. In Mal Bay, this might take the form of a community council to which all government planning proposals and expenditures were referred. Local officials of all types - welfare officers, school board administrators - would report periodically to this council. The problem lies in persuading organizations such as government to have confidence in the judgement of the people, rather than criticizing the people for not having confidence in the government. Devolution of power constitutes one of the most vital and difficult questions facing a democratic society.

Development Policy and the English Minority

In addition to the general economic difficulties faced by all communities along the Gaspé Coast, and throughout much of Atlantic Canada, the Mal Bay people also find themselves in a position of linguistic isolation. Formerly the Mal Bay English comprised a well-defined economic and

social community. Economic integration was a function of a common dependence on the same Robin fishing establishment. Social integration was a function of ties of kinship and of social relations. However, in important respects Mal Bay no longer forms an economic community. There are few sources of year-round employment available in the community. The only way in which the survival of the Mal Bay people is assured without their having to go outside the community is through transfer payments. On the other hand Mal Bay still forms a close-knit minority-language social community. The old networks of social relations persist. They are reinforced by the annual return of Mal Bay people living in the city. They are strengthened also by the provision of a wide range of minority-language institutions. One consequence of the survival of the minority-language social community is the low level of bilingualism of the Mal Bay people. The Mal Bay English can find no way of learning French, since nearly all their interaction is with other English people. Yet their lack of ability in French prevents them from participating in regional economic life. The linguistic isolation of Mal Bay reduces the range of options open to the people to ensure their survival. Lacking the means to obtain full-time jobs in regional centres, they are obliged to become more dependent on transfer payments.

The general economic solutions suggested for the region as a whole would do much to benefit the Mal Bay population. A greater emphasis on local-level resource exploitation rather than on regional work would bring about a much higher level of productive employment. It would also increase the morale of the community and might bring about a more positive attitude towards government and towards the future of the region. However, further adjustments need to be made if the English minority is to secure as wide a

range of opportunities on the Gaspé Coast as the French. In particular, it is necessary for as many English people as possible to become bilingual. This does not involve assimilation: "becoming French". It does involve having an adequate working knowledge of, and willingness to speak, French. This is not at all inconsistent with the continuance of a viable English-language group.

Government policy in general does not seem sensitive to the importance of bilingualism to the English minority. In so far as economic development projects are concerned, no mention was made in the Development Plan of the special problems of the English. On the other hand, Federal Government policy under the Official Languages Act is to sustain linguistic minorities such as the English on the Gaspé Coast. This involves the continued provision of minority-language federal institutions, and the promotion of the social and cultural life of the minority. While the general availability of minority-language institutions has been of great importance, the specific impact of these recent policies has been minimal. However the general tendency of government social policy has been to protect and to isolate the minority, and, indirectly, to discourage them from becoming bilingual and adjusting more adequately to the changing situation.

The economic development strategy already proposed would lead to a higher level of bilingualism among the English than is at present the case. Rather than being isolated in their homes as recipients of transfer payments, the English would come into much greater contact with the local French in the work world: for instance at the wharf or fish plant. Formerly, in this situation, the French were expected to speak English. However, with the changed status of the two groups, a different pattern of linguistic

interaction might be possible.

One social development which is already leading to a breakdown of the barriers between French and English is the reconciliation of the Catholic and Protestant churches. Traditionally the two churches were antagonists. However in recent years the Catholic church has relaxed its ban on marriages of Catholics to Protestants. More specifically, in Mal Bay, the Anglican minister has initiated a high level of contact with local Catholic priests, and several ecumenical services have been held between the two churches. These have been successful and have great symbolic significance. The disappearance of the old hostilities is leading to greater social contact between French and English, and is likely to promote a favourable attitude towards bilingualism and a removal of old prejudices.

Perhaps the most important means of encouraging bilingualism and the integration of the English into regional life would be through the school system. Simply providing courses of instruction in French for adult English people is unlikely to be acceptable or successful. A much more radical move would be to integrate the school system, and to abolish as far as possible the divisions on religious and language lines which lead to the existence of three separate sets of schools. The present system is very expensive in the maintenance of a great many schools and school buses. It leads to high school taxes for a dispersed, sparse, and poor rural population. It is also divisive in the community. There is good reason to believe that an integrated school system, with communal facilities, even if separate instruction, for the two language groups, would be accepted with surprisingly little difficulty by the local population. Although some would resist this change, many Mal Bay people express favourable sentiment towards the proposal.

Most parents understand the importance of bilingualism for their children but realize that it cannot be obtained in the social context of Mal Bay. Therefore, provided that there was a considerable degree of community involvement in the running of integrated schools, they would be likely to meet with approval. Their advantages would lie not only in the promotion of bilingualism, but in the undermining of divisions within the community and, hopefully, an improvement in the quality of education. The construction of a bilingual CEGEP and Ecole Polyvalente in Gaspé is a move in this direction.

One of the crucial problems in the development of Mal Bay lies in the mentality of the population: a mentality which tends to pessimism, hostility to government, and resistance to change. It is likely that the provision of greater economic opportunity at the local level would lead to a more favourable attitude. Projects designed to promote contacts with the French would be less well received. However it is vital that all projects must at all stages be carried out with the confidence of the people, and as far as possible by the people themselves, even if this entails loss of efficiency and misallocation of priorities and of funds. Only by making the Mal Bay people feel responsible for the possible failure of the development of their community is there any chance of success.

