The Lived Experience of Fishers
Through the Cod Moratorium in Newfoundland

by

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A THESIS SUMBITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology and Special Education)

We accept this thesis as conforming
To the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
August 1999
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Date August 14, 1999
ABSTRACT

Using Karlsson's Empirical Psychological Phenomenological Method, this thesis project researches the fishers' lived experience of the cod-fishing moratorium in Newfoundland that began in 1992. The source for the lived experience was derived from interviews with five fishers from St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland, who were full-time fishers at the declaration of the moratorium. The study resulted in 17 themes representing their experience, including the experiences of: steadfastness, knowing, loss and grief, abandonment, dashed hopes, professionalization, being prepared for the moratorium and not being prepared for the moratorium, of waiting, remembering the resettlement program, being judged disrespectfully, being devalued for fishers' economic contribution, being paid-off, being misguided, frustration and change. This study articulated the issues as named by those most affected and translated the experience into a psychological perspective that can influence the development and implementation of counselling practices and programs. Based on the findings of this study, implications were drawn for counselling practice, for individual and group processes, and policy making.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Richard Young for accepting to direct me in this thesis project. His patience, comments and undying support has enabled me to stay with this project and see it come to completion. It has not been a simple task to maintain the required communication for thesis writing, especially from across the country. I would like to thank John Scott, my external examiner, the enthusiasm, insights, and challenges have helped me utilize this methodology to analyze the protocols and deepen my understanding of the issues confronted by the fishers. Also I give my appreciation to Norm Amundson, my internal reader for this project.

I am grateful to my employer, the Archdiocese of St. John’s, Newfoundland, specifically Bishop James H. MacDonald, Bill Power and Maxine Davis. You have provided constant support, encouragement and flexibility to ensure this project is fulfilled.

There are many people who have played a major role in assisting me during this thesis project. To my editors: Bon, Tracey, John, Cecilia, and Gerard, my deepest gratitude. Your participation has made this project better and more readable than it could have been without your assistance. To my parents Theresa and Walter, you have always supported me, even when I thought you did not “understand”, thanks. To my family, friends and co-workers, I appreciate your efforts to keep me focused and on track.

To help reflect the experience of the fishers I have collected songs written about people’s experience of the moratorium. A verse is used to open each chapter, and the full versions are included in Appendix D. I thank the songwriters for their permission to use their work in this thesis project.
Most especially, this project depended on five fishers from St. Mary’s Bay, Newfoundland. They agreed to share their stories of an often difficult and painful experience. Even when it was in the midst of harvest season they found time to meet with me. To you I am very grateful.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Oh Newfoundland people where will you go?
What will you do to hold free?
The white squalls still beckon the foghorns still blow.
Oh Newfoundland people salt sea.
(Myrtle Power, Appendix D)

Newfoundland, as we know it, exists in the shadow of the cod fishery. Over the centuries the cod fishery has been the livelihood for many of its people and Newfoundlanders, in general, have always had strong ties with the sea and the fishery. In 1992, in an unprecedented move, due to diminishing cod stocks, the Federal Government declared a ban on cod fishing. Initially, this policy was implemented as a two-year moratorium in the cod fishery; however the commercial cod fishery, to date, has not returned to its pre-moratorium state.

The closing of the cod fishery in Newfoundland has had an impact on many groups, including provincial and federal governments, policy makers, communities, families and fishers. This was a sudden and crucial change to the lives of people involved in this predicament. Although the events surrounding this milestone and all happenings in the fishery are well documented, the lives of the people affected by these events have been less thoroughly examined. The focus of this study is the experience of the cod moratorium as lived by individuals who were involved in the cod fishery.

In an attempt to reduce the impact of the moratorium, the government provided compensation which, in turn, affected its recipients in various and complex ways. The loss of a livelihood, fears of the future, and possible discrimination arising from receiving
government assistance have seriously affected people on individual, family and community levels. This is especially true for fishers and fish plant workers, to whom this paper is dedicated.

At the time of this research, the cod moratorium had been in place for over five years. There have been many changes and adjustments, by both the fishers and the government. The government has had to adjust its approach to this crisis - fisheries management, assistance programs, and research into all aspects of the fishery. Because fishing for cod was banned, there was and continues to be an increase in the catch of "under-utilized" fish; these are the species, such as caplin, haddock, crab, and pollock that had not been fished previously with a concentrated effort. Those who obtained permits adapted their vessels and continued fishing for different species; others, because of the regulation changes, were unable to get the required licences, resulting in displacement from the fishery. At the same time, crewmembers were displaced if their skipper was unable to obtain alternate licences or if he/she combined efforts with other owners and therefore no longer needed the services of the crew.

The lives of the fish plant workers also changed dramatically. Whole communities that had been sustained by the presence of a fish plant were now threatened with collapse if the fish plant could no longer operate. Where fishing under-utilized species was permitted, far fewer fish plants were required to process the catch. The losses sustained from the closure of the cod fishery and the consequent disappointment of fish plant closures have been difficult for many people and communities to face.

The fishery has been the cornerstone of identity and often of survival for many Newfoundlanders. The loss of this way of life has had an impact on a whole population.
To help us understand what this loss means it is essential that the experience of the people involved be documented and studied, both individually and communally.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the human experience of a significant economic and social phenomenon in a rural settlement in Newfoundland. Specifically, I have considered the experience of fishers since the cod moratorium was declared in eastern Canada in 1992. I have explored the experience of fishers and how they coped with the moratorium's impact on them, their families and their community.

Newfoundland fishers have little experience of alternative ways of sustaining a living in their cold ocean coastal communities except through the fishery. Beyond the personal dimension, the economic impact of those affected is massive; 40,000 Canadian fishery workers, including 30,000 in Newfoundland, had been displaced.

This research is significant inasmuch as the cod moratorium has disrupted the social and economic culture of the province. The importance of this research lies in the fishers' stories. The process respectfully engaged the participants in thinking about their own positions, and moves past the commonly believed understanding of what impact the moratorium had on fishing people and communities.

Research Question

What does the Empirical Phenomenological Psychological (EPP)-method reveal about the lived experience of those fishers who are living in an outport community in Newfoundland who were affected by the Cod Moratorium and the interruption of the cod fishery on the fishing grounds off Newfoundland?
Assumptions

A phenomenological perspective has been adopted for this research and has examined several key factors, specifically the lived experience of the closure of the cod fishery, both personal and community. The impact of the moratorium was felt most intimately in communities that had been dependent on the fishery, through the harvesting and processing of fish. Thus this research explored the experience of individuals within such a community by collecting the participants' stories of their personal experiences.

The presuppositions of this research include an understanding that a way of life has been altered and possibly lost as a result of the cod moratorium. People affected by the moratorium have been disheartened. Because communities are no longer viable, out-migration from the province is a reality. As well, people's mental health has been adversely affected by the moratorium. Although the government has implemented financial and retraining support programs, many people feel ignored or lost in the process (CMHA, 1993).

Research Perspective

The purpose of this study was to investigate the experience of living and coping with the cod moratorium, utilizing the EPP-method of inquiry (Karlsson, 1988). This enables a structural description of the phenomenon. By focusing on the individual experience of five fishers, this study describes what had been experienced first-hand and how this phenomenon is being lived out in their everyday lives. Since the number of interviews was dependent on the thematic analysis, interviews continued until no new themes emerged.
The need for this study lies in the human experience of this phenomenon called the moratorium. The phenomenological psychological approach gives the fishers' perspective of living with the moratorium. While much has been written about the cod moratorium - why it came about and the psychological implications of the ban on the fishery - the lived experience for fishers has not received studied attention. Such a study is essential to the understanding of how individuals have perceived this situation in which they found themselves. Finally, this research is important because it is participant-centered; the themes emerged from their stories, rather than from a pre-programmed agenda of themes.

Method for Data Collection and Analysis

Karlsson (1995) describes the method for a phenomenological approach to psychological, qualitative research. Utilizing his EPP-method for collection, analysis and reporting, this study looks for the meanings people are making of the experience they have been living since the commencement of the cod moratorium. Interviews were the basis of the protocols for this study; these were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim, then analysed for themes. The themes were extracted from the protocols, making explicit experiences that are being lived out in daily life without conscious awareness. Of interest in this research are the context, culture, language and experience of the individuals participating in the study.

Usefulness of the Results

As stated, this is qualitative phenomenological study that collects and analyses the personal narratives of the fishers, from St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland (see Figure 1). Personal interviews were used to inquire into the experience of the fishers. The protocols
St. Mary's Bay is on the south coast of the Avalon Peninsula. There are approximately 20 communities in this bay. The populations of these communities vary between 250 – 750 people. The main source of employment has been the fishery. At present there is one fish plant in operation, over the years there has been up to five fish processing plants working.
were analyzed for the lived experience of fishers affected by the closure of the cod fishery since 1992. My hope for this research is that it will give a deeper understanding of what it has been like to live through this time and how fishers have coped with this phenomenon. By using this information, people working with displaced fishers will be better able to understand the meaning that the fishers perceive rather than the popular one, which has been imposed from others outside the fishery.

The impetus for this research is my commitment to the people and culture of Newfoundland. It is often said that Newfoundlanders love the rock but it is difficult to put into words that exact reason why. This is true also for me, both as a Newfoundlander and as the researcher for this project. When I first learned about the cod moratorium, I felt an enormous sadness and a strong desire to be with the people affected by this crisis. Reflection upon my own reaction led me to ask what this meant for fishers, their families and rural communities. Consequently, I have taken the opportunity to interview fishers, to analyse their protocols and name the lived experience of the cod moratorium as they have shared it with me.

Although I was not directly involved with the fishery, because I grew up in mill town and my family were not a fishing family, the fishery was ingrained as an essential part of who we are as people and as a province. It is part of our stories, our songs and our culture.

When I heard about the cod moratorium I was living in Vancouver, removed from the present day issues at that time, yet I felt both sad and frightened. Sad that such destruction had occurred; here we are with so much technology yet it was destroying, not building up the resources. I was also frightened, for the people, for the province, and for
some reason for myself. Somehow, with no understanding, my own identity was at risk. I knew the major role the fishery played in the provincial economy. I was concerned for the loss of people's livelihood and the provincial survival, could we make it without the cod fishery. It was with these desires and concerns that I returned to Newfoundland, to work and to research.

This research has given me the opportunity to learn more fully about the culture of rural Newfoundland. Just as all Canadians are not alike, all Newfoundlanders are not the same. My work allows me to work in both urban and rural communities. It was evident early on that the concerns were different in two different types of centers. Since I had grown up in a more urban community, this research provided the opportunity for me to learn hands-on what the concerns are in rural communities, how the perceptions differ, how attitudes and culture are dependent of place and experience. As a result I will be better counsellor and a more informed Newfoundlander.

It is essential to record the experience of the fishers, as they shared it. From the fishers stories the analysis of their interviews provide the lived experiences. This process will acknowledge the deeply felt and lasting experiences as they have lived them. There is a human obligation to have their reality acknowledged and to hear their personal stories of this phenomenon.

As a non-fisher, much of the information regarding the cod stock crisis, the moratorium and the compensation packages was gathered from the media. It was easy to accept the media reports at face value, with little discussion or critical reflection. Yet, there seemed to be an important factor missing. It was this missing piece that drew me into this research, I believed fishers' personal stories needed to be heard and shared. It is
important to inquire into the cod moratorium, to find out what can be learned through the lived experience of those most closely involved in this phenomenon.

This research is important because it goes beyond the stereotypical public perceptions of fishers and their reactions to the moratorium. The CMHA (1994) study and Veley’s (1996) research both had preset agendas to research. It is my opinion that there were assumptions made regarding the norm and there is the need to research the deeper experience and meaning of the fishers lives, rather than take at face the media representation of the moratorium.

This method of research takes a qualitative approach allowing the themes to emerge from the fishers’ stories, rather than setting the agenda and inquiry into those concerns. This research allowed the issues to come from the root existence, the fishers. In considering their experience, we can learn a perspective that is not imposed rather one that is shared from those who have lived it. In learning about the concerns and issues we, counsellors, the public and policy makers can come to a deeper understanding of the people involved and their needs. This research is important for its value in recording and analysing the experience of fishers during the moratorium.

It is possible to use this research as a springboard for dialogue. In learning more deeply about the people affected by the moratorium, it will help to dispel the misconceptions that have evolved. Through such dialogue it may be possible to develop stronger appreciation for our differences within this culture. This research is important to dispel misconceptions of the fishers’ response to the moratorium. One of the main public perceptions is that fishers are looking for handouts. And what we are seeing on the news is screaming, inarticulate fishers, protesting because their TAGS ran out. This research is
important because fishers in this whole process have been afforded a medium to express or explore their personal and community experience.

Since the natural resource of fishing has been intrinsic to the character and identity of many of our Newfoundlanders the cod moratorium has forced many Newfoundlanders into a paradigm shift – they have had to develop a whole new way of living, ways of thinking, and new attitudes of being. It is important that the shift is recorded and people have the opportunity to process the experiences. The fishery is also important to the tertiary service sectors, which have depended on the profits of fishers, and had been greatly affected by the closure of the cod fishery. The experience of the moratorium and its impact begs analysis. It appears that much of the analysis to this point has been done from a financial and program point of view.

In counselling this research will be essential in the formation of approaches that are client centered and culturally sensitive. In critiquing what the experience is and how people have coped with the moratorium, counsellors may be more empathic. This study attends to the fishers’ perspective, and its influence on counselling with individuals involved in work disruption, specifically displaced fishers. This research can also be used to help develop and implement program interventions. In researching the client issues, concerns and needs there is an opportunity to approach programming with specific interventions, rather than imposed programming that may not be beneficial. I know I will benefit from this research, both professionally and personally.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

"We're folk of the sea
bold, fierce and proud are we
to rise and face the light of each new dawn
to struggle on
Proud to be folk of the sea!"
(Ged Blackmore, see Appendix D)

The experience of living with the cod moratorium did not begin in July 1992. The complex structure of the fishery itself led to the complications of the moratorium and its affect on people’s lives. To comprehend the magnitude of the fishery in Newfoundland, one must become familiar with its various aspects. This literature review serves this purpose. There are many elements that need to be understood such as: the structure of the fishery, people of the fishery and their roles, the communities, “outports”, and the dynamics of the moratorium itself. The prelude to the cod moratorium and the resulting responses by the federal government also need to be considered. Finally, I have included a review of the psychological studies of the moratorium and adult transition literature, for relevant content.

Structure of the Fishery

In Newfoundland and Labrador, the cod fishery had been a significant resource since the 16th century. Historically, the Europeans saw this province as an outpost in the midst of an incredibly rich resource. Settlement of the land was delayed considerably by this fact, as European governments (particularly Britain) discouraged settlement, preferring to send fleets to the fishing grounds for each season. The Europeans saw the
land primarily as a base to stage fishing operations, repair equipment, gather supplies and raw materials, and, in some cases, dry the tremendous quantity of codfish taken from the various areas of the continental shelf. The cod fishery was easily exploited without the expense of new settlements or a new labour force (Cell, 1982).

In time some crewmembers were left behind to maintain the land based facilities related to the fishery. Some official colonies were planted, and deserters or castaways landed, and later settlers began to inhabit various areas of the province. The population spread through the bays and coves of the island, spreading out to take advantage of good access to the fishing grounds, abundance of raw material, and locations suitable to the large scale drying of fish. A mercantile system developed, eventually based in the capital of St. John’s, which provided finished goods and supplies to the fishermen and collected the fish for trade and sale in New England, the Caribbean, Europe, and Great Britain (Handcock, 1994).

This population dispersal led to the current spatial and economic geography of the province. Specifically, there are more than 700 communities in the province. St. John’s is economically diverse, with well-established secondary and tertiary sectors. There are three pulp and paper towns, one mining town, one town based on hydroelectricity, and a handful of small farming communities. There are several administrative and business centres. Almost all of the other communities in the province depend directly on the fishery (Task Force on Incomes and Adjustment in the Atlantic Fishery, 1993). Of all communities in the province, 97% have fewer than 5,000 people, and these communities contain nearly half of the population (Newfoundland, 1995).
The fishing industry is a dangerous and variable venture. Vulnerable to the weather and sea, not to mention fish populations and catches, the fishing industry makes the lives of fishers and those dependent on it unstable and often trying. Over centuries, people developed a self-reliant and fatalistic attitude that has helped them thrive through many hardships and challenges (Whitaker, 1988).

In 1992, after five years of dramatic declines in the fish catches, the Federal Government, through the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), closed the once significant Northern Cod Fishery in the rich fishing grounds on the north east coast of Newfoundland. In 1994, in the absence of a rebound of the fish stocks, the moratorium was extended indefinitely to virtually all groundfish in eastern Canada.

This closure meant that more than 40,000 workers in the fish harvesting and processing sectors became unemployed, devastating many hundred communities. The federal government took action with a $1.9 billion set of adjustment programs to mitigate these results, but the community and personal dislocation has been great. To examine these effects in greater detail, I looked into the structure of the fishery as it existed in 1990.

The Prosecution of the Fishery in Eastern Canada

The fishery in eastern Canada is an extremely diverse one, and fishers range from casual part-timers, to successful boat owners and skippers, to employees of the two multinational fish companies based in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The harvesting technology used, the size of the boats used, and the types of species of fish targeted stratify it.
There are three types of fish species harvested: groundfish, shellfish and pelagics. The groundfish include flounder, pollock, haddock, whitefish, and most importantly for Newfoundland, codfish. These fish spawn near the bottom in the shallow waters of the continental shelf, far out to sea. The eggs, dispersed by currents and wind, hatch near the surface, and the larva gradually return to the bottom as they grow. The stocks of mature fish follow their food source inshore, and follow complex paths dependant on water temperature, currents and weather patterns. The groundfish make up more than 50% of the catch in weight, but less than 50% in landed value.

The second type of fish species is shellfish, including shrimp, lobster, crab and scallop. The shellfish yield the highest landed value of the three types, even though they only make up about 16% of the catch.

Finally, pelagics, which live near the surface, yield the lowest landed value, and include herring, mackerel and caplin. All stocks have suffered over the last number of years, but a near total collapse in the cod stock has generated the current crisis in the fishery.

Although there are three distinct classes of fish species, they are all linked in the food chain. Thus the increased effort to fish for under-utilized species may also have an adverse effect on the revival of the cod fishery. Disturbances in the food chain may result; for example, cod feed on caplin and a caplin fishery during the cod moratorium may be dangerous to the recovery of the northern cod stocks. Likewise, there has also been an increase in the shrimp fishery and this too may adversely affect the recovery because of the rate at which larger fish including cod are trapped by shrimp fishing gear.
Groundfish are the most labour intensive of the three species, with each 1,000 tons of landed fish generating full-time jobs for 30 people in a year (75 people when seasonality, the number of fish plants, and other factors are considered).

The second major factor in explaining the diversity of the fishing industry is the nature of the fishing fleet and the harvesting equipment used. Again there are three segments: the inshore, midshore and offshore fleets. The inshore fishery is executed in small boats by fishers who return to their home ports daily. These fishers use gear such as traps, nets or longlines that remain in the water; called fixed gear, they are hauled daily or twice a day. The boats are less than 45 feet long, and may or may not have a covered deck. Crews average between one and five members, and the skipper may share the catch with his crew or pay wages. This is the most traditional of the three fleet sectors.

The midshore fleet is made up of vessels from 45 to 65 feet long and uses either fixed or mobile gear. These vessels can operate far from shore for most of the year and make voyages up to one week in duration. The larger vessels tow a cone shaped net called an otter trawl (mobile gear) or set gillnets or lines (two types of fixed gear).

Offshore vessels typically tow an otter trawl along the ocean floor, often over the spawning beds. With a crew of 12 to 16 people, these vessels stay at sea for voyages of up to 10 days, with two days off between voyages. The catch is gutted and iced at sea, and further processed at a plant in the vessel’s home port. These vessels can operate almost year round. Offshore workers face constant risk of injury and often work on stormy seas, so are paid well relative to other fishers. The offshore vessels typically belong to one of the major fish companies, and their catches are processed at company-owned plants.
A final aspect of the diversity of the fishery concerns the fact that processing plants employ shore-based fish plant workers. Inshore plants process fish caught by inshore and mid-shore vessels. These vary in their size and complexity, but generally operate during the inshore fishing season, and primarily yield commodity production. The offshore plants, on the other hand, operate nearly year round, are highly mechanized, and produce a product mix of packaged foods ready for sale to the consumer. The workers in the offshore plants earn the highest wages of all plant workers (Task Force on Incomes and Adjustment in the Atlantic Fishery, 1993).

As outlined above, the fishing industry is a complex and a highly technical enterprise. It is also tightly controlled. Regulation and law enforcement are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) a division of the Government of Canada. Through DFO, the federal government has managed the fishery, the call of the moratorium, and the programs available to fishers and plant workers since the crisis. The financial assistance and retraining programs have been administered through Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). The Newfoundland Department of Fisheries has no or little direct input in the fishing operations, but it has been influential in the fishery in its involvement with fish processing plants and the Fisheries Loan Board. The provincial government is responsible for the construction of fish processing plants and was heavily involved in the amalgamation of various companies into two super offshore fishing fleets and processing plants: Fishery Products International and National Sea Products.
The People of the Fishery

In addition to the fishers and plant workers, there are a tremendous number of people indirectly dependent on the fishery. In each fishing community local businesses serve the fishery as suppliers, refrigeration technicians, truckers and shippers. The retail stores, restaurants, bars and banks of these communities depend on the commerce of the fishers and their families for their business.

Men make up the bulk of harvesters in the fishery. On the processing side, about half of the workers are women. This generalization belies the deep involvement of women in the fishery. In a typical outport household, the women manage the family finances, the home and the land-based side of the fishery enterprise; this includes keeping the accounts and books for the family. A division of labour has emerged over the years that sees men responsible for all aspects at sea and outside the home and women responsible for all aspects on land and within the home. Traditionally, even when on land, men tended to spend the bulk of their time in their “stores” or storage and gear sheds. Many families since the moratorium have experienced a disruption of this pattern which has led to a great deal of tension and dislocation within families (Davis, 1993).

The Nature of the Newfoundland Outport

Newfoundlander see themselves as people of the sea and the rock. Tenacity, patience, and resilience in the face of adversity characterize the Newfoundland myth. Traditionally, the highest compliments were reserved for “hard workers”, the worst curses for the “lazy” or “hangashores” (men who didn’t go to sea). There is a traditional pride in self-reliance and stoicism in the face of hardship (Whitaker, 1988; Davis, 1993).
This rigidness is balanced and offset by a powerful sharing ethos. Kinship ties are significant, and friendliness and warmth with neighbours is highly valued. Communities are known for their ability to band together. Families and friends are expected to help when required, such as when a community member undertakes to build a house (Whitaker, 1988).

The twin traits, of self-reliance and sharing, lead to another significant trait, that of egalitarianism. Neighbours who become “uppity” or are perceived to consider themselves better than the rest of the people in the community become subject to gossip, are often shunned or receive threats to their property and personal safety. According to Davis, “Harbour folk feel that they have survived as an outport because of their commitment to collective life. [They] can ... enhance their status but must follow complex rules of impression management so that they do not present themselves as superior to others,” (Davis 1988, p.1218).

Because of the hardships of dependence on a fishery in which catches and prices can vary widely from year to year, fisher incomes are variable. In order to subsist, families require an income support to cover their basic expenses. In rural Newfoundland this income support is the Employment, formerly Unemployment, Insurance system. Traditionally this system has required a minimum number of weeks’ work each year to qualify for the insurance benefits. Due to the unique aspects of fishing, fishers’ weeks are calculated based on the value of their landings, not the hours of work completed. In any case, due to seasonality or low catches, many outport residents were unable to fulfill the minimum requirements to qualify for EI. To make up the difference, governments at either the provincial or federal level provide funds for short-term “make-work” projects.
These are designed to give the applicants sufficient work to qualify for EI. According to House, “Rural Newfoundlanders have devised a number of personal, household, and community strategies for maximizing income security by combining spells of employment with EI,” (House, 1989, p. 36).

The Moratorium

In 1977 Canada unilaterally extended its control of management of the fishery from 12 miles to 200 miles offshore. This was done in the face of pressure on stocks from foreign over-fishing. The move was accompanied by boundless optimism as to the potential of the fishery. Since the mid-1960's the fish stocks declined steadily until the late 1970's, reaching bottom in the mid-1970's. With Canada’s extension of the limit, stocks began to grow, followed by higher catches, and by investments in harvesting and processing activity in the region.

This process led to three fundamental and interrelated problems (Task Force on Incomes and Adjustment in the Atlantic Fishery, 1993). The first was over-dependence on the resource. In common with exploiting natural resources of the land, such as firewood and big game, Newfoundlanders had a sense of entitlement to fish. It was considered a right. Secondly, many communities faced a lack of economic alternatives. Putting more people to work in the fishery was considered a viable alternative to economic decline. Finally, governments and communities both used the fishery as the employer of last resort. One such example is that of miners who were given lobster licenses because their mine closed down. Whenever an economic downturn faced a particular area, more fishing licenses or processing permits were issued to alleviate the employment situation.
Over-dependence put far too much pressure on specific harvesting and processing, rather than on value adding, and on developing alternate cultural and economic applications and uses of the resource. The island’s population growth increased the numbers of people dependent on the industry. On the quota-setting side of the equation, there was relative ignorance of the resource and its ecology, which led to inaccurate estimates of the size of the fish stock and subsequent mismanagement of the resource by over harvesting.

The increasing numbers of people, boats, and quotas led to overcapacity in the industry. Ultimately, there were too many harvesters using too many boats with too much gear trying to supply too many processing plants by finding and catching too few fish.

By 1989, the federal government was concerned with the quality of the scientific assessment of fish stocks. A panel was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Leslie Harris, president of Memorial University of Newfoundland. The panel found that through use of mathematical models instead of more thorough surveys and research, and in ignorance of basic science of the cod fishery, the quotas set by DFO allowed for “fish mortality” of 45% of the biomass, not 20% as was assumed by fisheries scientists. Harris recommended immediate cuts to 30%, and further reductions to 20% “as soon as it is feasible” (Harris, 1990). Industry objected to these recommendations, and the government responded with targets that would reduce fishing mortality to 28% by 1994 (Dunne, 1993).

By 1992 scientists from DFO and the North Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO) were warning that catches were low, and that fisheries resources were at low levels (NAFO, 1992; CAFSAC, 1992). Finally, in July 1992, in the face of complete
collapse of the stock, the government announced a two year moratorium on the northern
cod fishery and emergency assistance payments for fishers and plant workers (Crosbie,
1992). The decision to announce a two-year ban on cod fishing was politically motivated
and not realistic for full recovery. It was understood that biological reproduction would
take time, at least seven years. The announcement spawned a surge in international
activity to force European countries to abide by NAFO guidelines, and a renewed effort
by Canada to achieve United Nations agreements on limiting high seas fisheries.

In the summer of 1993, the minister of fisheries, John Crosbie, confirmed a
further decline in the northern cod stock, and DFO indicated that the northern cod stock
might not recover until the end of the decade (Crosbie, 1993). By December 1993 in the
face of various recommendations from the scientific and regulatory bodies responsible,
the minister announced the continuation of the cod moratorium indefinitely (DFO, 1993).
By this point, the only cod fishery in Atlantic Canada was on the Scotian Shelf and
George's Bank area of the southern Gulf of St. Lawrence. Two months later the
government announced a five-year $1.9 billion plan to provide fishery relief. The plan
endeavored to reduce the number of fishery workers from approximately 30,000 to 7,000.
Industry Renewal Boards in each province would be responsible for downsizing the
Atlantic groundfish industry (DFO, 1994).

By mid-1994 a new survey of northern cod stocks showed that, for the first time
in the 1990's, the number of cod had not declined, and discovered a new aggregation of
juvenile cod. Other conflicting reports suggested that the stocks had continued to decline
(DFO, 1994). Governments at all levels agreed to stay the course on conservation, and it
was not until 1997 that a limited and gradual opening of the ground fishery was
authorized. The results and future prospects for full opening of the renewed fishery remain to be seen.

Post-Moratorium Activity

Since the moratorium, communities have struggled to adjust to the new economic situation, and many have come up wanting. As part of the adjustment programs, retraining was provided to many fishers. Their initial skepticism and general comment, "retrain for what," has been borne out in that many have retrained but only a portion of those expected to leave the fishery have done so. Most are waiting and hoping that their sector of the fishery or their community's fish plant will reopen.

In communities, the traditional sexual geography of work has been severely disrupted. While men and women previously had clearly defined boundaries on roles and "their space", they have now become competitors in many ways. It appears that though experience has prepared the rural Newfoundlanders for many of the trials and disruptions inherent to their way of life, the current situation is fundamentally different from their previous challenges.

The moratorium and the changes in its wake, challenge the traditional egalitarianism of the Newfoundland outports in several ways. In turn, this value has prevented many individuals from making appropriate responses to the situation. Those community members who took advantage of the retraining initiatives with a view to leaving the fishery may have lost the support and favour of their friends and neighbours. Alternatively, those actively seeking work outside the fishery may see their peers as not facing up to the realities of the new situation. Tensions between different groups of
different persuasions within the communities have been a retardant on development or renewal efforts.

Compensation Programs

To counter the effects of the moratorium, the Federal Government provided compensation packages for fishers and plant workers, including financial compensation, retraining allowances, and fish licence buyouts. Three separate programs evolved: the Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program (NCARP), The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) and Post-TAGS. Since there are overlapping dynamics among the programs, in this section I will address the program components and, where necessary, specific programs will be delineated.

Over the seven years of the moratorium the government compensation programs evolved, each refocusing regulations regarding eligibility. Administration of the income programs was managed by Human Resources and Development Canada (HRDC), while the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) determined attachment to the fishery and harvest reduction strategies. NCARP was the first program provided, and it had three main objectives: downsizing the fishery, career retraining, and financial compensation. The compensation programs were locally referred to as "the package". All fishers and plant workers who could prove attachment to the fishery for the qualifying period, as set down by the Treasury Board, were eligible for compensation. NCARP was in place for a two-year duration. TAGS followed the initial program with refined qualifying requirements to limit eligibility to fishers and plant workers, such as compensation for those with income less than $26,000. It also determined the duration of compensation depending on the attachment to the fishery during the qualifying period. Fishers received
notification of the duration of coverage up to May 1999. It should be noted that the compensation programs were in lieu of being able to fish for cod; they were permitted to fish for other species as licence holders of various "under-utilized species".

The final compensation program was announced in August 1998. This was deemed to be the end of all compensation to assist fishers for the cod moratorium. Although the government did not title the program it was quickly dubbed "Post-TAGS". This program provided lump sum payments worth approximately eight months of compensation payments for those who were eligible up to the May 1999. It emphasized community development and it provided further retraining options for those who qualified.

At this point it is important to understand the main components of the compensation programs. This will enable the reader to better understand the lived experiences of the fishers as they deal with these aspects of the moratorium.

Adjustment measures for fishers and plant workers: Income support and training

Financial compensation was central to the government programs offered during the moratorium. The amount of the bi-weekly payments and the duration were dependent on the qualifying regulations set down by HRDC. All qualified fishers were able to collect the compensation from NCARP. A typical payment was between $200 - $400 per week. In the second compensation program, TAGS, the government implemented an income ceiling, whereby income over that amount was given back dollar for dollar. This eliminated fishers who earned substantial income from other sources. The duration of the income support depended on the attachment to the cod fishery during the qualification period.
Retraining was a key component of the government program for displaced fishers and plant workers. Retraining funds were provided for education; the potential use was expansive. A fisher could attend an educational program in Adult Basic Education if needed. Retraining in new trades, university education, and upgrading were all possible. One factor of importance was to qualify for NCARP; being enrolled in a training program was prerequisite to receiving financial compensation. NCARP and TAGS provided extensive opportunities for retraining. Due to the number of people who were enrolling in programs, training institutions with the financial support of HRDC, proliferated throughout rural Newfoundland.

Adjustment measures for harvesting capacity: Licence retirement and early retirement

Groundfish licence retirement was a component used as an avenue to reduce the number of fishers in the industry. The fallout from licence retirements is complex. It affects enterprise owners, crewmembers, their families and the community. While it was a viable option for some older fishers, it did not benefit older crewmembers who were displaced and had to retrain for other careers. Due to the price paid by the government, licence retirements focused on small inshore boat owners and it retired a high number of inactive licences. Its intention was to downsize the fishery. While it did reduce the fleet, there was concern whether or not it decreased capacity. The effect the buyouts had on communities is of interest and concern to many.

Crewmembers were not included in the groundfish licence retirements. They did not have the same benefits, regardless of age. Potentially a crewmember would have been displaced from the fishery because the enterprise owner sold the licence. Retraining was
available through the compensation programs but being forced to leave the fishery meant many of the fishers were reluctant students and did not attain the full benefits of the program.

Summary of the Structure of the Fishery

Newfoundland's cod fishery has been the economic and social cornerstone of its existence. The drastic decline in cod stocks resulted in the implementation of the East Coast moratorium on cod fishing. Those most intimately affected were the fishers, plant workers, their families, and the communities dependent on this labour intensive fishery. The loss of this crucial industry has put into question the management of the fishery and the longevity of these communities.

This introduction to the fishery has set the context for the inquiry. Within this context, this research will investigate what is the experience of several fishers. Using the EPP-method it will examine what has been the experience of individuals and how they make meaning of this phenomenon in their lives. The government, through HRDC and DFO, managed the compensation programs available during the cod-fishing moratorium. Three different programs were developed and administered over the seven-year period. The main components of these programs were adjustment measures for fishers and plant workers, through income support and training, and adjustment measures for harvesting capacity reduction, through licence retirements and early retirement strategies. Familiarity with these programs is essential to understanding the fishers' experience of the moratorium.
Psychological Perspective

The motivation for this research is to understand the psychological meaning the fishers have made of their experience of the cod moratorium in Newfoundland. The psychological analysis in turn lays the foundation for counsellors to develop and implement effective practices with fishers, and other people who have been affected by industry shutdowns. Although there has been little written specifically about the counselling issues of the moratorium, there are two main sources of information: the needs assessment by the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) and psychological material on job displacement. These, complimented by other research, will give a description of the psychological issues facing fishers in this province.

In the early stages of the cod moratorium the CMHA was contracted to develop a process that would give people in communities affected by the cod moratorium an opportunity to describe the way that their lives and communities have changed. Working it Out: The Challenge of Change from Within (CMHA, 1994) was the result of this extensive work. In this research the psychosocial health of the community was assessed. Areas focused on were the financial and occupational impact of the moratorium, mental health and well-being of individuals, and the effects on the communities. Early in the moratorium this study found that families were adjusting to the changes brought about by the moratorium, but there was a sense of powerlessness and uncertainty, due to the lack of involvement in the decision-making processes. It was evident that there was grave concern for young people in the future and, thus, the survival of communities themselves. Within the frame of mental health there were four areas of interest: worry, stress and anxiety; depression and suicide; smoking and drugs; and violence. Many of the issues
which were addressed in the needs assessment were also extracted in this research on the lived experience of the fishers. The different approaches appear to confirm one another.

An interesting outcome from this study was the differences in impact that correlate with the attachment to the fishery. One of the communities on the Southern Shore reflected a stronger attachment to the fishery by commonly defining their self-image as that of being fishers. With the closure of the fishery the sense of loss was evident, including a feeling of uselessness, less productivity, powerlessness, loss of social connection, loss of sense of purpose and feeling trapped, loss of identity, low self-esteem (one person referred to himself as "loafer"), and patronized "looked down upon". In this report some fishers had a sense there was the existence of bad feelings in the community, between those who were receiving assistance and those who were not. Positive effects of the moratorium included increased and steadier income for families, and more time spent with children.

When asked about adverse health effects since the cod moratorium worry, stress and anxiety were the most common conditions reported. These may have been linked to both the amount of change and the amount of unstructured time available. Although several interviewees reported depression, suicide was only mentioned twice, and one attempt was not connected to the moratorium. One fisher surmised that suicide might become more common as time passed. The assessment questioned the change in use of cigarettes, alcohol and drugs. From the reported results this did not seem to be problematic for most people interviewed. Where there were increases in use, most believed it was not problematic. Where decreases in usage were mentioned, this seemed to be the result of financial restraint and not lifestyle or health choices. In regard to
family violence, there were no direct reports by fishers or their families. The report states that community leaders did identify this as problematic and the need for a women's shelter in the area. The discrepancy may have been due to fear of disclosure or over concern by community leaders.

In their report, CMHA (1993) stated that mental health professionals felt mental and physical health problems were occurring as result of the moratorium, but were not being reported. It seems in some instances the problems were present but the association between the moratorium and the health issues were not being made. There was also concern that the stress related behaviour was not being expressed appropriately and was being "taken out at home." The CMHA report stated:

It is clear that the moratorium is beginning to affect mental health and well being. Leaders and families reported increases in anxiety, stress-related problems, weight gain, use of substances such as tobacco and alcohol, and sleep disturbances. People reported being "worried more," felt "stressed out" or were experiencing anxiety about the future. Health-related concerns are being influenced in many cases by financial circumstances.

Overall, leaders, health care professionals and families expressed concern that mental and physical health will be more deeply affected as the moratorium progresses. People talked about their well-being and mental health. Some try to avoid worrying about situations they cannot change; others attempt to shield their children from this stress; others try to avoid potentially stressful situations in their homes and elsewhere. These are all coping activities, but professionals fear that greater demands will be made on coping skills as time goes on. One health care
professional believes this project will offer a baseline for future comparison, and that effect on health and well-being will soon become more apparent. (p. 59)

Knowing the needs and concerns raised in this assessment can give the desired baseline for counsellors to understand the experience lived by individuals and assist in developing practices.

In her dissertation, Veley (1996) studied six areas for the effect of the socio-psychological motivation, which potentially influenced those involved in the fishery of Newfoundland and Labrador. The contrast between Veley's methodology and the research of lived experience is the former relied on quantitative surveys with set questions, and the later extracted the themes from the experiences of the fishers. Veley administered a specifically developed attitude questionnaire to a sample of TAGS retraining participants. The six research questions investigated career planning, perceived school ability, reliance on the fishery, community attachment, significant others, perception of age and self-actualization. The study investigated fishers' attitude toward retraining or career aspirations among fishery workers.

She found older respondents were less positive about career planning and about their ability to do well in school. They exhibited more attachment to the community, were more influenced by significant others and considered age to be a barrier to training. Males were more responsive (positive) toward career planning, showed more attachment to the community and were more influenced by significant others. Male respondents and those under 40 were found to have a better attitude toward retraining. Reliance on the fishery was strongest in terms of explanatory power, followed by perceived age and perceived ability to do well in school. Those people who were reliant on the fishery, who
considered age to be a barrier and who lacked confidence in their academic ability were less likely to want to retrain. The most powerful influence on a person's motivation to retrain was the degree of reliance on the fishery. A high reliance on the fishery indicated diminished motivation to retrain. Perceived age was the second most powerful socio-psychological predictor of retraining; adults who viewed themselves as too old to return to school were more likely to see age as a barrier to retraining. One's ability to do well and the desire to improve oneself (self-actualization) ranked third and forth, respectively, in importance as socio-psychological factors.