The Way Forward

This study is a preliminary investigation. It represents a foray into an area of research where few geographers have ventured. It is one of only a few studies of economic organization of a rural population in eastern Canada. It is one of still fewer studies to make conscious use of a theoretical framework to interpret local economic change. It is the first

substantive description of any kind of the English minority population on the Gaspé Coast. Because of the preliminary or pioneering nature of the investigation, there have been few well-trodden paths to follow. The methodology of the research was exploratory and many of the findings, however confidently stated they may seem, are in fact tentative.

The overall approach to the contemporary economic situation in Mal Bay is one which focusses on change through time. The present types of activity carried on in the community are viewed as a breakdown of a "traditional economy" and not as a new, stable, phase. This approach seems the most satisfactory way of looking at a contemporary rural community. It is used by other investigators, including Richardson (1952), Daigle (1968), and Tremblay, Charest and Breton (1969). From the point of view of fieldwork, it is the easiest way of collecting useful information. Rural populations are generally reluctant to talk about the kinds of issues - patterns of current economic activity - which are the central concern of this study. Topics such as transfer payments and levels of income can only be broached with great caution. On the other hand, historical information related to what life used to be like in "the old days" - or, in Mal Bay, simply "in them days" - is of great interest to local people, who are glad to display their excellent memories of times gone by. In particular, collecting work histories (with elaboration on the nature of various types of employment) and genealogies (to gain a picture of the community's social structure) is enjoyable for both informant and interviewer and valuable in terms of data. From the point of view of the objectives of the research, a clear understanding of the organization of the traditional economy is essential to investigation of the contemporary economy. This is partly because many of the types

of occupation have changed little, but mainly because the strategy of the local people in the face of an uncertain external world has changed hardly at all. They seek to maximize their opportunities (making the most of new forms of income) while minimizing risk in commitment to them, so as to maintain their community life. The approach of the people to the modern economy is the same as their approach to the traditional economy, even if the structure of opportunities has changed.

The weaknesses of this study are twofold. Firstly, the overall core-periphery framework needs to be more explicitly defined. Study of a peripheral population is of little assistance to this: what is needed is a national-scale investigation in Canada of the specific linkages in the core-periphery structure. At present the core-periphery framework appears very attractive at a high degree of generality but needs rigorous application to a particular region to test its validity and to elaborate some of its concepts. Secondly, and more importantly, the present study lacks data on incomes from various sources of activity, both in the traditional and in the modern economy. This information is invaluable to categorizing further the types of economic strategies pursued by rural populations. However, it is extremely difficult to obtain. Firstly, there is the great reluctance of the people to divulge their income, particularly when many are engaged in a more or less illegal manipulation of transfer payments. Above all the people fear being criticized for their poverty, since most of them see poverty as a reflection on themselves as much as on the regional economic situation. Secondly, it is not easy to find a way of measuring the relative importance of various types of income. There is the constant problem of giving cash values to subsistence production: for instance, in a situation where everyone builds his own

house, what value is to be given to houses? There is also the problem of the relative value of various types of cash income in a pluralistic situation: some sources of cash income may be acceptable because they are in keeping with the overall economic strategy of the household, whereas others, though more remunerative, are rejected. An example of this is the acceptability of work on the local woodlot and the rejection of work in the lumber camps. Other types of related statistical information which are important but lacking are those relating to family size, and to the division of labour within the family. Such information, coupled with the income data, would permit a much more accurate picture of the evolution of the household economy. Future studies should pursue these kinds of data more vigorously. The various economic opportunities are evidently well understood and skilfully manipulated by the local people. In order to understand them in the same light as they are seen by local people, even partial data from a few households would be very useful.

The solutions elaborated for the current economic problems of the community are even more tentative than the analysis of the problems. On the Gaspé Coast the BAEQ has produced many thousands of pages of detailed analysis which in some respects makes the present study seem superficial. However the solutions proposed have two merits. Firstly, they are radically different from the present development plans: and at least from the point of view of the population the present plans are not successful. Secondly, they correspond much more closely than the BAEQ studies to the way in which the local people diagnose the situation, and are solutions which many of the people would find acceptable. For instance, the idea of using welfare money to create jobs is a familiar theme in the community. If Mal Bay people read

and understand this study, their reaction is likely to be that it tells them little that they did not already know. This, if true, is one test of an accurate analysis.

The provisional nature of the study and of its conclusions makes it important that research in this area should continue. The Gaspé Coast is not simply a happy hunting ground for social scientists wanting to establish objective truths about rural populations, or wanting to use the people to justify their own particular view of the nature of society. It is an area of great physical beauty and long historical tradition but with a record of continuing human deprivation and contemporary economic and social poverty. Its grave human problems have frequently moved this researcher to anger, frustration, and sadness. It is vital that others go to study and to work on the Gaspé Coast, not simply for their own advancement, but also with a commitment to striving with the local people towards a revolution of opportunity and hope.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

PLACE NAMES

On the Gaspé Coast, as elsewhere in the Province of Quebec, many place names have both an English and a French version. Throughout the thesis, place names have been given in the way that they are used by local English people. Thus "Fox River" is preferred to "Rivière-au-Renard"; "Cape Despair" to "Cap d'Espoir". The only exceptions are certain administrative units and distant places which are not familiar to the English-speaking people of Mal Bay. Below is given a list of the place names of the Gaspé Coast as mentioned in the thesis, according to local English usage, with their official French equivalents.

Local English

Province of Quebec
 Quebec City
 Gulf of St. Lawrence
 the Gaspé Coast
 North Shore
 Magdalen Islands
 Anticosti (Anticosti)
 Chaleur Bay
 Gaspé West (County)
 Gaspé East (County)
 -
 -
 Marsoui
 Mount Jacques Cartier
 Mount Louis
 Murdochville
 Magdalen River
 Grand Valley
 Fox River
 Cap des Rosiers
 - (Forillon Park)
 Ship Head

Official French

Province de Québec
 Québec
 Golfe Saint-Laurent
 la Gaspésie
 Côte-Nord
 Îles-de-la-Madeleine
 Île d'Anticosti
 Baie des Chaleurs
 (Comté) Gaspé-Ouest
 (Comté) Gaspé-Est
 Cap-Chat
 Sainte-Anne-des-Monts
 Marsoui
 Mont Jacques-Cartier
 Mont-Louis
 Murdochville
 Rivière-Madeleine
 Grande-Vallée
 Rivière-au-Renard
 Cap-des-Rosiers
 Parc Forillon
 -

Cape Gaspé
 Gaspé Bay
 Grand Grève
 Little Gaspé
 Cape Ozo
 Peninsula
 Gaspé Bay North
 Sydenham
 Gaspé Bay South
 Gaspé
 Sandy Beach
 York
 Haldimand
 Douglastown
 Brilliant Cove
 St. George (municipality)
 Bougainville
 St. George (village)
 Red Head
 Chien Blanc
 Point St. Peter
 Malbaie Bay
 Mal Bay
 Belle Anse
 Barachois
 Bridgeville
 Mal Bay River
 Corner of the Beach
 Perce
 Bonaventure Island
 American Bank
 Orphan Bank
 L'Anse à Beaufils
 Cape Cove
 Cape Despair
 Grand River
 Chandler
 Newport
 Port Daniel
 Paspébiac
 New Carlisle
 Bonaventure
 New Richmond
 Carleton
 Matapédia

Cap-Gaspé
 Baie de Gaspé
 Grande-Grève
 Petit-Gaspé
 Cap-aux-Os
 Penouil
 Baie-de-Gaspé-Nord
 Sydenham
 Baie-de-Gaspé-Sud
 Gaspé
 Sandy Beach
 York
 Haldimand
 Douglastown
 L'Anse-au-Brillant
 St. Pierre-de-la-Malbaie, No.2
 Bougainville
 Saint-Georges-de-Malbaie
 Cap-Rouge
 Chien Blanc
 Pointe-Saint-Pierre
 Malbaie
 Mal Bay
 Belle-Anse
 Barachois
 Bridgeville
 Rivière-Malbaie
 Coin-du-Banc
 Percé
 Île Bonaventure
 Banc des Américains
 Banc de l'Orphelin
 L'Anse-à-Beaufils
 L'Anse-du-Cap
 Cap-d'Espoir
 Grande-Rivière
 Chandler
 Newport
 Port-Daniel
 Paspébiac
 New Carlisle
 Bonaventure
 New Richmond
 Carleton
 Matapédia

The official French place names are taken in the first instance from the Commission de Géographie's (1969) "Repertoire Géographique du Québec". This has been supplemented by "les Routes du Québec", the provincial map published by the Quebec Department of Roads.

Appendix B
A Critique of Census Data

Census data on the cultural characteristics of the population is unsatisfactory in several respects. Firstly, only a limited amount of language information is available. There is no data on mother tongue or official languages spoken (i.e. bilingualism) at the municipal level before 1931 or for 1951. Since the results of the 1971 Census are not available at the time of writing (March 1972), detailed language information, which is of considerable significance to this research, only exists for 1931, 1941, and 1961.

Secondly, the data varies a good deal in reliability. Particularly at the municipal (census subdivision) level, some of the data is so unreliable as to be largely worthless. Failure to understand the question, and inability to provide an accurate answer, on the part of both census takers and respondents may make for considerable local errors. The most reliable data of concern to us is that referring to simple population totals and to religious affiliation. Mother tongue information is probably quite accurate except for the tendency to interpret "mother tongue" literally as the mother's native language, rather than the respondent's "language first learned in childhood and still understood". Much less reliable is data on the knowledge of the official languages, English and French. Bilingualism is notoriously difficult to define since degrees of bilingualism vary so widely, from the ability to understand and to speak a few words in the other language to almost complete fluency. Equally unreliable is "ethnic origin" information. In some cases, in an area as ethnically diverse as the Gaspé Coast, people simply do not know the origin of their European ancestors.

Family names, which are used as a guide, may have French and English versions, or may be equally plausible in both languages (e.g. Bond, Collin, Element, Rail/Réhel). Also, the Channel Islanders who comprise most of the population of Mal Bay have French-sounding names but are for the most part English-speaking and Protestants. Often there seems to have been uncertainty in the minds of the census takers as to whether these people are of "British" or "French" origin for census purposes. Because of these areas of confusion, census information only provides a general guide to patterns of change in bilingualism and assimilation.