Veley (1996) found there was a gender difference in future career aspirations, with women gravitating toward more traditionally female careers, while men tended to aspire to the male-dominated career fields of production and repair and construction. For older fishery workers, there was a high level of career indecision; that is, they appeared to have no aspirations, other than the fishery. One factor that seemed to influence the difference in career aspirations was the presence or absence of a high school diploma. Those in the fishery with a high school diploma aspired to future jobs outside the fishery (production, repair, science, math and engineering), while those without high school completion set their sights on careers in construction, fishing and trapping and health. Half of those with high school graduation and one-third without appeared to have no aspirations or future career plans at all. Her study sought to determine the factors necessary to motivate Newfoundland fishery workers to re-enter education and training.

Apps (1981) stated that the least likely retraining candidates, and the most difficult population to motivate, were married, unemployed, had no high school diploma, were living in rural areas and were involved in part time or seasonal work. This
describes, to some extent, a large portion of the workers targeted by NCARP and TAGS programs for retraining. Aging and the life stages reflect differently for each age group, and the characteristics that define one generation, may apply quite differently to the next generation. Optimism, enthusiasm and employability vary among age groups and are reflected in higher levels of confidence and mobility for the lower age groups.

Veley (1996) found that older workers have a higher degree of attachment to the fishery than younger workers do. Older fishers have frequently made heavy financial investments in the fishery in terms of gear, boat, licensing costs, and in personal commitment; and is also likely to be operating with a lower level of formal education than the younger workers. Their investment in the fishery was high while their investment in education was low. This frequently influenced older workers to stay in the fishery or retire rather than retrain and face an educational system that had become alien to them.

Hopson and Scally (as cited in Veley, 1996) report that men tended to feel that age was an impediment to retraining. Brim (as cited in Veley, 1996) found that most men adjust their career aspirations downward to fit reality by midlife. The pattern demonstrated by the over 40 age group, is consistent with the "social timetable". Retraining after 40 runs contrary to the socially prescribed timetable for life events. Consequently, motivation to engage in "off time" training was low. This timetable was apparently ignored by NCARP/TAGS program organizers who made no allowance for age other than retirement at age 55 (DFO, 1992). The need for career counselling for older workers was evident.
Self-actualization is likely to be affected by job lay-off; in this case the closure of the fishery. If a person has been forced to change direction, a preoccupation with "having" needs is likely to occur. Setbacks can affect self-esteem and cause a temporary descent to a lower step (Smith, as cited in Veley, 1996). This was confirmed by the Veley's (1996) data, which found that older workers, who did not have a high school diploma and thus, little previous success in the educational system, had lower levels of self-actualization.

The implication of the age 40 cut off point for retraining points to a generationally restructured fishery. The younger fishery workers (under 40) are more likely to retrain where possible and exit the fishery, while the older workers will continue either to fish or go on welfare. The exit of the young workers from the fishery is in line with the anticipated streamlined fishery of the future (DFO, 1992, 1993b). The refusal or reluctance of the over 40 age group to retrain may mean that society has to carry them for a 20 to 25 year period as they "retire" early. Eventually, young fishery workers who have retrained will out-migrate from their communities, leaving the aging population to sustain these communities.

While the psychological literature reflects the themes in this research on lived experience; it lacked a deeper understanding of the fishers meaning of their experience. It is evident that a combination of personal and career counselling would be invaluable for people who have been affected by the moratorium. One program, based on the work of Norm Amundson, developed and implemented during NCARP and TAGS was Improving Our Odds (I.O.O.). This program provided a six to twelve week process to explore personal and career issues. I.O.O. is a process used with individuals who are in
employment transition. It helps prepare a person to make decisions concerning their career. For those who are in career transitions, this is a critical time and various approaches are necessary. Many of the programs offered to people in transition focus solely on career.

I.O.O. broadened the process to be more inclusive for the fishery workers. It is a group process conducted over a two to six-week program. "It provides skills and knowledge in the areas of self-assessment, decision-making, group process, problem solving, lifelong learning, and labour market investigation -- all employability skills needed by today's workforce." (Health & Education Services, 1994). This process most closely reflects the psychological themes the fishers shared through their interviews in the present research. The combination of this type of personal process with stakeholders facilitated processes would be most beneficial in working with displaced workers such as fishers during the moratorium.

Schlossberg (1984) says, “the process of helping includes solving problems, teaching coping skills, structuring support, and counseling.” (p. 117). Past experiences can contaminate the present; how we learn to survive ... doesn't always serve us well as adults in other systems. Through this present study it is evident that past experiences such as the Resettlement Program in Newfoundland during the 1960’s, influenced fishers response to the cod fishing moratorium. Examining the multigenerational learning of dysfunctional patterns, viewing them for a different (present-day) perspective, and transforming them is good therapy (Satir, Banmen, Gerber & Gomori, 1991). If there are personal blocks to the discernment process, a person may require more individualized therapy to assist in transforming these blocks: healing the wounds that are immobilizing them, enabling the person to move forward on their life journey.
Summary of the Psychological Perspective

In order to develop counselling practices that are proactive and effective for displaced fishers, it is essential to understand the fishing industry and the psychological background needed for dealing with people and groups in the midst of change. This in turn will help prepare you, the reader, to understand the lived experience as shared by the fishers in this study and the discussion of the findings. The Newfoundland fishery is complex. In order to more fully understand the experience of the moratorium, it is important to have an awareness of the context in which it is situated. The structure of the fishery included the prosecution of the fishery, the people of the fishery and the nature of rural Newfoundland. The fishery has evolved with the increase in the commercial, industrialized fisheries. It is evident that while the fishery in Newfoundland had been sustainable for 500 years, it is the changes in the technology that have directly affected the resource and is the major contributor to the cod stock crisis. The background to the moratorium and the compensation programs will set the context of the fishers' experiences and will give the information needed to help your understanding of these experiences. Finally the psychological perspective provides the context for the psychological research completed on the moratorium. In the final chapter I will reflect on the current literature, in light of this research on lived experience.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I'm a fisherman Just like my father before me
I'm a teacher, a preacher I can be anything that you want me to be
And I am the critic who fights the politicians to get the work done
Cause I'm jack of all trades but least I can say
I'm a fisherman.
(Eddie Coffey, see Appendix D)

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research procedures for this study, the fishers' lived experience of the cod moratorium, utilizing interviews with fishers from Newfoundland. The interviews were with five fishers from a rural fishing community. They had been involved in the cod fishery as their primary source of employment, either as the owner and captain of an enterprise or as a crewmember. The focus of the interview was the lived experience of the fishers since the cod moratorium. Using Karlsson's (1995) empirical phenomenological psychological (EPP) - method, I have analyzed the protocols of the interviewees to construct the meaning of their stories. This chapter will outline the EPP-method, the procedures for data collection and analysis, bracketing my assumptions and presuppositions of this research, and ethical considerations.

Empirical Phenomenological Psychological Method

The purpose of this research is to investigate how the moratorium on cod fishing "is experienced, or how it appears, to individuals who were affected in and through consciousness" (Bullington & Karlsson, 1984, p. 51). This research utilizes the empirical phenomenological psychological (EPP) - method, a qualitative research methodology that is grounded in lived experience, to analyze the meaning of the moratorium as it is
articulated by the participants (Karlsson, 1995). The EPP-method serves to increase the understanding of a phenomenon from an unreflected experience of the participants, to a structural description by the researcher through analysis of the collected data. Karlsson bases his work on Husserl’s phenomenological philosophy, with methodological modification in its application to psychological research. These methods and their usefulness in psychological research will be further explored later in this chapter. The result is a thematic analysis of the phenomenon, which seeks meaning of the descriptive experience of the participants involved in the study.

**Qualitative Research**

This study utilizes a qualitative method of research that relies on a narrative, descriptive account, called a protocol, given by research participants. In the EPP-method these texts may be compiled through interviews, written accounts, pictures, articles or other descriptive forms. For the purposes of this study, participant interviews were conducted, tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis. The data used for further analysis is derived from these protocols.

A qualitative approach is based on the philosophical position that there are many realities to be considered. The study of an in-depth individual experience is advantageous in understanding the phenomenon. This research inquired into the lived experience of individuals whose lives have changed because of the implementation of the cod moratorium in Newfoundland. Specifically, the lived experience is the immediate reality and meaning world for individuals; the research methodology considers the pre-reflected experience and enables meaning to be made explicit. Through narrating and the
subsequent analysis of the interviews, a better understanding of this phenomenon will be articulated.

This research has various essential components that include the context of the phenomenon, the individual and collective definition of the situation, the relationship between the myself and the participant, and my assumptions about the phenomenon (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993). As the research is conducted and analyzed, each of these elements must be taken into account, thus reflecting the people’s meaning of the lived experience.

Karlsson (1995) emphasizes that the purpose of qualitative research, including the EPP-method is to deepen the understanding of a phenomenological experience. The phenomenological psychological approach allows the psychological meaning of an experience to be made explicit, articulating a common knowing of the encounter through a shared culture and language. The interviews with fishers helped make explicit the meaning that the cod moratorium has had in their lives.

Phenomenological Psychological Research

Phenomenological psychology is a specific form of qualitative research, which Karlsson adapted from Husserl’s phenomenological philosophy. In their conjoint work on this topic, Bullington and Karlsson (1984) state there is a need for a “phenomenological descriptive approach to psychological research, which seeks to discover the meaning of various phenomena using the descriptions of subjects’ experiences. The results of a phenomenological psychological study consist of a structural description of the phenomenon in question, which basically describes the what and how of a specific phenomenon rather than the explanatory, why.”
The significant factor in phenomenological psychological research is the subjective and pre-reflective experience of the participants. In this study the subjects' perspective of the cod moratorium is of importance both in what has occurred and in their experience since. The basis for thematic analysis is the description of the phenomenon as the experience was recounted. This method relies on the collaboration between the participants and researcher to create a deepened understanding of the phenomenon.

While the EPP-method has similarities to Husserl's phenomenological philosophy, it differs in its commitment to the psychological investigation of an experience. The primary difference between phenomenological philosophy and phenomenological psychology is in the reduction or bracketing of presuppositions. Reduction is a technical term that describes the process of acknowledging the researcher's personal beliefs and feelings, bias, and prejudices regarding a particular event. In the reduction the researcher "brackets" the underlining meaning of the object as it appears in consciousness (Van Manen, 1992). Thus reduction and bracketing are synonymous with the suspension of an experience by the researcher. Husserl's phenomenological philosophical brackets "both the object pole (world) and the subject pole (consciousness)" (Bullington & Karlsson, 1984).

The EPP-method runs parallel to phenomenological philosophy, but it does not bracket both of these poles. It uses reduction with the object, or worldview, and leaves the subject pole as the focus of analysis, investigating the psychological consciousness of a particular event, not the event itself. The EPP-method concerns itself with the personal meaning of this experience. It is the study of consciousness and subjectivity (Bullington & Karlsson, 1984).
The EPP-method is an approach to qualitative research of a person's subjective experience. It researches common everyday, lived experiences of human subjects, such as the inception of the cod moratorium. The purpose of phenomenological psychology is to "enable the researcher to thematize or make explicit the immediate lived experience of a phenomenon, as it is lived, without resorting to ad hoc, superimposed theories about phenomena. This method uses (1) subjects' naive, spontaneous descriptions of [the phenomenon], (2) the psychological phenomenological analysis of the data and (3) the community of researchers as a collaborative pool" (Bullington & Karlsson, 1984, p. 54).

Rather than transforming meaning into quantitative expressions, as natural science does, phenomenological psychology seeks to access and elucidate the pre-reflectively lived world, which is seen as being replete with meaning. The nature of phenomenological psychology’s data is to make explicit the meaningful, descriptive expression from the participants, providing generalities concerning the lived experience. It is the psychological meaning of the phenomenon, not the "facts" which is sought.

Procedure

The procedures used in this research were approved by the Behavioural Research Ethics Board of the University of British Columbia, Certificate Number B98-0106.

Two interviews were conducted with each of five fishers from rural fishing communities in St. Mary’s Bay, Newfoundland. Recruitment of the fishers was through word of mouth referrals from fishers, all who had been full-time fishers prior to the moratorium. The first interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim, making them the basis of the protocols for analysis in this study. The second series of interviews provided an opportunity to get feedback following the distribution of a written summary
of the findings of the research to critique the accuracy of the themes drawn from the interviews.

Validity of the Research Project

The validation process for EPP-method depends on the consistency of the interpretation of the text. Karlsson (1995) states that the validity of the research depends on the success of the implementation of the psychological reduction. To ensure validity, the interpretations of the fishers' accounts must be consistent throughout the situated structures. Verification of the interpretation by the fishers is essential to the accuracy of the research. Throughout the analysis I paid careful attention to my biases and opinions, thus giving acknowledgement to them and not allowing them to skew the results.

Horizontal consistency may be likened to internal validity. In the transformation from the meaning units abstracted from the protocols, I was vigilant to interpret the meaning in an accurate and consistent manner. Vertical consistency is essential in confirming that what was stated in the research is accurate with the experience as expressed by the participants. Corroboration of the results between the fishers and myself assured that the interpretations of the psychological meaning reflected their experience. Following the completion of the analysis, a summary of the results of the interviews was compiled and distributed. A second interview was then conducted with each fisher. The fisher had an opportunity to comment on the initial interview, reflect on the experience and comment on whether or not the summary reflected their thoughts, feelings and experiences. New information generated in the second interview has been incorporated in the final research report.
Presentation of Results

The study of the lived experience of people affected by the cod moratorium, through a phenomenological psychological method, has generated themes, “meaning constituents”, that are psychologically significant to the meaning of the experience as lived by the participants themselves. The themes coalesce into a common thread to develop a structure of the psychological phenomenon.

With the emergence of the themes from the protocols I have been able to relate the meaning of an experience as it is lived non-reflectively by the subjects in the particular phenomenon of the cod moratorium. The results of this research provide an understanding of this experience to assist mental health workers supporting displaced fishers. Chapter IV expands on the psychological experiences of the fishers. In the final chapter the discussion of the themes and the implications for counselling are addressed.

Interview Procedures

Data collection for the research was conducted by compiling the narrative accounts, attained through individual interviews with the fishers. The interview as an instrument for data collection is a device with various elements that must be taken into account; the purpose and explanations are essential to the success of an interview. The interviews, for the purposes of this research, were unstructured recollections of fishers' experience. To assist in this objective, I articulated as precisely as possible, my interest in the experience of the cod moratorium. I made the purpose explicit and explained elements of concern, not only to myself but also to the interviewees: what this project is about and why I am recording the interview. A non-structured interview encouraged the
participants to be comfortable in their story telling. Their narrative is of value to me and to others who do not know the experience.

The non-structured, conversational interview provided the best information to help make explicit the psychological meaning some people have given to the experience of living through the cod moratorium. The literatures recommend flexibility, rather than decide the exact questions beforehand. A list of issues rather than a fixed sequence of questions was more effective for the purposes of this research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

I used an orienting statement to initiate the interview and then proceeded to follow the direction of the participant. I tape-recorded the conversations to accurately record what is shared and then reflected on what the fishers said to develop an understanding of the first hand experience of the moratorium.

**Participant Selection and Data Collection**

I had to decide whom, when and where to interview. The range of possibilities was enormous. I intended to interview various fishers who fished full-time prior to the moratorium. Some fishers were enterprise owners, captains, while others were crewmembers. The interviews represented “insider accounts” of the lived experience of the cod moratorium (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). I interviewed fishers in one region, St. Mary's Bay.

Participant selection depended on referrals from fishers in the area. Through the union I recruited an active fisher in St. Mary’s Bay and he in turn recommended several other fishers who might participate. For this research the population of interest was fishers who were active at the start of the moratorium and had qualified for compensation
under the Federal Government programs. All fishers in this study were male. Although there are female fishers, I was unable to locate a female fisher from this area. In this study the fishers were both enterprise owners and crewmembers from the inshore and mid-shore fisheries. Each fisher was given an option to meet in a private office or in their homes. I continued the interviewing process until no new themes emerged.

**Bracketing Assumptions and Presuppositions**

Bracketing is a hermeneutic step that makes explicit the assumptions and presuppositions of the researcher in regard to the phenomenon being studied, thus avoiding the imposition of one’s own biases and prejudices on the data. Here I describe my assumptions and presuppositions regarding various aspects of the moratorium.

**Bracketing my assumptions and presuppositions of the fishers.** I believe that fishing for cod has been more than a job for many; it has been a way of life and is ingrained in the culture. Cod fishing has historical, cultural, financial and personal meaning attached to it; the closure of the cod fishery has affected fishers on all of these levels. Every level is laden with meaning. From my perspective, the lived experience for fishers will entail all areas of their lives, not just time and energy spent fishing.

**Bracketing my assumptions and presuppositions of the fishers' families.** Since the family members are intimately involved in the fishery, the moratorium affects everyone. The psychological ties within the family result in greater stress for the whole family, not just the fishers. I believe that the cod moratorium has resulted in increased stress for the family unit in regard to the fishery closure through the loss of a ‘way of life’, the financial uncertainty, personal disappointment, and, crucially, out-migration.
Bracketing my assumptions and presuppositions of the governmental agencies.

For most fishers obtaining the financial compensation and retraining programs was a frustrating experience. The programs were executed in haste, which led to impulsive decision making by the government and by the fishers. I believe that the combination of avoidance of the serious cod stock decline and inaction towards possible solutions led to chaotic program administration for the TAGS program.

Bracketing my assumptions and presuppositions of a fishing communities.

Communities have been affected on many levels; the two areas, which I believe are most pertinent, are the income resource of the fishery and personal relations of fishers. In my reflection on the moratorium I presuppose that uncertainty about financial security, purpose of self, and the future of the communities are common place. Also, with the continuation of the moratorium, there is a continued out-migration from outports to larger centres in Newfoundland and mainland Canada. There also have been problems within the communities that have brought division and animosity. Lack of eligibility for compensation resulted in many being resentful and vindictive.

Bracketing of my assumptions and presuppositions of non-fishers. I personally was not directly affected by the fishery for my well being. I am a non-fisher from a non-fishing family. I grew up in a larger community with a pulp and paper a mill. I grew up with the awareness that the fishery was important but with no first hand experience. The moratorium, in my belief, affects Newfoundlanders, fishers and non-fishers. Some are more conscious of it than others, yet there is little or no discourse between the fishers and non-fishers, resulting in some resentments. Due to this lack of public, critical discourse, I
believe non-fishers harbour some contempt towards fishers and perceive unfairness of the programs.

Bracketing of my assumptions and presuppositions of the compensation programs. The support programs offered to the fishers and plant workers seem to have very little pre-planning. The planning appeared to be ad hoc and reactive, politically based rather than grounded in assessed needs and envisioned direction. There was little or no process with fishers to critically reflect what meaning the moratorium would have on their lives.

Bracketing my assumptions and presuppositions of the role of the unions. I make the assumption that the unions, although somewhat vocal in the public, made themselves ineffectual by accepting a large compensatory payment from the government at the start of the moratorium.

Through the bracketing of my assumptions and presuppositions, I have attempted to make explicit my biases and prejudices in regard to the cod fishery and the moratorium.

Ethical Considerations

In studying the effects of the cod moratorium I have many ethical responsibilities to the participants of this research, to professional colleagues, and to the community as a whole. It was imperative that the research be conducted in a manner that upholds the dignity of the participants and is true to their lived experience. The maintenance of standards of research and ethics encourages continued respect for the field of counselling and its research.
In conducting this research, I felt obligated to the principle that informed consent of the participants ensured their understanding of the research. I relayed to each participant the aim of the research and the expectations and obligations of the participant, such as time and information required. In agreeing to partake in the study without coercion, the participant knowingly enters into the process.