Appendix C
A Critique of Fieldwork Data

Community studies would be more informative if the substantive material was always accompanied by an equally lengthy description of how the research was carried out. From a sociological point of view, information on how the researcher entered the community, whom he met, what he saw and what he did while he was there, may shed as much light on the community as the formal discussion of the results of the research. In the present research, orientated towards "concrete" issues such as local economic organization rather than "abstract" issues such as social class or religious beliefs, the position of the fieldworker is not of such central significance. It is, however, of considerable interest to those concerned with evaluating the biases and shortcomings of the study.

Initial contacts on the Gaspé Coast were made through the Anglican Church. In Mal Bay, accommodation was provided during the early stages of fieldwork by comparatively prosperous members of the Protestant group. Later, accommodation was provided by the Anglican minister. In the second summer of fieldwork, a house was rented from another member of the Protestant group. In addition, this researcher was a regular participant in the services of the Anglican church. Following from this, the first interviews were carried out with Protestants and regular contact was maintained with several members of this group.

Over-identification with the Protestant group was a problem constantly in the minds of the researchers. There are several ways in which it was alleviated. Firstly, the fact that one fieldworker (Raymond Mougéon) was French was of great help in conducting research among the French people

in Mal Bay. Throughout the period of fieldwork, successful relationships were maintained with most of this group. They were aided by frequent meetings with the Catholic priest. Secondly, contacts with the English Catholics, though less successful than those with the other two groups, were facilitated by interviews with the late Connor Bourget¹, a man of great age and excellent memory who was the doyen not only of the English Catholic group, but also of the community as a whole. Following this, considerable assistance was given by Michael Bourget, a prominent English Catholic entrepreneur, and members of his family. Thirdly, identification with the Protestant group did not inhibit contact with other groups. There are no sharp class divisions in Mal Bay, except between Mal Bay people and outsiders. Although people occupy different positions on the economic hierarchy, they have all had similar kinds of work experience and none is distinguished by accent, dress, or patterns of social interaction. At least in theory, divisions between the three cultural groups are divisions between equals. Stress is placed on the homogeneity of the community: "We're all the same". Thus, talking to one group of people does not seem to have been a significant barrier to talking to others.

Particularly at the outset of the research, the people of the community were uncertain as to the objectives and allegiance of the researchers. The researchers stressed the non-controversial aspects of their investigation and explained that they were writing about "the history of the place" or "the way people live". They informed the people that they were "writing a book for their work at the university"; and that this book, although initially for the university only, might

1. Names of local people are fictitious.

eventually be published. They tried to avoid identification either as tourists, who are only given general statements ("The air is pure, mister. There's no pollution around here."), or as government officials, who are misled or told as little as possible.

At first, several rumours circulated about the researchers. They were thought to be doctors - a misunderstanding of the nature of the Ph.D. - and later to be "spies". However, the way in which they were introduced to people by their first sponsor - "These boys has come to give the Gaspé Coast a boost" - led to a gradual recognition that the researchers were neither tourists nor government officials. Visits to Mal Bay in the winter helped to foster the impression that the research was a serious project. Eventually, although most people lacked any experience of the university world and thus the ability to understand fully the nature of research, considerable rapport was achieved with the better informants. Before leaving the community, the researchers described to several people in some detail the kinds of things that would be written in the theses. This was met with interest but with little comment. It is hoped to distribute a few copies of the thesis within the community, even though this will inevitably arouse some controversy and resentment.

An initial objective was to interview all heads of household in Mal Bay. It was not possible to complete this household survey. A handful of heads of household were not willing to be interviewed.

Following these refusals, other heads of household, who were likely to be embarrassed by a request to take part in an interview, were not approached, lest their refusal jeopardize the research project as a whole. In all, 72% of the male heads of household were interviewed. The distribution of interviews between the three groups is shown in Fig. 26.

Fig. 26Interviews of Heads of Household in Mal Bay^a

	Protestants	English Catholics	French
Number of Interviews	24	10	7
Percentage Interviewed	86%	48%	64%

a. Of the six female heads of household, three were interviewed

For households where no interview was carried out, information was obtained from other sources within the community. The results of a municipal census, taken in June 1970, formed a valuable base for this. In any case, most types of information were not difficult to obtain in a situation where everybody knows almost everybody else. The only table for which complete data was not available is Fig. 22, relating to the work experience of male heads of household.

Although care was taken to make the data as accurate as possible, it is not infallible. Some of it is, as we have seen, second-hand information. More seriously, it presented endless problems of classification. Two of the most difficult of these related to bilingualism and to occupational patterns: both of central concern to the

research. Bilingualism depended on a man's report of his ability in the other language, supplemented in some instances by the assessment of other members of the community. All the interviews were carried out in the mother tongue of the respondent, i.e. French was spoken to French people, English to English people, and only in rare instances was it possible to make a direct test of bilingualism. Classifying occupations in a situation where many people have several jobs was also difficult. Essentially, the classification for Mal Bay in 1970 (Fig. 19) was based on an assessment of the main form of activity of each head of household. The various categories were derived from assumptions about how it is possible to make a living in Mal Bay: it was not always easy to fit individual livelihood patterns into these categories.

The most basic distinction in Mal Bay is between local people, who are all linked by close ties of marriage and social interaction, and outsiders - "people from away" - such as the minister and the school teachers who rarely have any local connections. Local people can be "placed" by their family name and therefore their relations. They are long-term residents on the Gaspé Coast, whereas the outsiders are transient. The distinction between local people and outsiders is so obvious when in Mal Bay that the researchers automatically excluded the outsiders from the community data. Interviews with the minister and the school principal were conducted on a different basis from interviews with local people. The exclusion of locally-resident outsiders from Mal Bay data can be justified on the grounds that these people are not members of the community in the same sense as people born or married into the place.

Interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of the respondents. As soon as possible after the interview, the tapes were played back and useful information was transcribed. No attempt was made to preserve a verbatim account of all that was said, since many of the interviews lasted for more than an hour. In many cases, following recording of the formal part of the interview, the tape recorder was deliberately switched off to encourage respondents to talk freely about issues which they were reluctant to talk about on tape. Note-taking was likewise avoided. Instead, the two researchers tried to memorize what was said. Writing up the interviews frequently provoked lively discussion between the two researchers as they disagreed over the substance or the interpretation of what people had said. These discussions were of great value both in cross-checking the information and in stimulating further insights into all aspects of community life. Frequently these discussions were prolonged over several days as fresh interviews shed new light on current problems. The constant re-evaluation of hypotheses, which was a major feature of the fieldwork, is one of the main advantages of co-operation in research.

The questionnaire used in the interviews with heads of household is reproduced below, in its English version, in Fig. 27. It was prepared before fieldwork began, and revised several times, though none of the original questions was deleted. The questions were usually phrased in the same way and followed in the same order. However, it should be remembered that the questionnaire was intended as a springboard for free discussion as well as a means of gathering a restricted amount of information, and that good relations with the respondent were more important than pressing for answers to questions which were embarrassing or difficult.

Fig. 27**Questionnaire Used in Household Survey^a**

Note was made of the date, the name of the householder, and the location of the house.

How long have you been living in Mal Bay? Your wife?

Where were you born? Your wife?

Where did your parents come from? Your wife's parents?

Do you know where your ancestors came from originally, that is, on your father's side? Your wife's people?

Do you know when they came to the Gaspé Coast?

How many children do you have? How many are living at home? Your children away from home, where do they live?

What are your children doing?

What religion do you belong to?

What is your job? (this usually initiated a long period of discussion on the nature of his activities, except for people who were on welfare)

Do you do any farming?

What other kinds of jobs have you done before this one? (the respondent was then asked to describe his occupational history, starting with when he left school: in particular, information was collected on participation in farming, cod fishing, and lumber camps)

Have you ever been away to work in the city? In Murdochville?

Have you ever thought of going to live in the city?

What was your father's job?

Do you speak any French? Your wife?

(if "yes") Where did you pick it up?

a. In order to make the interview as relaxed as possible, and to avoid possible areas of embarrassment, the researchers tried to gather background information about a respondent (kinship links, employment, marital status) before going to an interview.

What language do you speak at home? (followed by discussion of attitudes to French and English, second-language teaching in school, employment prospects for people speaking English only, etc.)

This terminated the formal part of the interview. The respondents were invited to pose questions to the interviewers, the tape recorder was switched off, and informal discussion followed.

Appendix D

TRANSFER PAYMENTS

In 1970 the two main types of transfer payment available in Mal Bay were Social Aid (welfare) and Unemployment Insurance Benefits. Social Aid is administered by the Provincial Government. It is granted on the basis of the deficit which exists between the needs of, and the income available to, a family or individual. Once the needs of the family have been assessed, Social Aid is furnished in money, in kind, or in the form of services. The principal type of Social Aid is a monthly "welfare cheque" mailed to the head of household. The amount of this benefit, which is to provide for food, clothing, household and personal expenses, varies according to the number of people in the household. For a single adult it is \$46 per month; for a couple \$76 per month. For children under the age of 18, the amount of this benefit varies according to age. Thus, for a family with four children, the total monthly benefit varies from \$143-\$190. Additional children are allotted a further \$10-\$20 per month according to age. In addition to this general cash benefit, further specific grants are made. All municipal and school taxes, all electricity, heating, gas and water bills are paid, and there is a grant of \$10 per month for household maintenance. However, Social Aid is only available to those who lack the "means of subsistence". The possession of capital assets or property above a certain value is incompatible with Social Aid. More importantly, Social Aid is incompatible with work. According to the Act, "a family or individual shall be deemed not to lack means of subsistence when the head of such

family or individual is engaged in either full or part-time regular employment, or seasonal employment, or works on his own behalf..."

Unemployment Insurance Benefits have been available generally since the 1940's, though fishermen have only received them since 1957. They are not available to farmers. They are administered by the Federal Government and are based on previous contributions according to earnings. To be eligible for the benefit, it is necessary to work and thus pay contributions for 30 weeks in the previous two years, of which 8 weeks must be in the current year. This provides for benefits which last for 52 weeks. Alternatively, a specific category of seasonal benefits require 15 weekly contributions in the period 31st March - 1st December. Benefits may then begin on 1st December and last up to 15th May. In 1970, the maximum contribution of \$1.40 per week was based on weekly earning of \$100 or more. A lower level of weekly earnings implied a lower contribution. For instance, weekly earnings of \$50 required a contribution of 65 cents. For an insured person with dependents - nearly everyone receiving the benefit had a family - the benefit based on the maximum level of contributions was \$53 per week. It was lower if contributions had been paid at a lower rate. For instance, a contribution at 65 cents per week brought a benefit of \$29 per week.