It was my responsibility, as the researcher, to ensure that the participants were protected throughout the duration of the research and its reporting. I ensured anonymity of the participants in this study through selective processes, reports encoding and concealment of identities in the written report.

Consideration of the benefit of the research to the participants, the counselling profession and the community at large is an important aspect of the ethical research. The cod moratorium has been a difficult experience for those involved; there have been many adjustments, with constant change of expectations, procedures and assistance. I assured participants that this is not a governmental study and that their participation will help lay people and counsellors understand better their experience of this phenomenon and its effects on them. It appeared beneficial for participants to have an opportunity to share their personal stories and perceptions of the moratorium, which may not have been otherwise achieved.

I believe the counselling community will be beneficiaries of the process. This phenomenological account expands our understanding of the lived experience of the cod moratorium and assists in providing procedures to work more effectively with displaced fishers and their families.
Summary of methodology

The purpose of this chapter has been to delineate the methodology and procedure of this research. I first explicated the EPP- method, then described the method for data collection and participant selection. Another important step in this research was the bracketing of assumptions and presuppositions. Here I bracketed my beliefs and biases regarding the experience of the cod moratorium. The next chapter uncovers the interviews and analysis of the protocols. In the final chapter the discussion of the results and conclusions will be addressed.
CHAPTER IV

EXPERIENCES OF THE MORATORIUM

"For he's just a shadow, of his forefathers name
And he feels quite dejected, but he's not to blame
For the way that the fishery, was so blindly destroyed
And away went his pay, and his freedom to say
I have a fisherman's pride."

(Selby Noseworthy, Appendix D)

This research asked what the EPP-method reveals about the lived experience of full time fishers, in outport Newfoundland, who were affected by the Cod Moratorium on the fishing grounds off Newfoundland. I conducted individual interviews with five fishers asking them of their experience during the cod moratorium. The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim for analysis using the EPP-method.

The interview protocols were analysed to understand more deeply the lived experience of the cod moratorium. From the protocols I have been able to extract the themes which were embedded in the interviews. I have tried to stay faithful to the expressions of the fishers and used quotes to express their experiences where possible. Reflections upon the interviews have led to several groupings. The principal thematic groupings in this research are the internal experiences and the external experiences.

References to internal experience pertain to individual psychological issues, which have been confronted as a result of the moratorium. The external experiences relate to the events of the moratorium and outside institutions, such as government, union, and the general public.
The results of the study reveal there are several themes in each of the internal and external experiences. The internal experiences include the experience of steadfastness, experience of knowing, experience of loss and grief, the experience of isolation, the experience of forgetting, the experience of abandonment, the experience of validation and pride, and the experiences of responding. The external experiences involve the experience of blame and accountability, the experience of being judged, the experience of being devalued, the experience of being paid-off, and the experience of being misguided.

The final section of this chapter looks at two themes that overlap the internal-external grouping; the experience of frustration and the experience of change involve both these groupings (see figure 2).

It is important to bear in mind that these experiences have been delineated to assist in making clear the issues fishers have had to deal with during the moratorium. There are no fixed categories, the experiences do overlap each other and all experiences are involved in an interdependent dynamic. The purpose of breaking them down is to help us understand the specific issues that need to be addressed in this phenomenon.

**Internal versus External Experiences**

Internal experiences refer to the category of themes, which deal with the individual psychological experiences of the fishers during the moratorium. These internal experiences relate to how fishers’ coped during the moratorium. The themes include the experiences of loss and grief, abandonment, dashed hopes, validation and personal pride and responses to the moratorium; being prepared, not prepared and waiting. This grouping differs from those categorized as external experiences.
Figure 2: Fishers’ Experiences of the Cod Moratorium.

- Internal Experiences
  - Steadfastness
  - Change
  - Knowing
  - Abandonment
  - Loss and grief

- Internal/External Experiences
  - Frustration
  - Change

- External Experiences
  - Blame and accountability
  - Being misguided
  - Being judged disrespectfully
  - Being paid-off
  - Being devalued for fishers’ economic contributions

- Frustration
- Dashed hopes
- Being prepared
- Not being prepared
- Waiting
For the purposes of this research, external experiences refer to a category of themes that deal with the experiences, which were dependent on specific contextual events or experiences with institutions. These are personal experiences that were triggered by an external agency, directed at an outside group or interactive with such a group. When I say outside group, I am referring to the government, DFO and HRDC, the provincial government, the union and the general public. The themes include the experiences of blame and accountability, being judged disrespectfully, being devalued for economic contribution, being paid-off and being misguided. Two themes, frustration and change, permeate the internal and external groupings and will be dealt with separately.

**Internal Experiences**

I. **The Experience of Steadfastness**

Fishers are committed to a way of life, the culture of fishing and life in rural Newfoundland. They had seen and heard of hard times in the past, so the lifestyle goes deeper than profits; it is the centre of their identity. Thus many are committed to stay with the fishery through thick and thin. “There’s a sector of people out there in the fishery today that’s making a living, that’s on their own. It’s not going to be very easy to get rid of them because they’re survivors and they’re going to survive. And they are going to be in this for the long haul. And be hook or be crook, they is going to be there when ‘tis over. And there is no matter what happens or what don’t happen they’re going to be there and they are going to have to be dealt with. We’re going to be there.”

The culture of the fishery extends past the actual work of fishing. It includes family, community, working the land, hunting, being independent, and being content with the way of life and work. “And sometimes you didn’t earn a fantastic living at it. There
was no large income but the satisfaction of knowing you could be home with your family every night and that you were doing something that you really enjoyed doing. I mean sometimes that, to us anyway like the old people use to say, was half a living, you know. Being contented with what you are doing and being where you wanted to be, you in your own home community where you were born, with your family, your immediate family around and that kind of stuff.” Holding on has to do with life satisfaction, from living where you desire, in your community with your family and working contentedly. Fishing is not just a job. It is a lifestyle, an integrated way of living.

The fishers also showed they’re committed to the fishery in a powerful and sometimes effective way of getting attention -- protests. “[A fishery] would open up afterwards because there were a lot of fellas went in, 30 fellas from the Southern Shore and put pressure on [the government].” Whether it was the compensation programs or quotas, the fishers used protests to try to impact decisions. In reference to a skate fishery in 1998, one fisher says, “a group of fishermen went in and put pressure on them and they opened it.” The determination to survive is evident. Fishers are determined people and will do what they consider necessary to remain effective in the fishery.

Steadfastness was evident for both those who remained in the fishery and for fishers who had been displaced because of the moratorium. Fishers who committed to staying in the fishery made major changes, worked hard to adapt their vessels and attained the necessary licences and gear, all with no guarantee there would be success in the new fishery. Their steadfastness kept the focus on survival. For those who were displaced from the fishery, a great deal of work and adjustment were necessary to continue the process of retraining and job search. Although having to refocusing their
energies outside the fishery, steadfastness was evident in their commitment to persist, for themselves and their families, even in the face of much adversity.

II. The Experience of Knowing:

Fishers' experience, as it was expressed through the interviews, shows the complexity of knowing. The themes of knowing that stood out from the fishers include the experience of implicit knowing, that is, having an intuitive sense of what is happening without it being confirmed. The experience of knowing that nobody cares that you know was expressed through their experience on learning that scientists, politicians and the general public often were not interested in what fishers knew. The experience of inarticulately knowing followed; much of their knowledge is understood within the culture of the fishery and it was often difficult to name because it was so familiar and colloquial. Another form of knowing is provisional knowing. It is evident from the fishers' reports that change is an integral part of their experience, and what they know today will change as day-to-day events unfold. Finally, this section looks at hands-on versus authorized knowing. While the fishers' knowledge was learned via experiential information gathering, it was the scientists' knowledge that was authorized as the official form.

The results of this research indicate that the experience of knowing may be experiential, emotional, intuitive, or scientific. Forms of knowing may be unconfirmed, but knowing is recognized even if only by oneself. The confidence associated with knowing is the belief that one has solid grounds for accepting the information acquired, even through the sources may vary and information may be in conflict with popular thought. Variations in fishers' knowing can be observed as having developed on many
levels in response to, or in anticipation of, the various events during the moratorium. Fishers' experienced dismissal of their accumulated wisdom concerning the state of the resource, political actions, the government response, the effect on their communities, and the future of the fishery. Their experience of having this accumulated wisdom ignored by officials and by the general public prompted frustration and anger.

II.i. *The Experience of Implicit Knowing:*

At times a person's knowing is not explicit, not demonstrated with evidence-based expression. Subtle interactions or apparently independent events may be intuitively pieced together. Aspects of the fishery, which were obscure to some observers, may be regarded as obvious by fishers. While the events were open to public view, fishers perceived any publicly shared understanding in the light of their own insights, and grew suspicious of the reasoning behind certain apparent dealings going on behind closed doors. The culture of the fishery is such that knowledge has been attained through lifelong learning, mentoring and "common sense" information that was commonly known throughout the local fishery. Several of the men commented that fishing began in childhood when they would go to sea for a day with their fathers and later, during high school years, for the full summer. Historical experiences also influenced fishers knowing. Events that occurred in the past were recounted as giving credence to their information. While politicians and political decisions changed, the fishers were a constant in the realm of events that occurred. Conflicting decisions, political decisions, ignoring concerns of the fishers, and promoting business over local concerns influenced the implicit knowing of fishers, which was often in contradiction to the statements made by government officials during the moratorium. Two matters in which fishers implicitly knew that the
benefits were in favour of business rather than fishers were: (A) the sudden proliferation of training institutes during the moratorium; and (B) questions about the influence of the stock markets on the fishing industry.

II.i(a) The training programs integral to the moratorium were not focused on benefiting fishers; they were not client-centered. "When they come in with the package, all those trade schools that they set up. You know, if a fella got a brief case, and he went into St. Johns, and went down to some of these people that had something to go with TAGS. He said, 'Okay, I'm going to go teach. I'm going to go train these people, ya' know'? And would go out and rent a place off a council out in one of a development association or some place else. And he would get a haul of money, he would spend, 10 or 12 or 15 weeks there, and teach nothing, and went away with a suitcase full of money." It appeared to fishers that having the institutes open was more important than the academic outcomes or job readiness. From their implicit knowing, fishers believed the training institutes were more beneficial to business owners rather than fishers. Appearances were more important than the realities. Fishers knew that the true potentials for the training programs were not being harnessed. One fisher considered the training programs a governmental conspiracy for the benefit of their associates to "reward their cronies", "money makers" for some business people in St. John's "and not only in our area; that went along everywhere. And I know what was going on, I knew this was a waste." Fishers' implicit knowledge of wastage associated with these public events could not be proven, but many fishers perceived the rural training institutes as non-credible.

II.i(b) Another issue in which fishers had implicit knowing was the influence of big business on the fishery. One fisher speculates that the Minister of Fisheries gets his
instructions from Wall Street, and that stock markets have more political influence than
fishers or unions combined. “Now, Wall Street controlled the fishery in Newfoundland.
Because they owns Fishery Products and owns National Sea, money people. People that
have the money invested. So that is who is calling the shots, not somebody in St. John's
or a union down in St. John's or some fishermen down in St. Mary's Bay or down in
Bonavista Bay, it was the money people on Wall Street. Fishery Products had to make
money, National Sea had to make money and they had to have quotas, it made no
difference in what we said or what anyone else said, that's it! They have to have quotas.”

Fishers see the money people, not the local people who have an experience-based
knowledge of the fishery, as controlling the fishery. The fishers experience a knowledge
that is powerless because decision-making is removed from the fishery. There is an
intuitive knowledge that decisions are not made on objective criteria set by the health of
the resource or of the communities, which depend on it. Decisions, as known by fishers,
are based on political influence and driven by corporate market interests.

II.ii. The Experience of Knowing that Nobody Cares that you Know:

In the fishing industry, fishers have often felt disregarded, especially for their
knowledge. They have had to deal with knowing that while government and unions pay
lip service to them, their knowledge is not heeded. Also, throughout the moratorium
fishers have had to confront the general public on the merits of the compensation
packages. Through these experiences fishers have come to understand that non-fishers,
officials and the general public, do not have regard for fishers knowledge and
contributions.
Fishers repeatedly reported that they knew there were problems in the cod fishery long before the moratorium was imposed. In those years they often protested to politicians and scientists that the stocks were deteriorating in both quantity and quality. One fisher relayed a story from the spring of 1991. He was fulfilling a yearly ritual of going to the harbour front for a fresh codfish after the long winter, and was shocked to see that the size of the codfish “was too small to bring home for a good meal.” It angered him: “they should have been left in the water,” to regenerate the stocks. “I went down on the wharf in St. John’s a year before the moratorium come on, the spring of the year. And I knew some boats that was fishing down there. And ah, there was two of them tied on over on the South Side. So I went over, I was going getting a fish to bring home to eat, a fresh fish, after all winter, you know! We has fish in the winter but a fresh one out the water in the spring of the year. And ah there was about 50 containers, grey boxes of fish with about two thousand pounds in each box strung alone the wharf of these two boats I knew. So the bye's told me to pick a fish out of one of the boxes. I hunted about 20 of them. I never got a fish. Never got one big enough to bring home, I wouldn't bring home the fish that were in the boxes. The biggest fish that was in them was as big as a big herring. You would say they were fifteen, sixteen inches. They were baby fish... ya they were coming out of the North in the spring of the year, spawning season.” This fisher's experience was clear, if not methodologically rigorous, evidence for the decline in the cod stocks. While this proof was available for everyone to review, nothing was done to conserve the stocks. Instead, larger quotas were granted to sustain profitability. The experience of knowing that the stocks were in decline and knowing too that the government was doing nothing to address the problems produced anger. The fishers knew
that their livelihood, financial and cultural, was at risk. They also knew that official
denial of the problem was a fact of life, which they seemed unable to change. This led to
great frustration for those who knew the complexity of the situation, a complexity which
was difficult to articulate.

II.iii. The Experience of Inarticulately Knowing:

Living through difficult time requires that energy be focused on surviving rather
than trying to name the experience. "It is hard to say: it is pretty traumatic. It is a hard
adjustment ... a big adjustment that you have to make when you can't do the things that
you want to do ... when the fishery rolls around in the spring and you are prevented from
doing the things that you like doing, you know." The closer an experience is, the more
difficult it may be to express what really is happening. Songs and poetry are important
ways by which Newfoundland's fishers express such inexpressible experience. Songs and
poems vent their feelings and record their histories. One fisher captured the moratorium
by singing a tune called "No Longer A Fisherman" (Appendix D). This spoke for him of
the losses that he had encountered: the loss of a fisherman's life, the loss of freedom, the
loss of needed government money, the loss of the future, and the loss of his pride.

For these fishers knowing the experience in their bodies is not the same as trying
to name it in words. "Yea, it is hard to speak, if [the moratorium] affects your own
family; that is almost something that someone else would have to decide." This man sees
that he is too close to the experience to articulate the changes in his family: and yet he
knows that stresses have increased just because he is around the house more.
II.iv. *Provisional Knowing: Change as a Constant.*

Being aware in the midst of the changes that change will continue is a kind of provisional knowing. Being aware of the public and hidden events is essential, as it seems to provide some personal control, in the midst of chaos. “It was a hard change but you had to get use to it.” Such painful awareness of constant uncertainty created stress and grief. Fishers and their families would have to make decisions based on what was known at any given time. Should they stay, for example, in their community at this time? “You might come along in five years and see that we are gone but we are going to stick it out pretty hard before we gives it up.”

Provisional knowing forced fishers to live in the present and prepare for the future where possible. The constancy of change was evident in these fishers' decisions to stay in their communities at this time knowing that at a later point they may have to move. For some it was to work in the fishery, adapting their methods and procedures to focus on different species and to maximize catch. Survival, personal and familial, is a key component in provisional knowing. The purpose of change and adaptation is to allow survival, whether it is in the fishery or in attaining work outside the province.

II.v. *The Experience of Hands-on Knowing versus Authorized Knowing:*

The experience of dealing with the differences between hands-on knowing and authorized knowing has resulted in divisions between the fishers and the authorities. The primary forms of gathering information in the fishery are the fishers' everyday procedures, hands-on knowing, and scientific methods, authorized knowing.

Fishers have gathered their knowledge through experiential approaches and procedures that have been passed down from generation to generation. The hands-on
learning has been acquired over their life, beginning in childhood and continuing throughout their fishing careers: “See, as we were growing up we always wanting to be out in the boat, 'Dad, can I go today, right?' And he would take you out for the day.” This experiential approach to knowing differs from the basis of scientific information.

The scientific method depends on data gathering processes, which is a more detached approach wherein mathematical models are used to determine biomass, migration patterns and the like. During the fishery crisis, the scientific information was authorized as the official stance of the government and DFO, while the fishers' way of knowing was often left unrecognized.

The differences in ways of knowing correspond with differences in language usage and perspectives, and fishers experience barriers that result from these differences. Since there are differences in the two ways of knowing and their proposed outcomes, fishers do not trust the authorized proceedings. “In regards to the fishery itself, we have a bunch up there in DFO and in the White Hills supposed to be scientists. But if you asked any fishermen on this island and I would say 99% of them will tell you that they don't have a clue 'bout what is going on in the fishery. Don't have not the one clue.” Fishers are emphatic in stating that the people running the fishery do not know or understand the fishery from their viewpoint. Thus, fishers have little or no confidence in the DFO scientists and what they purport to be 'the facts'.

Fishers' lives were intimately associated with life on the sea. They knew well the fishing zones, the patterns, the quality, and the quantity of fish that could be expected. From their experience, fishers knew that the cod stocks were in serious decline. The two main indicators that were named repeatedly were the decline in quantity and in quality of
the fish. "Basically what [we] were trying to tell [politicians and DFO] was the fish was
getting scarcer and the fish that [we] were landing were of inferior quality. You know
[fishers] could foresee a problem then, not only in the smaller number of cod being
landed but also in the quality of the cod that was being landed. The cod were of an
inferior quality and not properly fed." When the hands-on knowing and authorized
knowing came in conflict, the fishers experience was not heard.

There had been downturns in the fishery in the past. Before the moratorium,
fishers knew there were serious changes occurring in the fishery and that some areas
around the province were more greatly affected than others were. "Like the 2J, that is on
the Labrador Coast, on the Great Northern Peninsula, that is nearly extinct, as far as I am
concerned. And I don't think that is ever going to come back." The experience then, of
having their first-hand knowledge discounted and the scientific, authorized knowledge
given the status of defining the fishery, has led to a great deal of anger on the part of the
fishers. "And when the head scientist come and told us not to worry about the codfish, he
said they would be there for a hundred years to come; he said, you will never catch it.
Now for one of the top scientists to tell the fishermen that, there was something wrong
somewhere that he did not know what he was talking about. He said, don't worry about
it." "We didn't trust him, we just laughed at him because we could laugh at him, we knew
that wasn't true. We knew he didn't know, but we knew."

To the fishers, it was as if there were two different languages and two different
ways of understanding the dynamics of the cod fishery. Productive communication
between the fishers and the scientists was limited to exceptions. Referring to one
respected scientist, an interviewee said, "He must be a maverick or something in the
Fisheries. According to the fishermen, he seems to say things different than the other scientists. It seems like he talks more sensible, more like fishermen would talk.” Due to the general communication barrier between the fishers and the scientists, “as far as the scientists is concerned, with fishermen they have no credibility at all. Or there is something going on that is not being told, you know.” Since decision-making relies more heavily on the experts' information, fishers experienced rejection of their knowledge with a great deal of frustration.

III. The Experience of Loss and Grief

The experience of loss and grief relates to dealing with the changes that resulted from the moratorium. “All of a sudden when [cod fishing got] taken away, in ‘92, well it was just the same as, like some people are saying, something got inside your chest and ripped your heart out, right. It is hard stuff, right.” In trying to describe his experience of loss this man had to use an analogy to symbolize his passion, for the moratorium and suddenly put an end to the lifestyle he held dear. “It is hard stuff.”

For others, not fishing is not the only loss. A fisher, 40 years old when the moratorium began, lost his berth, a position on a fishing vessel, and after seeking retraining in an allied skill area, was unable to obtain employment in the new field. After two major losses, he is disheartened. “I have resumes in everywhere, all over the place; the Coast Guard, different shipping companies, tug boats, contractors, just can’t get nothing to do, that’s it.” It is a cruel irony that the course he deemed most useful was focused on boat safety and life saving. Prior to taking these courses, most of his boat safety had been learned from mentors, where mistakes were passed on and where there
were gaps in the learning. The fisher would never get to use his safety training for fishing, now that he had been displaced.

Grief and loss also permeate into family life and community. Licence retirements have serious implications for values of family inheritances and community life. Fishers are fearful that such retirements will end the tradition of the inshore fishery. From fishers’ viewpoint, the licence buyouts directly contribute to the demise of rural communities. They see that children will have no reason to stay, since they will not be able to work as enterprise owners or as crewmembers. With people leaving for work and children leaving to study, the community and its fishing lifestyle are at risk. If a skipper retires his licence, he will not be able to pass his business onto his child since there will be no option for the enterprise when the moratorium is lifted. Most likely, children who have left to study or work will leave the community and the province for good. “And they have a community and if that son don’t stay in the community, that community is gone and he wants to leave his enterprise to his son. He don’t want to go out on the pension, ‘cause if he goes out on the pension, he loses his licence and his son is gone to Toronto, Ontario, or Quebec or Fort McMurray, Alberta.” If the fishery does not recover and reopen, everything inshore fishers have worked for is lost.

In trying to deal with such potential losses, one fisher is committed to preserving the tradition by handing on his licence. Knowing that his son will not return to fishing, he wants to hand his licence on, possibly to a nephew. “But I don’t know, I honestly don’t know about me licence when the time comes. I am hoping that there is going to be someone around that I can pass it along to.” He sees that if this happens, the traditions may not die; there might a future in the fishery. He knows, in contrast, that if he sells it to
the government, he is contributing to the end of the traditions in the industry, as well as to the social fabric of the fishery. With a hand-on he still has some hope for the future. There may be uncertainty about what will happen to his enterprise when he is ready to retire, for he knows that the fishery is not static, nothing stays the same, even the fishery. Yet, handing-on his licence would give him hope.

This man had wanted to work with his son, to pass on his knowledge and his enterprise, but when the moratorium was imposed that changed. He encouraged his son to get retraining. “He fished with me six or seven years and when the moratorium come on, I said to him, ‘Bye the best thing you can do is get out of the boat and go to school and go a get something, get, get out of here.’ So, that is the facts of the thing is, that outport Newfoundland....” He spoke quietly, torn between opportunities for his son and his own hopes of having him near home. The family was disappointed that after retraining the son would have to leave their community for work.

The continual exodus of families that have moved to find work has drained the very life energy of communities. It is difficult for fishers to witness the migration and the hardship that fellow fishers must suffer as and after they have left the province. One fisher remembers such a day when he witnessed one of the local men leaving the town. “Well, someone said to me the other day, myself and this young fella, lives up across the road from me, we were watching this other man. His wife had a baby about a month ago, you know. And this young fella Sean said to me, ‘God, Edmond has got to go today, he is going to Toronto.’ I said, ‘That must be some hard for that man. His wife now just had a little baby girl.’ And this young fella, he was about 24 or 25, he said, ‘God, it is hard for anyone to go away. Nobody really wants to go away’. “ Another man reflected
emphatically on those who have left their home only to find adversity on the mainland.

“And you know the families down [Northern Peninsula], I don’t know. You know you turn on the television them going with campers. Some of them people went last year and you turn on the television again and the mine where they went closed down and they are all stuck in a camper again, trying to get somewhere else.”

Along with families leaving directly from the fishery crisis, communities also witness their children leave for post-secondary education or work. This has resulted in a noticeable gap in the population. Fishers spoke of their community void of young adults. “I mean all the young people in my community are all gone, there are none there. You know, you could go out on the road ten years ago any evening at all in the summer time. There would be eight or ten young fellas or young girls, you know, out doing this or doing that or you know get into a little bit of mischief here or a little bit of mischief there. None of that because they’re gone. Not there, there is nobody in my community between out of high school and between under 25 and 30 years of age. There are none left, they are all gone.” If the fishery does not recover, the speaker fears that this will be the last generation in his community. With young families moving away and the older people dying, the community will also die.

Most fishers are faced with the reality that their children will leave their small communities. “Well, it is hard on ya’. You kind of knows that eventually they’re all going to be gone, there is not going to be none of them around. You know they will get home a scattered time for a holiday but that would be it.” The thought of all the children being away is bothersome. It is probable they will leave the community and indeed most of them will likely move out of the province. “When they leave the community they go to
the school in St. John's for four or five year and then, cross the gulf. We educate them in Newfoundland, we educate them, but then they are gone, cross the gulf.”

Even for those who would like to continue to work in the fishery, uncertainty is a major factor in their lives. A teenage son, who is interested in fishing and other outdoor activities, has some inclination to stay near home but questions whether it will be financially viable. If he has to leave the rural lifestyle, he knows it will be difficult for him but the uncertain future of the fishery concerns him even more.

**IV. The Experience of Abandonment**

The experience of abandonment refers to the fishers' sense that those in authoritative positions did not support them in ways that were needed. Several sources of this experience include the union, the Fisheries Loan Board (FLB), and the government. Abandonment is not new; it is an experience known well in rural Newfoundland throughout its history.

The union was in a difficult position because of its structure and its dependence on union dues. With the closure of the cod fishery, which put so many fishers and plant workers out of work, union income was drastically reduced and its power weakened. As a key stakeholder in the fishery, the union represented all aspects of the fishery, inshore fishers, mid-shore fishers, offshore fishers and plant workers, each with competing interests. Some fishers perceived the union was not able to work effectively for all parties, since each of the four sectors of the fishery were competing against each other.

One fisher attributed the ineffectiveness of the union to assist fishers during the moratorium to a government buy off that silenced the union. Since fishers would not be paying dues during the moratorium funds would have been insufficient for the union to
do its work and he thinks the union therefore accepted funds from the government to maintain its structure. Also, two of the top executives and respected leaders in the union, Max Short and Richard Cashin, accepted fisheries related positions in the government. Short became assistant to John Crosbie, while Cashin headed up the Fishery Resource Conservation Council (FRCC). In particular, Richard Cashin was known for his confrontational style, and, under his leadership, fishers expected a battle with the government. Instead, the silence and the lack of confrontation at the start of the moratorium indicated to the fishers, their union’s ineffectiveness in representing them in this situation. Fishers thought the union could have been more vocal and confrontational when the moratorium was first declared; ‘this racket could be an awful lot dirtier than what it was.’ The ineffectiveness of the union during the moratorium resulted in some fishers feeling abandoned and left to survive on their own.

The experience of the fishers with the union is paradoxical. Although many fishers do not always agree with the union, they felt better served because of the union’s presence. Fishers suggest the union has been, throughout its history, helpful for the promotion of the well-being of fishers overall; it was “one of the better things to have happened”. However, because of its ineffectiveness in voicing the concerns of the fishers during the moratorium, fishers were left with a sense of abandonment. In discussion one fishers says that the union became powerless because of its perceived buy-off which left fishers depending on processors for financial support.

The Fishery Loan Board (FLB) was a provincial government agency created for fishers, in order to provide loans for boats and equipment. The Board, in effect, was developed to assist fishers maintain their independence. When the moratorium was
called, the FLB was not placed under the compensation programs. Neither the federal nor the provincial governments negotiated with the FLB to include them in fishers’ compensation programs. As a result, fishers remained responsible for their loans even though they were not fishing. When the moratorium was announced, fishers had to turn to processors for financial assistance in order to avoid declaring bankruptcy. Fishers felt caught in the middle because, although they could not fish cod, they still had to pay the loan and interests. In light of the moratorium, many fishers would have liked the mandate of the FLB to be reviewed to assess whether changes could have been implemented to the benefit of the displaced fishers. Shoudering the interest on loans until the cod fishery was reopened was one concept that would have eased fishers’ financial burdens. From a compensation perspective, the fishers wanted to be compensated for investments that could not be repaid due to circumstances beyond their control.

Because the FLB was ineffective in its mandate to financially support fishers develop and maintain their enterprises, fishers had to turn to private fish processors. The result was a loss of independence for numerous fishers. In financial trouble, they negotiated with the processors for financial assistance to maintain their enterprise. It was useful to the processors to provide assistance because it secured a supply of fish, while it enabled some fishers to remain in business. Nevertheless, the cost to the fishers was the loss of independence because the arrangement favoured the processors. As money lenders the balance of power went to the processors who thereby gained more control of the industry. Additionally, such help was not available to the small boat fishers because they provided too little volume, making the risk unprofitable for the processor.
Abandonment is an experience that many are reluctant to acknowledge. Yet through their stories, the fishers shared numerous experiences of such. One fisher says he will retire if he is offered "half enough," a symbolic gesture of his survival that applies to many in the fishery. This is a way of coming to terms with the realities of a difficult life and possible difficult future. While he never made a lot of money, he did make enough to live on and he wants enough to live on in his retirement years. Unfortunately, this man had a heart attack and was unable to fish during the qualifying period, thereby affecting his financial support from the moratorium program. Even though he had fished his whole life, other than during his illness, it was the qualifying period that determined the level of assistance to which he was entitled. In comparison, a person who fished only during the qualifying period received support for the full duration of the close-down, a clear case of injustice. Thus it is that this man is willing to retire if "they" offer "half enough". Otherwise, he will have to fish until he is 65, another ten years. Such examples represent the abandonment experienced by fishers in the government management of the TAGS program.

V. The Experience of Dashed Hopes

The experience of dashed hopes refers to a build up of expectations and the subsequent disappointment when the same are not fulfilled. When government withdrew support for a secondary processing plant, the hopes of the communities and people of St. Mary's Bay were dashed. A fisher who had retrained and was not able to get employment felt disappointed by the government in the process. Because he had attended training courses before and did not get work, now he only wants to get further education "if [he]
can take a course, where [he] can see when [he] finish[es] that it is possible to get a job after that course is completed.”

Sometimes, the inequity of response by government and its agencies also negatively affected the business person and thereby the community. The people of St. Mary’s Bay, for example, were very angry when a local entrepreneur was refused financial support to start a secondary processing plant in their area. This proposed plant would employ 40-80 people year round, process multiple marketable products, and would not be in direct competition to the nearby primary processing plants. Despite that argument, the businessperson was unable to secure capital. The participants experienced dashed hopes when the financial support had not been given, even when the Post-TAGS mandate was community based economics.

The stories of the fishers show how many Newfoundlanders experienced dashed hopes by the policies and actions of the governments, provincial and federal. One fisher who had been displaced from the fishery expressed his personal dilemma of utter disappointment. With the proposed training through the moratorium compensation programs, he enrolled and invested himself into education and retraining for a new job. He did several programs to try to find employment that could sustain himself and his family. At the end of the moratorium, with compensation finished, he had obtained the education required, but he was not able to find employment. “I went to school, I took a couple of different courses since ‘92. I took a pre-sea deckhand course that was well all along, a six or seven month course. I thought I might get something out of that, but no. I have resumes in everywhere, all over the place; the Coast Guard, different shipping companies, tug boats, contractors, just can’t get nothing to do, that’s it.” The programs
developed and implemented by the government to assist him were ineffective. His expectation that there would be work after investing in the retraining programs was dashed. It was not enough for him to simply get more training. He wants a job.

VI. The Experience of Professionalization: Validation and Personal Pride

A specific outcome of the moratorium is the professionalization of the fishing industry. Being certified by a board is validation of this occupation, it has worth and the people in it are professional. The development of a “professional fishery,” with certification and classifications, had been considered for several years and accomplished in 1998. The new classification has fishers divided into three ranks, Apprentice, Class I, and Class II. Certain qualifications were required for entry and advancement in the fishery.

An apprentice will require a high school education and possibly a designated post-secondary course. To operate an enterprise the fisher would have to attain the highest ticket. “[In] the fishery of the future nobody new can become a Level I fishermen or become a Level II, that is where you can acquire a licence, unless you have a grade 12 education. That is where you are going to get rid of what most people call 'the stupid fisherman'. There [was a time when] if you got no education or quit school, you'd end up in a fishing boat; basically, that is the way it was, right. So, that will change that.”

The experience of professionalization has validated the fishers and has promoted their personal pride as it relates specifically to the fishery. The men in this study all expressed pride in their occupation. “And if someone asks you what you are, you are a fisherman.” With the professionalization of the fishery, not just any person can fish.
"There is a certain level that you have to be, anyone at all can't just take it and go fishing." This new approach changes the perception of the fishery as a birthright.

Being certified carried more value for some than others. "Some of the older fellas talking about this professionalization back a few years right. Fellas use to say, 'What is the difference'? And some of the older fellas used to tell them, instead of putting down World War Veteran on some fella's headstone and Architect on another fella's, you will be able to say, Fisherman, right. Because that is what you will be and you will professional at it, or after being, right. There was no economic gain so some could not understand how it benefited them. But all through the federal government, through funds and through fighting someone says what is the difference between now and last year." The differences will be the acknowledgement of their work as a profession and limiting the entry into the fishery of people who are qualified. "After a few years when other fellas are trying to get into it, they will have to go to school to get in. You will be able to say that you learned it over a lifetime, by being grand-fathered right." For this fisher, professionalization, career pride, and being grandfathered into Level I was significant. Professionalization of the fishery gives credibility to his work, recognition rather than the criticism often felt in the past. Fishers hope this will end the notion of stupid fishermen due to lack of formal education, and the fishery as an employer of last resort. Fishers will be able to proudly state their occupation, professional fisher, and when others have to go to school to move into the fishery, the older guys can say they learned fishing at sea. "It is something, you will be recognized as 'a somebody'. Before when you mention fisherman, I remember when my father used [to fish], fisherman used to be looked down on. From now on, in the
new fishery you will be looked up to, right.” Professionalization extends the pride from a personal experience to that of public recognition.

VII. **The Experience of Being Prepared for the Moratorium**

At the start of the cod moratorium, some fishers were prepared for the changes. The low cod catches were an indication that the fishery was in decline and, in anticipation of that event, these fishers had begun to diversify and adapt fishing methods, obtaining new licences for under-utilized species and fishing further offshore to catch bigger fish than the small sized available inshore. “When the moratorium was called, it wasn't a shock. To a point for anyone who was fishing, because fishing around the shores of Newfoundland over the years prior to the moratorium you had to leave to go offshore because they couldn't find 'em big enough to catch in a gillnet. So, it wasn't a shock, it was something everyone knew sooner or later was coming, technology had decided. But when it come it was a shock to the point of, 'what are you going at next year?' and it would have been a major effect on us only for at that time the crab fishery was coming on.”

For those who had anticipated the need to change the fishing practices, the declaration of the cod moratorium in itself was not shocking, yet the personal implications were shocking. Since the landing of cod had been deteriorating, some fishers began to focus their efforts on other species. When the moratorium was declared these people already had the required licences and gear to harvest other species. Previously under-utilized species included crab, monk, skate and many types of fish.

Even through they had some preparation and some advantage at the start of the moratorium there were still many issues to cope with. The main harvest was cod, the
under-utilized species were supplementary. Now with the cod moratorium ending their main focus, major adjustments still occurred. The fishers' gear was "now laid down in the store", useless and worthless. For those who heeded the indications that the cod fishery was in crisis the commencement of the cod moratorium was not a surprise but it was still a difficult period of adjustments. Fear and uncertainty marked the future.

VIII. The Experience of Not Being Prepared for the Moratorium

For fishers who had not anticipated major changes to the moratorium they were not prepared for the closedown and were caught ill equipped, both in their work and personally. Although it was common knowledge that cod landings were low, many fishers were unprepared for the magnitude of the moratorium. "At the time we were kinda' expecting that there was going to be some kind of close down. We didn't think it was going to be closed down like it was. You know, we weren't expecting a blanket closedown." The result of the shutdown for some fishers was being displaced from the fishery, while others had major adaptations to retain their enterprises.

For people who were not prepared for the extent of the closure, the shock of the moratorium was monumental. Just prior to the implementation of the moratorium, one fisher had expanded his enterprise by securing a bank mortgage and investing in a larger boat, more licences and more gear. The cod fishery had been his primary income and with this development his future was uncertain. The crisis affected every part of his life; the uncertainty and financial difficulties were daunting.

Another man, who fished with a skipper on an inshore vessel, was displaced when his captain merged with another boat owner. He was no longer required as crew to harvest in the diversified fishery. "I never had a licence because I didn't want one
because at the time I was just fishing with a fella that had a licence. I just had a personal fishing licence and we made a good living at it, just the two of us two in a boat. And right now the skippers mostly are going together, probably two or three of them going in a boat.” While he can understand the captain cutting him out, because of the added expense, the personal impact is that he is out of work. “So, the fella I fished with, if he took me with him, he got to pay me out of that 22,000 pound of cod, pay his expenses and pay for his boat, 'cause he is going to have expenses during the year, gear and everything else. But with the two of them they get; like on a licence they can probably get 20,000 pound of cod, just say that for instance. But on 20,000 pound of cod, there is two of them, they will get 40,000. So, if I went with this guy, there would only be 20,000 between the two of us, and that is the way with the crab.” The new structure of the fishery is moving from a labour-intensive occupation to a profit driven one. This fisher was not prepared for the changes in the fishery and the end to his career. “Well for me, I think it is all over. We didn't fish since '92; they closed in July '92, when the cod moratorium was on.”

IX. The Experience of Waiting

The experience of waiting refers to putting one's life on hold. Many of the fishers hoped the fishery would recover in the two years announced at the start of the moratorium. People waited for the cod fishery to reopen and life to resume to normal and families were waiting for their children to grow up before leaving their community. “When they closed it in '92 in July, they were supposed to close it 'til '94; that was what John Crosbie said at the time; he was the minister. And people just felt that when '94 come, ah next year, '95 it will be open; and they kept waiting for the next year and the
next year." Many could put up with a two-year disruption. When it went beyond the two years a whole different set of problems arose. The fishers had emotionally invested into waiting for the reopening of the cod fishery, which resulted in a sense of continued waiting.

Such people did not commit to leaving the fishery. "So uncertain, life after '92 has been uncertain, because they are telling you. Well in '92 they were telling you the moratorium, when the moratorium was called it was only going to be for two years right, and I mean everybody didn't mind two years, like two years don't take very long to pass by sometimes does it. Then when '94 came along and there was no sign of recovery and here we are six years into a moratorium."

This waiting for the moratorium to end strongly influenced outcomes of the retraining and licence buy-outs. "A lot of young fellas went into [training] and it was giving them a chance, it was good for them to offer it; some of them took advantage and some of them didn't." The courses they signed up for did not necessarily train them for employment; many were biding their time until they could go back fishing and fulfilling the requirements to qualify for financial compensation. One skipper has been able to survive and intends to stay as long as possible. "We'll have to wait and see, but we will stick it out 'til then and see how far I go with it. I not going to go this time, not yet. I wouldn't think about selling out this time."