Receipt of the benefits is incompatible with work.

Sources: The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1955
Unemployment Insurance Commission, Ottawa, 1969
(a new Act came into force July 1971)

Bill 26: Social Aid Act 1969
also Regulations
Quebec Official Gazette 1969 and 1970

References

- Abell, Helen C., 1966. "The Social Consequences of the Modernization of Agriculture" in Rural Canada in Transition edited by Marc-Adélaïd Tremblay. Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada.
- Anderson, A. Grant, 1968. "Indian Small-Farming in Fiji: the significance of off-farm employment". Pacific Viewpoint 9: 12-32.
- Arensberg, Conrad M., and Kimball, Solon T., 1965. Culture and Community. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Arensberg, Conrad M., and Kimball, Solon T., 1948. Family and Community in Ireland. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- BAEQ, 1966. Atlas Régional du Bas-St-Laurent, de la Gaspésie, et des Îles-de-la-Madeleine. Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec.
- BAEQ, 1965a. Esquisse du Plan: la Forêt. Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec.
- BAEQ, 1965b. Esquisse du Plan: la Pêche. Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec.
- Baran, Paul, 1957. The Political Economy of Growth. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Barnes, J.A., 1954. "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish". Human Relations VII: 39-58.
- Beckford, George L., 1972. Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World. New York and London: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, Colin, and Newby, Howard, 1971. Community Studies: an introduction to the sociology of the local community. Studies in Sociology, No. 5. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Bérubé, Louis, 1937. "La Gaspésie Ethnique". Le Canada Français 24: 968-979.
- Biays, Pierre, 1964. Les Marges de l'Oekoumène dans l'Est du Canada. Travaux et Documents du Centre d'Etudes Nordiques, No. 2. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Blanchard, Raoul, 1934. L'Est du Canada Français. Tome 1: Province de Québec. Paris and Montreal, Beauchemin.

Boucher, Paul, 1962. Monographies économique-sociales des comtés ruraux de Québec: la Gaspésie. Quebec: Ministère de l'Agriculture et de la Colonisation.

Brewis, T.N., 1969. Regional Economic Policies in Canada. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada.

Brookfield, H.C., 1970. "Dualism, and the Geography of Developing Countries". Presidential Address, Section 21 (Geographical Sciences), Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Port Moresby. (Mimeographed.)

Brookfield, H.C., with Hart, Doreen, 1971. Melanesia: a geographical interpretation of an island world. London: Methuen.

Brookfield, H.C., 1972. "On One Geography, and a Third World". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, in press. (Page references to MS version.)

Brox, Ottar, 1969. Maintenance of Economic Dualism in Newfoundland. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 9. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University.

Bureau de la Statistique du Québec, various dates.

(a) Annuaire du Québec

(b) Pêche Maritime (monthly)

(c) Pêche Commerciale (annual)

Quebec: Ministère de l'Industrie et du Commerce.

Canada. Census Office, various dates. Census of Canada, Nos. 1 (1971) to 12 (1966). Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada. Department of Forestry, 1964. Economic and Social Disadvantage in Canada: some graphic indicators of location and degree. Ottawa: ARDA Information. (A series of maps.)

Canada. Department of Forestry, 1968. Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé and Iles de la Madeleine Area of Quebec: Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada. National Atlas, 1970. 4th edition. Ottawa: Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.

Canada. Report of Fishery Protection Officer, 1877. Report of Napoleon Lavoie, Fishery Protection Officer, for the year 1876. Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries: 44-147. Sessional Papers, No. 5. (See also similar reports for other years printed annually in Sessional Papers.)

Chayanov, A.V., 1966. The Theory of Peasant Economy. Edited by Daniel Thorner: translated from the Russian. The American Economic Association. (First published 1925.)

Chisholm, Michael, 1962. Rural Settlement and Land Use. London: Hutchinson.

Christian, William A., 1969. Divided Island: Faction and Unity on Saint Pierre. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Commission de Géographie, 1969. Répertoire Géographique du Québec. Quebec: Ministère des Terres et Forêts.

Connor, D.M., and Magill, D.W., 1966. The Role of Education in Rural Development. ARDA Research Report No. RE-1. Ottawa: Department of Forestry and Rural Development.

Daigle, Gérard, 1968. "Changements socio-culturels dans une communauté de pêcheurs: Bassin". Unpublished Maîtrise en Anthropologie, Université de Montréal.

Dalton, George, 1967. "The Development of Subsistence and Peasant Economies in Africa" in Tribal and Peasant Economies edited by George Dalton. New York: The Natural History Press. (Originally published in International Social Science Journal XVI: 378-389.)

Daneau, Marcel, 1965. Situation Economique des Familles Rurales de la Gaspésie. Quebec: Conseil des Recherches Agricoles, Ministère de l'Agriculture et de la Colonisation.

Davies, Elwyn, and Rees, Alwyn D., eds., 1960. Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Davis, Allison, Gardner, Burleigh B., and Gardner, Mary R., 1941. Deep South: a social anthropological study of caste and class. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Drapeau, Stanislas, 1863. Etudes sur les Développements de la Colonisation du Bas-Canada depuis dix ans, 1851-1861. Quebec.