The responses of fishers depended on many things: what status they held in the fishery, their personal outlook of the crisis, the presence of family and many other factors. The difficulty for many fishers was that the government had announced the moratorium for a two-year duration. If the prediction of the length of the moratorium had
been more accurate, fishers may have been more willing to seeking opportunities outside the fishery. "You're waiting, you're waiting now to see what is going to happen. You're like it's hanging you don't know what is going to be next." The inaccurate time frames outlined by the government led to great uncertainty, disempowerment and mistrust. The overestimated time for recovery, two years at first, now six years is disheartening. "It is more or less like having your life put on hold."

"Everybody knew these TAGS weren't going to last forever, it just couldn't last, and the fish never come back. That's the bottom line. Now the fish never come back and they not going to be back for next year and the TAGS is gone." There is a sense of a waiting game, the fishers waiting for the cod fishery to re-open. Although fishers knew that TAGS compensation would not be financially supporting forever, there is a sense that it gave people a false sense of hope and lack preparation for life after fishing.

X. The Experience the Resettlement Program Remembered

Resettlement refers to the perceived covert, unofficial movement of Newfoundlanders from rural fishing communities to larger industrial centres. One fisher referred to the overt Resettlement Program of the Smallwood era of the 1950's and 1960's as echoing in the experience of the moratorium. He linked these experiences and expresses how they impact his life. Resettlement has been chronic for Newfoundlanders and it was no different during the moratorium.

"Ah, see if you went back, I am going to go back a long ways now and give you an example of what some things that happened. I am going to go right back to Joey's days, Joey Smallwood's. Now there we came up with a system where you were going to move people into growth centres, Trepassey was one of them, Placentia was another. Ah,
that is the two on our coast now I am sure that down in the other bays and down all across Newfoundland there are other growth centres. I can only size up the two that was in my area, right. Trepassey was over on one side of me; Placentia was in the other. And if you look at either one of those communities today, they’re the two most devastated communities on our coast, is Trepassey and Placentia. Because they piled all these people in there and they piled in Trepassey and got the fish plant, a nice big fish plant going. And piled them in Placentia and this going, that going. Then the fish plant closed down in Trepassey and left them nothing. The Yanks pulled out of Placentia; left them with nothing. So those growth centres is the most disastrous places in my part of the island today.”

Indeed, the plant closure and out-migration devastatingly affect the larger towns like Trepassey. When the plants were developed 20-30 years ago, many small boat fishers gave up their licences and went fishing on the trawlers or began working in the plant. With the moratorium, the plant shut down and the trawlers stopped harvesting; there was no recourse for the fishers to revert to the small boat fishery or licence buyouts. The natural result was that the community was devastated.

On that basis, it is incomprehensible how a community, once dependent on a major fish plant, will survive this crisis. Nor is it imaginable how individuals can function when there is nothing to look forward to. Adding to the bleakness, is the process of out-migration and the adversities such people experience after they leave the province. “So, now Joey was forthcoming when he said we were going to move people. But I think when Mr. Wells got in there he started an agenda but he went about it in a different way. I think he was going to, I think he was keener with moving people than Smallwood ever
was. Whether Tobin's government is going to keep up that trend or not, I don't know.”

The hopes and dreams of whole communities have been displaced with a fear of the future.

External Experiences

XI. The Experience of Blame and Accountability

Blame refers to the experience of placing responsibility on another. Laying responsibility on others at times may be appropriate but it can also be a practice that deflects one's own responsibilities. It can stop deeper reflection on the systemic problems that may be occurring. Blame as an expression may be in relation to anger and stem from an experience of violation. Fishers blamed the government for mismanagement of the cod stocks and the mismanagement of the compensation programs. Fishers in turn were blamed as equal contributors to the cod crisis, a charge which was fiercely renounced.

X.i. The Experience of Blaming Others

“They (Ottawa) are after bungling the whole affairs, as far as we're concerned.”

Responsibility for mismanagement of the fishery and its resource, resulting in the decline of the cod stocks, was emphatically directed at the federal government. “Well the government, the federal government were the ones that are solely responsible for it [the fishery resource], and they are.”

“Oh they had to give you compensation when they were the crowd that destroyed the [cod fishery]. It was their misuse of the licence and quotas that destroyed the fishery. It wasn't our fault that the fish was destroyed, we didn't destroy it. What we were catching [inshore] didn't destroy it. The inshore fishery in Newfoundland didn't destroy the fish.” Such fishers saw the amount of fish caught inshore and the method of fishing
for the inshore fishery as not being possible to destroy the fish stocks. The real culprit in their eyes was the government which permitted licences for the draggers and for foreigners. “You can go back through the books, back as far as twenty years; people were recommending that the draggers should be [stopped].” The responsibility for destroying the cod stocks was placed squarely on the dragger technology used by both the Canadian fleet and the foreign fleet, and on DFO for licencing them.

X.ii. The Experience of Holding Others Accountable

Accountability for the mismanagement took the form of compensation to the fishers and plant workers. NCARP and TAGS were a “necessary evil” and, although fishers agreed with the compensation, they would have preferred the ability to continue fishing in the manner to which they had been accustomed.

“Well, TAGS is compensation right, because of mismanagement of the fishery.” Not being able to fish was the government’s responsibility and TAGS compensation was understood to be pay for not fishing for cod, until the stocks recovered. Due to the mismanagement of the fishery “the federal government closed it [and] they saw fit to compensate people for the loss of the cod fish.” Fishers do not perceive the financial compensation from TAGS as a handout; it is compensation. “The government, through their mismanagement, destroyed it. So, actually, ah, they [fishers] should be paid.”

X.iii. The Experience of Being Blame:

At the start of the moratorium, DFO officials and politicians said that all sectors of the fishery were equally responsible for the cod stock crisis. It angered inshore fishers when officials and politicians said that all fleets, foreign, offshore and inshore, were equally responsible for the demise of the cod stocks. This was interpreted as officials
relinquishing responsibility for the stock depletion. "And when it all went on and she closed her all down, all you could hear were the union and the department of fisheries, both the provincial and the federal, now don't lay blame. Everybody's to blame, now don't lay blame. And they says you know the foreigners was at it and the, our own draggers was at it, and we [mid-shore and inshore] had a share in it, 'cause we use to set nets and we would lose them and they was ghost nets." Comparing the havoc to the stocks caused by deep-sea trawlers with that of inshore ghost nets was unfathomable for the inshore fishers. Such equations angered them.

XII. The Experience of Being Judged Disrespectfully

The experience of being judged requires at least two people or groups: those feeling or being judged and those apparently or actually passing the judgement. While respectful disagreement is judgement, fishers felt disrespectfully judged throughout the moratorium. The fishers' experience of being judged involved hearing or reading comments of non-fishers in the media and press complaining about the programs offered by the government for the fishers. "When I listened to 'open line' in the morning and I listened to the news and I would read the paper and they would get on and they would say, people on TAGS is getting a fortune. They are driving around in the four-wheel drive and they have those big bog bikes and they have those cabins up in the woods, they have those big modern homes and all that stuff." The resentment of non-fishers was named as an envious greed by one man, "Ah, people, if ya' hear the open line, they condemns it, right. But basically I think the reason they are condemning it is because they're not getting it. It is greed. So, ah, I think the people who are complaining about the TAGS are only complaining because they're not getting it their selves "whether they're a
logger or something else.” Several fishers said they felt unfairly judged both as fishers and because of the compensation.

The fishers' felt that non-fishers perceived they were getting something for doing nothing. “Well people thought that we never fished and when we did fish, it was just ten weeks a summer. We fished them ten weeks, then we had twenty-five and thirty nets to mend up during the winter, get the gear ready for the next year.” The fishers felt an overwhelming resentment by the general public that fishers were, allegedly, making a great deal of money on TAGS. “A lot of times when people complain about people taking this TAGS money, right, the money that the federal government is compensating people for the loss of the cod fishery. They're saying they don't deserve it and this and that.”

In experiencing the judgement by non-fishers, fishers felt misunderstood and as a result felt powerless to change this attitude. It was difficult to counter the pervasive and negative judgmental attitudes as only bits of the story were being reported and properly understood. Many people were jumping to conclusions, attitudes were hardening and discord grew between the fishers and non-fishers.

XIII. The Experience of Being Devalued for Fishers' Economic Contribution

Fishers do not feel valued for their contribution to the economic well-being of the country, and this angers fishers. They are, in fact, primary producers upon whom many other industries rely. “The one thing that I find is never mentioned is the fact that the fishermen are primary producers. They bring in the new fish, the codfish and the flounder and the crab and the shrimp and whatever species you can name that is out there and anybody wants they bring it in. Which means they are the primary producers, same as the farmer is a primary producer, or you know.” Fishers’ productivity directly corresponds
with productivity in fish plants, trucking, refrigeration of product, and so on; indirectly the fishery contributes to several secondary industries.

Through direct and indirect fishery industries, economic contributions by fishers are substantial with deductions for income taxes, Employment Insurance, worker compensation programs, as well as their overall spending in the community. Yet, fishers do not feel acknowledged or respected for those economic contributions. It is frustrating that fishers are only mentioned when they are receiving assistance from the government. It is annoying that there is little credit for the vital role fishers have played in the provincial economy. Along with the employment created by the fishery, the export value of the fishing industry is of great importance to the province and the nation. “Like I said it is all new money, like when crab is sold, very little of it is sold in Newfoundland. It is either sold in the United States or sold in Japan, so it’s all brand new money coming in, isn’t it.” Fishers feel that they do not get acknowledged for their contribution to exports. “If there weren’t people fishing there wouldn’t be any need for a fish plant, would it. You know, I mean the importance of a fisherman, and it is not because I am a fisherman I am saying this, but the importance of a fisherman is never stressed enough, as far as we’re concerned. Because I mean when a person goes to work in a fish plant, he pays his, on account of working, he pays his income taxes to the government, workers compensation, his EI fees and pension fees, you know. So, it is all because there are fishermen fishing.”

Industries which depended, directly or indirectly, on the fishery, such as suppliers and car dealerships, were adversely affected by the cod moratorium. This negative impact of the moratorium was strongly stressed by some fishers and others. There was the great loss of work with the closure of the fish plants, spin-off industries and suppliers, directly
connected to the cod fishery. Along with the fishers and plant workers, secondary industries are also suffering. Indeed, say fishers, it is uncertain how much devastation has resulted from the mismanagement and closure of the fishery. “[So, a lot of secondary industries] are suffering because of the moratorium. And it is hard to say where it is going to end, you know.” The recovery has been slower than publicly anticipated; it may be up to ten more years before full recovery of the cod stocks can sustain a progressive fishery. The implications for fishers and the economy of a long-term moratorium could be devastating. Rural communities may not survive such a long downturn. From the fishers’ perspective, the cod fishery is seen as vitally important for the survival of rural Newfoundland. “And you know, they’re the one providing the work for the people in the fish plants, but you know it is never, ever, ever mentioned by anyone as far as I am concerned. You know the odd person, Earl McCurdy now from our union might bring it up at a meeting with some of the media from time to time brought, never brought out in the proper way, as far as we are concerned.”

“And I mean since the moratorium was called, you know how many people have left Newfoundland - 35, is it 35,000 - it is a big number isn’t it. Thirty thousand or a bit better left since the moratorium. And now you can notice in the smaller communities around Newfoundland, since the moratorium was called. So, you know to use the popular phase, you don’t have to be a rocket scientist to know that it was the fishery that was keeping it going, right.” This man observed that out-migration was not only by people from the fishery, but people who lost their jobs in secondary industries also had to leave their communities and the province to find work. It angers fishers, therefore, that the
fishery has not been given credit for the economic contribution, in the large picture, that it does make to our society.

XIV. *The Experience of Being Paid-off*

The experience of being paid-off refers to the response regarding the receipt of the financial support and the training programs provided by government as compensation for the moratorium on cod fishing. Fishers received bi-weekly payments for a specific amount and duration dependent on the qualifying regulations set down by HRDC. For some of the fishers, the financial support gave some reprieve because it addressed their physical needs. The training programs were available to qualified fishers, first as a requirement to receive the financial support and later in the training program for those who choose to study in a new field. “But instead of encouraging them and probably helping them to decide to do this course or that course, or this training, or whatever, you know they were all lumped together and told now that this group got to do training, whatever it was.” There was a sense that the financial support and the retraining were a buy-off. It was as if money was being thrown at the problem rather than a constructive approach to help resolve the crisis by working with the fishers.

Often the education programs provided training focused on trades that already had sufficient workers, resulting in little opportunity for employment after graduation. Fishers felt the retraining was not useful for people uninterested in leaving the fishery or unwilling to move off the island. Failing to focus the retraining on job market demand meant limitations for its success. In weighting the benefits, one fisher saw no use to retrain since there was no opportunity for employment in his area. With “the family and everything we owned here” it made more sense to try to make a go of it in the fishery. If
the intention were to get a trade and then leave the province to find work, the retraining would have provided marketable skills. "But then a lot of the programs, the stuff they were offering [were not practical]. You take people out and put them in to make them electricians say try to make them electricians and with three or four hundred electricians, in Newfoundland and they out of work. That didn't make very much sense, did it? Unless they were saying, now you have your trade if you want to move out of Newfoundland. I suppose like they couldn't take that from him, like if go and get his trade for like, electrician or pipe fitter, or welder, he have that they can't take that from him." Fishers experienced the programs as a pay-off to keep them quiet and let them make do. The problem was that a real effort to assist people deal with the crisis in personal as well as employment terms was not accomplished.

XV. The Experience of Being Misguided

The experience of being misguided refers to the fishers' need to rely on information of others, namely bureaucrats. Fishers named the duration of the moratorium, the training opportunities, and the licence retirements as problem areas in which they only had partial information. They sometimes felt misguided either because they were not informed of all the implications, or the government workers did not have sufficient expertise to assist them.

The government declared the moratorium for a two-year period and fishers had to base their decisions on the information at hand. A two-year shutdown was tolerable and, as discussed earlier, many decided to wait out the moratorium. Some, rather than obtain employable skills, enrolled in training courses because it was a requirement to receive financial compensation. Many were biding their time until they could go back fishing.
This attitude hindered many people from seriously committing to re-training or alternate work.

The training programs were supposed to provide ample opportunity for fishers to obtain education that would allow them to find employment outside of the fishery. Fishers saw a different reality. One fisher who went this route felt cheated because after several different programs he was not able to secure a job. He had trained as a deckhand that would allow him to stay on the sea but there was no demand for people with that skill. He did not have the job search skills needed and he felt he did not have the guidance that he needed to choose a training course that could get him a job. “See, at the time if someone could tell us from HRD what to take, I didn’t care what it was then, ‘cause I knew in ’92, when the fishery closed, that was it for me. I said, I would never fish again.” This man wanted work, not more training. “I want to try to go and see someone, probably someone in HRD that I think that they should be able to recommend something to ya.” He wanted guidance to make a good decision to obtain employment. At this point the having a job was more important than the type of work.

Fishers also depended on government workers for information on licence retirements. “But they come out with a buy out and not too many knew the ins and outs of the buy out of the first one. And there was never very much talking done about it.” He was angry that the first licence buyout was not widely publicized. It was the understanding of fishers that once a person sold their groundfish licence to the government, it retired them from the fishery. According to one fisher this did not occur in the first licence retirement scheme. “So, what they come out with, they bought back my, well they buy back someone’s groundfish licence for X number of dollars, $50, 000,
But they never put [him] out of the fishery. [He] could still go out there and compete with the other fella for all these other species. So, we were fools, not for all of us to have sold our groundfish licence, the whole lot of us for $50,000 or $100,000 and still fish.” It angers fishers that they received a payment for their groundfish licence and then competed in the present fishery of other species. “When they come out with the buy outs, I was a fool when they come out with the buy outs.”

These thematic categories are not rigid; they are interactive and interdependent. Two experiences, which broadly relate to both the internal and the external categories of experiences, are frustration and change. The frustration as expressed by the fishers was related as an internal experience of having to deal with the realities of the moratorium and the frustration of having to deal with the governing bodies in power. Change was expressed as the personal experience of living with constant changes and the changes imposed by the circumstances. In this section these experiences are delineated more fully.

**Internal/External Experiences**

**XVI. The Experience of Frustration**

The experience of frustration refers to the overwhelming of obstacles and emotions that fishers have encountered throughout the moratorium. During the interviews, frustration was frequently expressed both verbally and non-verbally by each of the fishers, regarding a full range of events that affected their lives. Fishers had to confront numerous issues including making decisions, coming to terms with their new realities, and coping with changes as well as many other circumstances. The frustration was overwhelming. In dealing with outside agencies, such as government bodies, unions, learning institutions, and the general public, the frequent conflicts were an expression of
the experienced frustration. Not being able to name contradictions or competing attitudes in the fear that others would not understand or accept a differing opinion was a further source of frustration.

XV.i. The Experience of Internal Frustration

The experience of internal frustration refers to coping with overwhelming issues that confronted fishers throughout the moratorium. Advising a son to leave the fishery and his home, making decisions to invest further in the fishery, and learning to live on a tighter budget, all present conflicts that fishers faced in order to deal with the difficulties of the fishery. One fisher who wants to remain in the fishery was reluctant to advise his son to do the same. “It is not easy to recommend him, the way the fishery is now, to say ‘I wants you to go fish.’ If he said he wanted to go the trade school and doing welding, you would nearly sooner say, ‘I sooner you would go to school and do welding.’ But it is hard to say with the fishing.” He is torn between what both he and his son would like to do, remain in the fishery, and having a stable income. “The second fella would want to fish if there was enough there, he is the kind of fella who likes to work or whatever. If he was making a lot of money at it I think he would think about getting his own boat, if he was making a lot of money at it, right.” The frustration of advising a son to leave the fishery was expressed by several of the men. They were torn between the life that they have loved and the security they wished for their child.

People also experienced frustration with the change in their routine. “For lots of people [idleness is a problem], lots of people that I know. And it has, I think it has created a lot of extra drinking and stuff, you know among people.” The frustration has resulted in more stress, leading to excessive alcohol and, for some, violence. “I have seen
quit a bit of it, ya. And I mean forced idleness is what it is, you know. The government are forcing people to be idle aren't they, because they are the ones that took away our means of living and you know. I am not saying, people will drink anyway I suppose, but if you were fishing and if you were busy and you were up every morning at five or six o'clock you wouldn't be drinking all day would ya, you wouldn't have the opportunity, you know.” In trying to cope with the increase tensions some people have turned to alcohol as a means to contend with the frustrations.

XV.ii. The Experience of External Frustration

The experience of external conflict refers to the conflict between fishers and non-fishers, be they the public, the politicians, the scientists or the union. Fishers were confronted with the destruction of the cod stocks and reportedly, they witness it happening to other species. The way that local fishers see the effects of such destruction is by observing what is happening to the inshore and mid-shore fisheries. One fisher referred to the turbot fishery as an example. He sees a common pattern occurring with all species, cod, squid, and turbot. He gets frustrated and angry when talking about the perceived deterioration of the local turbot fishery because it is another example of the deterioration in the fishery in general. Repetition of the pattern, depletion of fish stocks, continues without learning or change. In his speech there was excitement and anxiousness. “The same thing is happening to other species. Well, turbot, I mean down in, I think it is out of Bonavista Bay or Trinity Bay they were getting turbot, turbot was a big fishery, there are no turbot in the bays now. A big fishery in the bays, there are no turbot in the bays now. The handiest turbot you get now is in five or six hundred fathom of water. They got to wait ‘til the last one is gone before there is anything done.”
The disagreement between the apparent priorities of the government and the needs of the fishers, and their communities, results in frustration and anger. While government declares that community industry is wanted, the needed action by the same government is not always evident. When an opportunity to develop a secondary processing plant was presented, government's inaction thwarted the plan to the anger and frustration of the local people. “Ah, we have a little fish plant out in Branch there is a fella trying to get it up and going into smoked stuff and he is having a job getting funding to get it off the ground. I don't know how many people it would employ, maybe if it got going. If it got going maybe it would employ 30, maybe 40, I don't know, I don't know the nuts and bolts of it but he is having a job to get money to get this going. “Still you turn on the news, open-line. A certain fella got $800,000 for to open up some kind a telephone company. The same fella left and went with another company to open up another telephone company and the one he just left and the $800,000 from the government for is closed down. Still that fella is out there and he is bringing in the resource right from our own waters and he can't get money enough where he can start producing. You know.” It is frustrating for him to see the government pouring money into a non-traditional industry, such as a call centre, and ignoring a business interest that has traditional ties to the fishery. The small secondary fish processing plant could employ 30-40 people, which would be substantial in his area.

Dealing with the scientists has also been an experience of frustration and conflict for fishers. When the latter knew that the cod stocks were in decline, they were not listened to. Now the fishers are saying that the stocks have rebounded and they believe it could sustain a reduced fishery but they still do not feel valued for their knowledge and
wisdom. "They were coming back saying all their reports and all their studies were coming up with a good bio-mass. Well, like I said, it has been very frustrating. There were downturns in the fishery before [since] we were fishing, I remember 1989, was a really bad year, you know. It is bad, it is very frustrating when you hear fishermen saying that the resource was not like it use to be and the Federal government are still coming back at ya’ saying that it is, you know. And they were, instead of reducing quotas, I mean they were putting up the quotas.”

Now, after seven years of the cod fish moratorium, fishers’ observations tell them there is an increase in the cod stocks and their knowledge is still rejected. “I never saw it as plenty and this year they only opened up for 20,000 metric tons is it. And there are other bays down here in the same situation and there are fish in them. And the government might say they know, or they don’t know but anybody at all should know that they’re there. They weren’t listening to us in those days and they’re still not listening. No, they’ll never listen to us.” The contradiction between DFO scientists’ reports and the local fishers’ report of the biomass of the inshore cod stocks is very frustrating to fishers. They do not, as a result of this unresolved confusion, have confidence in the decisions made by the DFO scientists. They are angry and frustrated that the expertise of the local fishers is not taken into account. They feel neither heard nor respected for their knowledge. There is a continual source of frustration with the incongruence between the fishers perception of the cod fishery and that of the DFO and the scientists. In his past experience, the stocks were declining and the DFO response was to raise the quotas. For fishers, dealing with such external agencies has proven to a frustrating experience. Often their information is downplayed.
XV.iii. The Experience of Non-expressible Frustration

The experience of non-expressible frustration refers to the lack of permission to name issues that may be perceived as hurtful or judgmental of others. "I wouldn't say this publicly. I lot of people came down on the training and this and that and the other thing, for wasting money. And more of the money should have gone into compensating people, into compensation. But I think if people had to be motivated or whatever, they could have probably bettered themselves in lots of ways, with the training that was provided, they could have availed of it." In such cases open and honest discourse was difficult because people did not want to offend others or be judged negatively by them.

Several fishers expressed empathy for people worse off than they were themselves. "You wouldn't want to see any fella, another fella fishing along side of you having to force them out." This person was referring to the change from the competitive fishery to the boat quota fishery. He would like to see people being able to choose to leave with dignity rather than being forced out of the fishery. In this instance he was torn between what he perceived was best for him and what would be useful to others.

XVII. The Experience of Change

"It was, it was a hard change but you had to get use to it." The experience of change means modification of lifestyle, attitudes and expectations. For fishers, change was imposed by the complete shut down of the moratorium and demanded altering their lives professionally, personally, and communally. The imposed moratorium proceeded with new structures and new ways of being. For some fishers, the changes were experienced as a threat and despair; for others, it was opportunity and hope. Many people
experienced being dislocated, either physically or emotionally. For everyone change was inevitable. "It will never be the same."

The structural changes in the fishery included downsizing the fleets and personnel, altering quota allocations from a competitive fishery to a boat quota fishery, and the initiation of the professional fishery. Fishers experienced such changes as demands on their time, their seasonal and yearly routines, and their presence at home. Changes were also experienced in their communities. The outflow of families and youth has been constant and problematic since the moratorium. This alone has impacted gravely on the familial, social, and cultural realities of rural Newfoundland. "[How I am] most affected by the moratorium is looking for what is coming up behind ya’, in my community, right. You know I can see twenty years down the road there is not going to be a lot left in my community. Well, I am not too struck on that idea. I don’t like that very much 'cause all the young people are gone."

XVIi. The Experience of Change in the Structure of the Fishery

Fishers experienced change in the structure of the fishery in several major ways. Downsizing the fishery was a primary focus for the government, as their retraining programs and the licence buy-outs were intended to limit the size of a renewed fishery. For those who were displaced from the fishery, this process had a radical effect on them. "An awful lot of fishermen are not going to fish cod again, especially in 3L. I don’t think they will ever fish it again. ‘Cause we [are] looking at what seven years and believe me it is going to be another four or five years before it comes back. It is not like before, if comes back they way they want it, it’s four or five years before they open it."
The transition from full-time fishing to seeking employment was a change fishers found difficult. The fishery is a profession that was acquired through a lifetime of learning that provided a good income and allowed one's presence at home. Being forced out of a known way of work into unknown territory was a fearful change. Trying to come to terms with obtaining training, job searching and finding work in a new career was intimidating for many. Even for those who managed to refocus within the fishing industry, their efforts to fish under-utilized species also had major adaptations in their approach to fishing. The structural shifts radically changed the notion of fishing from cultural to industrial. “You will never be able to fish in Newfoundland like you could before,” summarized one fisher.

Fishers are aware that the women are also affected by the changes in the community since the moratorium was instated. Some wives used to work in the fish plant prior to the moratorium. “The women go to work, and not for the sake of the money, it is only $5 per hour, it is just for the sake of saying they got something to do, and they are out, right. It is not even the work part of it. It is just getting out among the people.” For women, working had two aspects, financial and social. Even though the wages were low, work supplemented the family income. Work also provided a social outlet by getting women out of the home and into the workforce where they could meet others. “She use to work in the fish plant but you are lucky now to get two weeks work in. Well in the fish plant this year, in St. Bride's, last year June, July and August, 200 hours, and this year 13 days in the plant.” The adjustment to employment from working at the fish plant and the social activity that was provided by the work was difficult for his wife. It appears that the women of the community have limited network supports for their leisure time, usually
only something like bingo and talking with friends. Living with change is a part of rural living and it has been necessary for the women to adjust to those changes.

XVI.ii. The Experience of Allocation Change: Competitive versus Boat Quota Fishery

Since the moratorium there has been a major shift in the fish allocations from Total Allowable Catch (TAC), a competitive fishery, to Individual Transferable Quota (ITQ), a boat quota fishery. In the past, with the TAC, each enterprise tried to maximize its landings before the fishery closed. Hence it was called the competitive fishery. The ITQ, in contrast, sets individual quotas for each enterprise, which are fished over a given period. Once the permitted quota is attained, fishing ceases for that enterprise owner while other vessels continue to fish until they in turn achieve their quota, or until the season ends. Boat owners have to change their fishing practices to minimize expenses and maximize profits. This change has several implications for the fishery:

crewmembers, licence fees, monitoring, management, downsizing and income. This change has affected both enterprise owners (licence fees, monitoring, management) and crewmembers (downsizing, income).

Apparently, the change to the boat quota system has greater administrative and monitoring advantages for DFO. While the management of the fishery is easier, fishers are concerned about the human needs. With the quota-based fishery of under-utilized species such as crab, it is common for a skipper to merge with another enterprise owner, fishing together rather than having crewmembers. This reduces expenses for each of the enterprise owners but displaces some or all of the crew. Thus, those who would be crewmembers have less options, security or control as the change from a competitive fishery to a quota fishery means that fewer people are required to procure the harvest.
The boat quota fishery has two effects on revenue, an income ceiling and a guaranteed income. These in turn influenced downsizing of the fishery. The competitive fishery was most beneficial for the hardest working fishers who could maximize their catch and income. "When it was on a competitive fishery only the, only the fellas that put a real hard effort into it got the most skeins (fish weight term) out of it, right. That's the way it should have been all the time in the fishery." Some would prefer high reward for hard work, rather than the income ceiling which will be imposed with an individual quota fishery.

Others like the boat quota which guarantees a given amount to be caught over the duration of the fishing season; hence a guaranteed income. One fisher fears the change from a competitive fishery to a boat quota may have encouraged fishers to remain in the fishery and did not promote downsizing. "That is what happened to the fishing in Newfoundland in the fishery, how come they didn't get the numbers down. If he is not competing with the other fishermen, so he is going to stay in it." With the boat quota fishery the guaranteed income meant less capable fishers are able to succeed. There is empathy for fishers who are trying to secure a living and the key is having options and freedom of choice, rather than being forced out; it is one thing to leave the fishery and another to be forced out. "They should have left it competitive when they were going with this buyout, because you wouldn't want to see any fella, another fella fishing along side of you having to force them out." The buyouts were a viable option for those who were not competitive but the quota system has made buyouts less attractive. While this may be the reasonable approach to managing the fishery, it is possible that too many fishers sharing a quota fishery will not allow for sufficient income for all those involved.
One fisher says a quota system with fewer boats will allow for a reasonable income to be made but the timing of the change may be detrimental to its success. While a quota fishery is simpler to manage and hold fishers accountable, it also encourages non-competitive fishers to remain in the fishery, because there will be a guaranteed income. This affects active fishers because the quota is spread out over a larger group of fishers, decreasing all their potential income. The quota-based fishery in itself is not opposed, but the timing of the change is questionable. "There is definitely going to be a lot of people [stay in the fishery] because of the system they have in place now. Just about everything is on boat quota, you get a quota for crab and you get a quota for cod fish and eventually you will get a quota for every species you fishes. But down the road, probably when they get less fishermen, a boat quota will probably be the right thing. But the way it is now, there are too many people in it, a boat quota ya' shares it up and everybody, gets nothin'. If there is 20 share a pie among 20, it would be much better for 6 to share the pie among 6; they would have a nice little bit, but with 20 you would have nothing."

XVI.iii. The Experience of Personal Change

Coping with the moratorium has had different effects on different people. I have identified at least three groups of fishers: those who are continuing to fish and experience little impact, those who are fishing and also have been negatively effected, and those who have been displaced and have felt a profound impact by the closure of the cod moratorium. Fishers appeal for understanding on the effect the moratorium has had on them. For those still fishing the most drastic effect is the decrease in the number of fishing days, from 80 days to 15 days at sea. "The biggest change is I suppose, trying to deal with so much time, there is so much time when there is very little happening in your
life, like productive work." Fishing so few days in the year means people have a lot of idle time on their hands. To cope with this change in personal demand, people in the community are seen filling time with projects. For many, the reward of productive and physically consuming work had been thwarted and the lack of productive activity extends to the children in the community.

A fisher, who says he experienced minimal personal effect since the beginning of the moratorium, had pursed any licence that would allow him to remain in the fishery. "I am the kind of fella when I goes to bed in the night, I wants something to do tomorrow. If you are like that I don't think it would bother ya'.” He acknowledges that the greatest effect of the moratorium was on those who did not have other resources to rely on, especially diversification within the fishery or retraining. "Well some people it probably did effect them. But it didn't effect anyone who had something else.” He saw those people who were idle having most difficulty, as they were trying to cope with the effects of the moratorium. To assist such people, mental health programs were set up. While he had no personal need for this assistance and also did not see signs of its need in his area, there have been a couple of suicides in the area. Still, because the individuals were fishing at the time, he questions whether the moratorium was the main factor of these incidents. Dealing with mental health issues is uncomfortable, “sometimes they jokes” and he did not see the need for mental health care in his community.

An essential factor in coping has been income support. Such compensation was enough to survive on but it was not excessive. “There was enough to keep going but there was no amount, you couldn't do anything, right.” It is possible the effects may be more evident when this financial assistance ends. “A long as the check was coming, if
they cuts off this check it might be a different story right.” There is a sense, then, that if you have enough money to cover the necessities you should not have any mental stress.

Since the moratorium, the biggest change for one man who has been able to continue fishing is the amount of personal down time. With the demands of the fishing lessened and productive work minimized, the moratorium has created social problems such as inactivity and drinking. The moratorium has forced people into idleness because they are not mending their nets and boats to gear up for fishing. This unproductive time contributes to such social problems as higher alcohol consumption. It is saddening to see young people who have remained idle using alcohol to cope with the changes since the moratorium. While it is not all due to the fishery closure, there is also the awareness that it does have some impact.

This need to fill personal down time has occupied his energy and given him a satisfying outlet. “So, we wouldn’t be around the house very much. I would say that there is more drinking and more stress, and it is hard to say but I would say there is more violence in certain houses because of all the frustration people are feeling.” In his own case, this man has more time available and he capitalized on it to attend university courses, which were supported by the TAGS program.

**XVI.iv. The Experience of Community Change**

The communities of rural Newfoundland have experienced drastic changes since the inception of the cod moratorium. The struggle to survive and thrive in a changed fishery is a key issue arising from the moratorium. The population decline and the population void of young adults are due to the loss of enterprises. Through licence
retirements, out migration and death are all realities that have to be dealt with. Boarded up homes are constant reminders of changes and better times in the past.

The number of boarded up houses is physical evidence of the community’s change and decreasing population in many communities. In one community with approximately three hundred houses, fifty are closed up. Family homesteads are not occupied nor are new houses being constructed in the community. People are moving out but “there is no one coming - no one at all.” It is evident, even to an outsider, that life has changed for this community. Fifty houses closed up is a stark statement about the demise of any community. Some of the vacant houses belonged to the elders of the community, either through death or parent's moving into nursing homes. At the same time youth are moving away after high school and whole families have left their rural communities to seek work elsewhere. Although it is difficult for an outsider to understand how stressful it is live in this community at this time, the reality of seeing this occur suggests the pain that the community must be experiencing.

The face of rural communities has changed since the start of the moratorium. One fisher said that for the first time in the local history there is a void in the population. “If you went down there today to find someone 25 years old, you won’t find one. You won’t find no one from the time they get out of grade 12; that would make them 17 or 18. You would find no one in my community right now between 17or 18 and 25. And very few of them you are going to find on this island, very few.” Once children finish high school they move to attend post-secondary education or to attain work and there is no expectation they will return to the community. The youngest fishers are around 25 years old and they appear to be the last fishing generation. Thus the visible gap of young adults
is symbolic of the demise of the community. The older adults lament the loss of the youth, remembering a time when they were around, “hanging about,” but this remains no longer. If the fishery does not recover, it is feared this will be the last generation in this community because the young families will move away and outport population will decrease as the older people die, hence the death of the community. This is not isolated to St. Mary's Bay; it is true for most of the island portion of the province.

Outport Newfoundland is experiencing migration often referred to as ‘out-migration’ of its young adults, the foundation of the next generation, and families who are seeking work. It is expected that most will move to mainland Canada to seek employment because there are not enough jobs in this province. Anticipation of the decline of the community in the next twenty years is a prospect of despair. There will be few, if any people, to continue the traditions of fishing. Most fishers are faced with the reality that their children will leave their small communities. A time will come when it is likely that none of the children will be in the “vicinity except for visits during holidays”. The thought of all the children being away is “bothersome”. The uncertainty of the fishery is a major factor in this. A teenage son who is interested in fishing and the outdoors activities has some inclination to stay near home but questions whether it will be financially viable. If he has to leave the rural lifestyle it will be difficult for him but the uncertain future of the fishery concerns him.

The licence retirements have also had an affect on the viability of rural communities. In one small community the longliner fleet has decreased from 15 to three boats, and the small inshore fleet is down to three fishers. One fisher says selling the boat licence is beneficial to the owner, but the impact on the crew and community is great.
The community feels the negative impact from each trawler that retires, as crewmembers are out of work and young families do not have viable incomes. “So, if [an owner retires their licence] the whole community is gone because the few people who [stay], where are they going to get a job. Once you take a licence, you are taking four men and four families out of an income.” For every boat that is retired, at least one owner and one crew member no longer have a berth; for the middle fleet four or five crewmembers may be displaced. Once the skipper retires his licence, there are limited options for the crew, especially for those who have little education. Also at the later stages of the TAGS program, fishers will not have the training and financial support made available to fishers in the past.

Many families have been confronted with the possibility of leaving the community. Some fishers and their families have decided to stay for many reasons: the emotional upheaval of moving, the love of the rural lifestyle, the financial burden of trying to start a new home, the difficulty of moving a large family and the perceived needs of the children. All the family’s material wealth and comforts are in this town. Since all they could take would be the ‘bit of clothes’ they own and the children were also upset with the possibility of moving, several families decided to remain at this time. The price to leave is often too high. Their decision is for the immediate future and further consideration may have to be taken at a later time.

All families in the rural communities have been affected by the closedown of the cod fishery. Even families that have always been close and have managed to maintain that closeness, the moratorium has affected them. One manifestation was the increased stress level in families. The man’s constant presence around the house, his not being busy
preparing for and during the fishing season, and the decreased income all contributed to the increased stress in families. The noticeable difference in his disposable income was very difficult. The moratorium changed the financial patterns since it was more difficult to maintain the material lifestyle to which they were accustomed. The need to budget money differently became essential. In the past, income was cyclical, with the fishing season allowing one to get ahead financially. With the present fishery, the income is lower and more uncertain. With the new structure of the fishery and TAGS compensation, the family budget was much tighter than in the past, forcing a simpler lifestyle. There is concern that the increased stress and frustration has led to excessive alcohol usage and violence for some. The moratorium has left people with a constant tension as to the uncertainty of upcoming events.

Summary of Experiences of the Moratorium

This chapter has presented the psychological themes that emerged from the fishers' experiences as described in their interviews. Two experiences that appeared to be essential in coping with the moratorium and seemed characteristic of the fishers were steadfastness and knowing. These appeared to be acquired throughout their lifetime and utilized to cope with the moratorium. There were two major categories of experiences, the internal experiences, which dealt with the individual psychological issues that arose as a result of the moratorium and the external experiences that related to dealing with external agencies, and community psychological issues. From the interviews conducted by this researcher these themes represent the experiences of the fishers as they lived through the moratorium. Further discussion and implications will be presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

I spent my whole life out there on the sea
Some government bastard now takes it from me
It is not just the fish they've taken my pride
I feel so ashamed that I just want to die.
(McCann, Appendix D)

This research examined the human experience of fishers during the cod moratorium in Newfoundland. Initially the moratorium had been invoked for a two-year period beginning in 1992, and was extended to over seven years. Through non-structured interviews with this researcher, fishers shared their experiences of this fishery crisis. The interviews provided the raw data to complete the psychological analysis; they became the protocols used to extract the themes that represent the lived experience of the moratorium.

This research utilized the Karlsson's (1995) Empirical Phenomenological Psychological (EPP)-method to understand the psychological experience of fishers living with the cod moratorium in Newfoundland. Interviews were conducted with five, full-time fishers from St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland. Each fisher was either displaced from the fishery or had to diversify his approach to the fishery, to harvest previously underutilized species. The interviews were recollections of their experiences through the period of the cod moratorium, 1992 up to 1998. The interviews continued until no new themes emerged. Second interviews were conducted after the analysis of the protocols was complete. This provided the opportunity for fishers to respond to my interpretation of their stories and to comment of themes that arose from other fishers.
The results from this research delineate the experiences of the fishers. It gives an understanding of how fishers coped with the moratorium, such as knowing and steadfastness. In this chapter the findings of the study, implications for policy and practice, directions for further research, the limitations of the research and my personal reflections on the research process will be addressed.