Dugas, Clermont, 1968. "L'Influence du Climat sur les Activités forestières dans une partie de la Gaspésie". Cahiers de Géographie de Québec 25: 156-159.

Duval, Louise, 1964. Faits Saillants de l'Inventaire. Annexe Technique 11, au Plan de Développement 1967-1972 du Bas-St-Laurent, de la Gaspésie et des Iles-de-la-Madeleine. Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec.

Emmett, Isabel, 1964. A North Wales Village: a social anthropological study. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Fay, C.R., 1961. Channel Islands and Newfoundland. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons.
- Ferland, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine, 1877. La Gaspésie. Nouvelle Edition. Quebec. (From a diary kept during a voyage in June 1836.)
- Firbank, Thomas, 1940. I Bought a Mountain. London: G.G. Harrap.
- Firth, Raymond, 1964. "Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies: a viewpoint from economic anthropology" in Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies edited by Raymond Firth and B.S. Yamey. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
- Fortin, Gérald, and Gosselin, Emile, 1960. "La Professionalisation du Travail en Forêt". Recherches Sociographiques I: 33-60.
- Frank, Andre Gunder, 1969a. Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Frank, Andre Gunder, 1969b. Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Frankenberg, Ronald, 1966. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Frankenberg, Ronald, 1957. Village on the Border. London: Cohen and West.
- Franklin, S.H., 1969. The European Peasantry. London: Methuen.
- Franklin, S.H., 1965. "Systems of Production: Systems of Appropriation". Pacific Viewpoint 6: 145-166.
- Friedmann, John, 1963. "Regional Economic Policy for Developing Areas". Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association 11: 41-61.
- Gagnon, Gabriel, 1970. "Les Iles-de-la-Madeleine: éléments pour une anthropologie de la participation". Recherches Sociographiques XI: 223-254.
- Geddes, Arthur, 1955. The Isle of Lewis and Harris: a study in British community. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Giroux, Germain, 1960. "Quebec's Modern Fishing Fleet". Annuaire Statistique, 43rd edition: 378-393. Quebec: Bureau de la Statistique. (Now known as "Annuaire du Québec".)
- Great Britain. Privy Council, 1765. (A report on fisheries.) Quoted in H.A. Innis, 1954. The Cod Fisheries. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hirsch, Robert D., 1967. Les Origines et la Nature des Déséquilibres Régionaux du Québec. Planification du Développement Régional, Série II: Rapport d'Analyse. Québec: Conseil d'Orientation Economique.

Hirschman, Albert O., 1958. The Strategy of Economic Development. New York and London: Yale University Press.

Hughes, Charles C. et al., 1960. People of Cove and Woodlot: communities from the viewpoint of social psychiatry. The Stirling County Study of Psychiatric Disorder and Sociocultural Environment, Vol. II. New York: Basic Books Inc.

Innis, H.A., 1954. The Cod Fisheries: the history of an international economy. Revised Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (First published 1940.)

Innis, H.A., 1956. The Fur Trade in Canada. Revised Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (First published 1930.)

Innis, H.A., 1967. "The Importance of Staple Products" in Approaches to Canadian Economic History edited by W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins. The Carleton Library No. 31. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. (Originally published in H.A. Innis The Fur Trade in Canada.)

Jean, Yves, 1969. "Pêcheries à la Morue Canadienne sur la côte Atlantique". Rapport No. 8 in Géo-Economie de la Morue edited by Jean Malaurie. Premier Congrès International de l'Industrie Morutière dans l'Atlantique-nord. Paris: Mouton.

Johnson, Charles S., 1966. Shadow of the Plantation. Phoenix Books. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (First published 1934.)

Junek, Oscar Waldemar, 1937. Isolated Communities: A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village. American Sociology Studies. New York: American Book Co.

Kavanagh, Arthur, 1964. "Les Kavanagh à Cap-des-Rosiers". Revue d'Histoire de la Gaspésie II: 5-16.

Keeble, D.E., 1968. "Models of Economic Development" in Socio-Economic Models in Geography edited by Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett. London: Methuen.

LaBarre, Claude, 1966. L'Impact Economique Régional du Complexe Minier de Murdochville. Annexe Technique 1, au Plan de Développement 1967-1972 du Bas-St-Laurent, de la Gaspésie et des Iles-de-la-Madeleine. Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec.

Lafontaine, Georges, 1942. Cooperatisme et organisation économique de la Gaspésie. Montreal.

Legendre, Camille, 1966. La Mobilité de la Main-d'oeuvre Forestière Mise en Rapport avec l'Entreprise d'Exploitation. Annexe Technique 15, au Plan de Développement 1967-1972 du Bas-St-Laurent, de la Gaspésie et des Iles-de-la-Madeleine. Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec.

LeGros, Arthur, 1964 etc. "Charles Robin on the Gaspé Coast". Révue d'Histoire de la Gaspésie II-IV (A series of articles.)

Levitt, Kari, 1970. Silent Surrender: the multinational corporation in Canada. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada.

Littlejohn, James, 1963. Westrigg: the sociology of a Cheviot parish. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lower Canada. Census, 1844. Sessional Papers 1846 Appendix G. Province of Canada: Legislative Assembly.

Lower Canada. Report of the Commissioners, 1821. Report of the Commissioners appointed under the Provincial Act of 59th George III entitled "An Act to Secure the Inhabitants of the Inferior District of Gaspé, in the Possession and Enjoyment of their lands". Laid before the House of Assembly. Quebec: Thomas Cary.

Malaurie, Jean, ed., 1969. Géo-Economie de la Morue. Premier Congrès International de l'Industrie Morutière dans l'Atlantique-nord. Bibliothèque Arctique et Antarctique. Paris: Mouton.

Miner, Horace, 1963. St. Denis: a French-Canadian Parish. Phoenix Books. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (First published 1939.)

Morandière, Charles de la, 1962. Histoire de la Pêche Française de la Morue dans L'Amérique Septentrionale. Tome 1. Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose.

Mountain, G.J., 1941-1942. "Visitation to the Gaspé Coast in 1826". Archives de Québec: 330-344. (From Mountain's diaries.)

Myint, H., 1971. Economic Theory and the Underdeveloped Countries. New York and London: Oxford University Press.

Myrdal, Gunnar, 1963. Economic Theory and Under-Developed Regions. London: Methuen. (First published 1956)

Newfoundland Fisheries Development Committee, 1953. Report. St. John's: (Ministry of Fisheries?)

Paine, R.P.B., Skolnik, M.L., and Wadel, Cato, 1969. "Intermediate Adaptation - Rural Development as an Alternative to Rural Immiseration" in Intermediate Adaptation in Newfoundland and the Arctic edited by Milton M.R. Freeman. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 4. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University.

Pêcheurs-Unis de Québec, 1959. Les coopératives de pêcheurs de Québec. Montreal: in collaboration with the Département des Pêcheries de Québec.

Pépin, Pierre-Yves, 1959. "L'Industrie de la Pêche en Gaspésie" in Mélanges Géographiques Canadiens offerts à Raoul Blanchard. Institut de Géographie de l'Université Laval. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

Pépin, Pierre-Yves, 1967. Milieus, Genres de Vie Ruraux et Pauvreté dans les Maritimes. Rapport de Recherche ARDA No. RF-3. Ottawa: Ministère des Forêts et du Développement Rural.

Perroux, François, 1964. L'Economie du XX^e Siècle. Deuxième Edition Augmentée. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France.

Plessis, Joseph-Octave, 1865. "Journal de deux Voyages . . . dans le Golfe St. Laurent en 1811-12". Le Foyer Canadien 3: 73-280.

Polanyi, Karl, 1968. Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies. New York: Anchor Books. (Essays edited by George Dalton.)

Prebisch, Raul, 1950. The Economic Development of Latin America and its principal problems. New York: Economic Commission for Latin America, United Nations Department of Economic Affairs.

Pye, Thomas, 1866. Canadian Scenery: District of Gaspé. Montreal: John Lovell.

Rees, Alwyn D., 1951. Life in a Welsh Countryside. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Richardson, Stephen A., 1952. "Technological Change: some effects on three Canadian fishing villages". Human Organization 11: 17-27.

Rioux, Marcel, 1961. Belle-Anse. Bulletin No. 138. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.

Robert, Bernard, 1971. Profils Migratoires. Comtés et Régions: Province de Québec 1961-1966. Québec: Bureau de la Statistique, Ministère de l'Industrie et du Commerce.

Roy, Charles Eugene, and Brault, Lucien, 1934. Historical Gaspé. Québec.

Roy, Charles-Eugène, 1947. Percé. Perce.

Saunders, A.C., 1930. Jersey in the 18th and 19th centuries. Jersey: J.T. Bigwood.

Siebert, W.H., 1914. "Loyalist Settlement in the Gaspé Peninsula". Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Series 3, VIII, Section II: 399-405.

Skolnik, M.L., and Wadel, Cato, 1969. "Intermediate Adaptation in Newfoundland" in Intermediate Adaptation in Newfoundland and the Arctic edited by Milton M.R. Freeman. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 4. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University.

Steward, Julian H., 1950. Area Research, Theory and Practice. Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 63.

Tremblay, Marc-Adélaide, Charest, Paul, and Breton, Yvan, 1969. Les Changements Socio-culturels à Saint-Augustin. Travaux et Documents du Centre d'Etudes Nordiques, No. 6. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

Wadel, Cato, 1969a. Communities and Committees. Community Development and the Enlargement of the Sense of Community on Fogo Island, Newfoundland. St. John's: Extension Service, Memorial University.

Wadel, Cato, 1969b. Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 7. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University.

Watkins, M.H., 1967. "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth" in Approaches to Canadian Economic History edited by W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins. The Carleton Library No. 31. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. (Originally published in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science XXIX: 141-158.)

Whyte, Donald R., 1966. "Rural Canada in Transition" in Rural Canada in Transition edited by Marc-Adélaide Tremblay. Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada.

Willens, Emilio, 1970. "Peasantry and City: Cultural Persistence and Change in Historical Perspective, a European Case". American Anthropologist 72: 528-544.

Williams, W.M., 1956. The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Williams, W.M., 1963. A West Country Village: 'Ashworthy'. Dartington Hall Studies in Rural Sociology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wolf, Eric R., 1967. "Types of Latin American Peasantry: a preliminary discussion" in Tribal and Peasant Economies edited by George Dalton. New York: The Natural History Press. (Originally published in American Anthropologist 57: 452-471.)