Summary of Lived Experiences

In reflection on the fishers' stories two main categories were determined, internal experiences, which focused on individual issues and reactions, and external experiences which include the contextual events and interactions with institutions such as the local community, provincial and federal governments, the union and the general public.

The experiences of knowing and steadfastness appear to be characteristic of fishers, established over a lifetime. Knowing indicates that fishers have acquired information in a manner that is often taken as common sense; it is acquired through the experience of living, both professionally and personally. This is in contrast with the government officials and the scientists, who may have more authority in policy making but are detached from the resource and the lifestyle of rural Newfoundland. This difference has lead to frustration and anger, for fishers have the sense that they are not being listened to and truly cared for. Steadfastness is the sense of being grounded in the complete lifestyle of the fishery and the ability to weather difficult times, enabling survival of themselves, their families and their community.

Fishers' loss and grief is one experience that arose due to a number of factors: the immediate losses of income, of purpose and in the fear of the possible future. The daily and seasonal routines were disrupted. Adaptation, both professionally and personally,
was demanded. These changes, which felt imposed, resulted in a grief that may have been difficult for some to understand and experience. These are painful events and for some fishers this may have been expressed through anger and frustration, since these feelings are sometimes more acceptable and understandable, both to themselves and the public. Although many may not identify abandonment as problematic, there were several instances where putting reliance on institutions resulted in feeling abandoned. For example, much trust and reliance was placed on the government for support. It was especially difficult for those who were displaced from the fishery. A positive outcome during the moratorium was the development of the professionalization process that was initiated. Through the professionalization of the fishery, many fishers felt both validated and proud. Professionalization is a public acknowledgement of the work and contributions of fishers to their industry.

Coping with the moratorium was not solely related to individual issues; much of the interaction was with the events themselves and with institutions. From the interviews it is evident that such interaction took a great of energy. The fishers emphatically laid the responsibility for mismanagement of the fishery and its resource, and the resulting decline of the cod stocks, directly on the federal government. Fishers regarded TAGS as compensation for the destruction of the stocks and a measure to hold government accountable for the lack of action. It angered inshore fishers when officials and politicians said that all sectors of the fishery were equally responsible for the cod stock crisis. Fishers interpreted this as officials relinquishing their responsibility for the depletion.

Throughout the period of the moratorium, fishers felt disrespectfully judged. The fishers' experience of being judged involved hearing or reading comments of non-fishers in the media complaining about the government programs. Several fishers said they felt
unfairly judged both as fishers and because of the compensation. In experiencing the
judgement by non-fishers, fishers felt misunderstood and as a result felt powerless to
change this attitude. The government programs sometimes left the feeling of being paid-
off. Money was being thrown at the problem rather than creating a constructive approach
to help resolve the crisis by working with the fishers. There was a sense that the financial
support and the retraining were a buy-off to keep fishers silent.

Fishers felt angered and devalued because their contribution to the economy was
not acknowledged. As primary producers, upon whom many other industries rely, such as
fish plants and trucking and the like, fishers directly and indirectly contributed to the
overall economy in the province. Fishers were frustrated that they were only mentioned
when requiring assistance from the government. From the fishers' perspective, the cod
fishery is vitally important for the survival of rural Newfoundland and the provinces
overall economy.

The experience of being misguided refers to the fishers' need to rely on
information of others, namely bureaucrats. Fishers felt misled regarding the duration of
the moratorium, the training opportunities, and the licence retirements as problem areas
in which they only had partial information. They sometimes felt misguided either because
they were not informed of all the implications, or the government workers did not have
sufficient expertise to assist them.

Although it is unconnected in time, the issue of the resettlement program was
raised. One fisher referred to the Resettlement Program of the Smallwood era, during the
1950's and 1960's, as echoing in the experience of the moratorium. In their second
interview other fishers acknowledged the similarities between the moratorium and the
resettlement. Historically, resettlement has been chronic for Newfoundlanders and it was
no different during the moratorium. While the Smallwood government were direct in their actions during the program, the moratorium had the same effect in resettling people. Many people experienced being dislocated, either physically or emotionally.

Frustration and change are two experiences that permeated both the internal and external experiences. Frustration was an experience often expressed in relation to the struggle to make sense of the issues. Advising a son to leave the fishery and his home, making decisions to invest further in the fishery, frustration with the change in their routine, and learning to live on a tighter budget, all presented conflicts that fishers faced in order to deal with the difficulties of the fishery. There was also frustration between fishers and non-fishers, be they the public, the politicians, the scientists or the union. Fishers were angry and frustrated that the expertise of the local fishers is not taken into account. They feel neither heard nor respected for their knowledge.

"[Change] was hard but you had to get use to it." The modifications of lifestyle, attitudes and expectations have been very real. For fishers, change was imposed by the complete shut down of the fishery through the moratorium and demanded the altering of their lives professionally, personally, and communally. For everyone change was inevitable. "It will never be the same."

Communities too have been affected. Rural Newfoundland has experienced drastic changes since the inception of the cod moratorium. The struggle to survive and thrive in a changed fishery is a key issue arising from the moratorium. The resulting population decline and the population void of young adults are greatly felt. Boarded up homes are constant reminders of changes and better times in the past.

These experiences have been extracted from the interviews with the fishers. These experiences in turn lead to the implications for counselling policy and practice. The three
thrive in a changed fishery is a key issue arising from the moratorium. The resulting population decline and the population void of young adults are greatly felt. Boarded up homes are constant reminders of changes and better times in the past.

These experiences have been extracted from the interviews with the fishers. These experiences in turn lead to the implications for counselling policy and practice. The three categories which will be addressed are counselling, process facilitation, and public education (see Figure 3).

Literature Reflections

After considering the experience of the fishers and reflecting on the studies that had been referred to in the literature review, there appear to be similarities with some of the literature which was reviewed early in the thesis and differences with other research. Schlossberg’s (1984) research on adult transition, and Improving Our Odds, a process developed for fishers, most closely resonated with the experiences shared by the fishers in this research. There were differences with the CMHA Needs Assessment (1993) and Veley’s (1996) study on motivations. It is also evident from the results that there is a need for interventions involving interdisciplinary stakeholders. Briefly I introduce literature on process facilitation which may be useful to compliment counselling interventions when working with displaced workers.

I differ with the approach taken by both the CMHA (1993) report and Veley's (1996) study. It appeared that both studies made assumptions based on stereotypical perceptions of fishers. Each study imposed the criteria to be researched rather than using person centered research, which allows the themes to emerge from the fishers. My understanding of Veley's research is that the premise of that study was, how do we get
Figure 3. Fishers' Experiences of the Cod Moratorium: The Relationship between Experiences and Implications for Counselling.

Counselling
- Steadfastness
- Change
- Knowing
- Abandonment
- Loss and grief
- Remembering the resettlement program

Process Facilitation
- Blame and accountability
- Being judged disrespectfully
- Being paid-off
- Being misguided
- Professionalization

Public Education
- Being devalued for economic contributions
- Being judged disrespectfully
fishers to leave the fishery, their “motivation to retrain”, and what factors influenced this based on arbitrary markers: psychological factors, demographics, and “attitude towards retraining or career aspirations.” Without understanding the underlying psychological constructions of people being affected by major change in their lives, professionally and personally, many of the findings cannot be used to make policies that are humane, or develop counselling practices that are useful in these situations.

The CMHA (1993) study was a needs assessment that could have been used as a resource for the development of mental health services and as a baseline to assess the evolution of mental health concerns in rural Newfoundland. This report was quantified and the numbers gave little to deepen the understanding of the experience of worry and stress, although it did show the prevalence of that experience. While the issues in the study were confirmed by the themes that emerged in this study on lived experience, the understanding of the results what and how was not be addressed or substantiated, given little or no underlying reasons for the results.

In contrast, Improving Our Odds (Health and Education Services, 1994) was a program developed to offer a holistic approach to career discernment. It used the personal process facilitation and career search information to assist fishers deal with the changes in their lives and make decisions regarding their future. This research on lived experience of the moratorium could be an added dimension for this program, as the themes that emerged are directly from the concerns of the fishers. This program was later revised and is called, ...and I learned to speak my mind (Health and Education Services, 1994). This process addresses multi-dimensional aspects of personal and career counselling. It provides for both individual and group processes. The strength of the process is the
grassroots approach to transformation. It works with counselling, education and peer mentoring. The drawback may be its need for highly trained competent facilitators, without which, the process can be watered down and less effective. ... and I learned to speak my mind gives a great deal of room for the counselling implications that are addressed in this research.

For adult transition Schlossberg (1984) states the needed development of personal resources including solving problems, coping skills, structured support, and counselling. The results of this research indicate that the fishers in transition also confirm the need of these resources. The research of lived experience corresponds to the need for addressing multigenerational issues, as stated by Satir et. al. (1991). The need to look at the personal, familial and social context of change cannot be singularly focused on career choices that apparently occurred during the retraining programs of the moratorium. It is essential for counsellors to be competent in providing an environment that gives space to developing these qualities which will give room to effective decision making in a compassionate atmosphere. Dealing with present and past issues that block growth will give room for continued growth in a healthy manner.

The discussion of themes referred to the need for dialogue and constructive procedures for developing collaborative practices within the industry. These are needs that may go beyond the field of counselling and yet are essential aspect if people are going to feel heard and respected in the industry. A field of expertise that would assist in the development of constructive group work is process facilitation. The need for process facilitation involving all the stakeholders is evident but apparently lacking in the
workings of the fishing industry. There is a vast amount of literature available to further expand on this field. I will briefly address some authors involved in this type of work.

The lived experience of the moratorium, as the fishers shared it, clearly shows that personal process is not the only element to be addressed. Their stories share the experience of ineffective communication and lack of collaboration, which has left many people feeling unheard and disregarded. Process facilitation is the creation of adult learning environments to provide an opportunity to address all issues. The process allows solutions to unfold. The safe environment helps participants to communicate constructively. Collaboration becomes intensely appealing and the potential for commitment is increased because participants have taken ownership of issues and opportunities. The need for critical reflection and learning from the experiences of the moratorium are clear.

According to Mezirow (1991) adults construct meaning by interpreting experience and that experience is interpreted through two meaning structures called meaning perspectives and meaning schemes. "Perspective transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings" (p. 166). The lived experience of fishers tells us that retraining had not changed how they saw themselves, as fishers. To promote deep change, perspective transformation would have had to occur. This is also true for how the fishery is prosecuted within the whole industry.

Facilitation process is group work that can be either developed for one stakeholder group, such as fishers, or to bring all the stakeholders together for a process of reflecting,
listening and action. Single stakeholder processes can be similar to those utilized in
*Improving Our Odds* and *storying* (Health Canada, 1996). Single stakeholders and multi-
disciplinary processes can follow the work of Owen’s (1992), *Open Space Technology*, or
Wheatley’s (1992) *Leadership and the New Science*. Process facilitation has been used for
problem solving within organizations and to circumvent crisis in the midst of change. It was
also used widely in South Africa in the lead up to the 1994 elections. The use of process
facilitation can promote healthy dialogue and creative solutions to often difficult problems.

“Open Space Technology creates the conditions for respectful conversation. It is a
powerful way of bringing people together to search for solutions to complex issues. All
participants have the opportunity to express what they consider to be important and to
take responsibility for their passions. In doing so they discover new ways of working
cooperatively” (Owen, undated). The moratorium dictates change for the fishing industry.
Process facilitation is a constructive avenue those who find themselves in a changing world

**Implications for Policy and Practice**

Some consideration of the themes that have emerged in this research is vital, not
only to help us better understand the experience of the drastic change and adjustment to
work and lifestyle as experienced by the fishers, but to learn from those experiences so as
to help in policy development and counselling practices. With willingness on the parts of
politicians, the industry stakeholders and fishers to listen to each other’s concerns,
potential solutions can be found and thereby lead to the development of meaningful
policy. Additionally, counsellors who are working with displaced people can use this
research to develop respectful procedures that are client-based and critically reflective to
assist in progressive interventions for empowerment of individuals and groups. The implication of this research leads to three focuses in counselling, process facilitation, and public education.

In this research the two groupings, internal experiences and external experiences, will be helpful in counselling since both personal issues and contextual events affect fishers in their work and their lives. Rather than feeling powerless in the situation, counsellors can assist fishers to identify what can be changed and then proceed act on those changes. Process facilitation is effective in promoting common understanding and respect among differing parties. The use of creative dynamics and critical reflection can enhance learning for individuals, and industry-wide basis. Through such processes problem issues can be addressed and creative ideas put forth. Each stakeholder would have the opportunity to name responsibilities and be accountable for past actions, as well as commit to future actions. Public education can promote a realistic image of the fishing profession and the industry, and as well as promote increased tolerance of differences among groups (see Figure 4).

Counsellors

The findings of this research indicate the need to develop individual processes to cope with personal issues that arise when displacement occurs, whether the displacement is on a small scale or whether it affects mass numbers in an industry crisis. Providing space and opportunity for people to articulate their realities and share their stories are healthy ways to assist in a crisis such as the moratorium.

By understanding the fishers' experiences, I believe counsellors and policy makers will be able to better understand the complex nature of this moratorium and other
Figure 4. Implications for Counselling Policy and Practice: General and Specific Recommendations.

- Psychosocial input to develop effective policies
- Empathic listening
- Job markets knowledge and marketable skills
- Good assessment and debriefing skills
- Understanding of compounding issues
- Acknowledging strengths

Counselling

Process Facilitation

- Constructive dialogue processes
- Dialogue between fishers and non-fishers
- Rituals of closure

Public Education

- Person centered policy development
- Articulating realistic expectations
- Adult centered learning environments and methods
phenomena that affect large numbers of displaced people. While fishers are not able to change the actions and reactions of outside agencies, naming the experiences that arise may be useful in identifying the issues that cannot be changed and in empowering fishers to change those aspects that are in their control.

Extending this work to interdisciplinary groups is essential for resolution and the creation of effective solutions. Counsellors can develop and provide the opportunity for inter-disciplinary group processes that promote dialogue, personal and group reflection, sharing, listening, problem solving and action plans.

Counsellors’ skills

A common complaint by the fishers was a lack of guidance to ascertain the personal directions that would be most effective. This implies that the counsellors used an approach that relied heavily on the personal knowledge and skills of the client for job search and market information. While this may be a progressive approach in some cases, the fishers said they needed the counsellors as information resources for both the job market and marketable skills. An implication of this research is that counsellors need a broad understanding of the job market, and provide appropriate assessment skills and good debriefing, in order to maximize the benefits of retraining and job search.

This research indicates that fishers often felt misguided throughout the moratorium. Apparently the career counselling often focused on the skills and passions of the client, and on trades that were familiar. Although some fishers achieved the goal of finding work, this approach was not effective in assisting other clients obtain their ultimate goal, viable employment. A job matching process would have been more advantageous, whereby the job availability and training would be linked directly, for the
fishers. Fishers had proposed a job database as a route for assisting displaced workers but it had never come to fruition. This proposed database was to record job openings and high demand employment areas. A second database would record the skills and qualities of the workers. The goal would have been to match displaced workers with jobs and give them direction for training.

**Empathic listening**

Empathic listening is essential to the working relationship with the fishers. Throughout the interviews fishers indicated the need to be listened to and respected. To be effective it is important for counsellors to be in tune with the people, the issues being confronted, the attitudes and beliefs the people hold dear, the cultural norms and values that have been developed and carried over from generations. And in turn for fishers to feel that the counsellors are understanding of the experience and knowledgeable of the issues. One experience where empathic listening is required is change. It is evident from the fishers’ interviews that change has always been an integral part of living and surviving in rural communities and in the fishery, yet common sense and stability are very much corner stones to the acceptance of that change. In order for fishers to embrace change readily there must be true regard for them, especially for their knowledge, ideas and concerns. Humane interventions are a key to creating workable solutions, this means honouring their perspective and finding solutions that honour their contributions.

An example of this is in the scheme of downsizing. When private industries and government implement downsizing initiatives, negotiations with employees are primary. Providing choices is also essential to their successes. Compensation packages are developed and people often have the choice to stay or leave, age and years of service are
taken into consideration, and the expectation that employees terminating their positions
need further assistance through counselling is often considered essential to the successful
conclusion of employment. One fisher wondered if this approach would have been more
respectful for fishers.

Although TAGS recipients were provided with some of these elements; often
there was little choice; most felt forced in their decision process and they often felt strung
along. A compassionate approach would not disregard the losses encountered, rather it
would assist people to deal with the realities, to make informed decisions and to feel
honoured in the process. It is essential that counsellors and policy makers provide
realistic expectations and reasonable compensation.

Compounding issues

Unfinished business influencing the present may need to be addressed and dealt
with in conjunction with the present reality, in order for resolution to occur for
individuals and communities. Dealing with the moratorium, and displaced workers in
other settings, cannot be considered in isolation from the cultural and intergenerational
experiences. Remembering the resettlement program and correlating it to the moratorium
is an example of past events affecting and influencing present realities. It is essential that
counsellors be cognizant and empathetic of compounding issues. In the case of
unfinished business influencing the present, it may be necessary to address and deal with
these issues in conjunction with the present reality, in order for resolution to occur for
individuals and communities. Utilizing personal reflection, process facilitation and ritual
of closure may help in confronting obstacles.
Frustration is another experience that indicates compounding issues is problematic for the fishers. Confronting issues that were personal and obstacles with agencies was often overwhelming and conflict was common. To assist people involved in mass crisis, it is essential for counsellors to be conscious of these numerous issues being confronted. In order to create an environment that is effective in working with fishers a multifaceted approach is essential. Personal issues, career issues, coping with the contextual events, dealing with institutions would all have to be encompassed to promote an effective counselling approach.

**Acknowledging strengths**

Professionalization was one of the positive experiences for the fishers. In validation of their work, it helped promote a positive self-image. From this we learn that acknowledging strengths of people is beneficial in boosting self-esteem. The value felt is often in relation to our connection to outside groups. In this case, it was a public acknowledgement to the professional nature of the fishery.

As counsellors, listening to the experience of fishers, and developing processes that address fishers' ways of knowing and learning are essential. This is in opposition to processes that impose experts' knowledge. This means taking an approach that utilises informed mentors to assist in the counselling process rather than using outsiders in the process. A fisher may be more likely to accept direction and guidance from a person who either has had similar experiences or who displays an empathic demeanour. It is essential that this is authentic and not just pretence.
Process facilitation

Process facilitation can be effective in promoting common understanding and respect. Using creative dynamics and critical reflection can enhance learning personally and industrially. Through such process accountability can be addressed. Each stakeholder would have the opportunity to name responsibilities and be accountable for past actions, as well as commit to future actions. The necessity to develop trust and respect is essential to productive interaction and promotion of sustainable resources.

Constructive dialogue processes

The greatest concern expressed by the fishers is the lack of honest and effective communication between themselves and the policy makers in government. Fishers are the largest group of stakeholders in the cod moratorium, yet they never felt heard. To have effective communication, dialogue is essential between fishers, politicians, scientists, union, plant owners and all other stakeholders. The value of fishers’ knowledge must be recognised, and their contribution must be seen as regarded. It is essential to raise public awareness on the role of fishers, their contribution to the economic health of the province, and the role government programs have in their lives. Both dialogue and public education appeared to be absent in the midst of the moratorium. The consequence has been deepened divisions.

Dialogue and public education for non-fishers' and fishers

To counter the perception that fishers do not contribute to the economy and work minimally, public awareness and education needs to be developed. Information on the realities of the fishery, the lifestyle and its economic and cultural value may break down the judgmental stereotypes which abound and perpetuate the us/them mentality. Pitting
fishers against non-fishers proves non-productive to us economically and culturally. Public education of the role and contribution fishers make to the economy is essential in developing a positive image of the profession. There has been a marked change in this area in 1999. Firstly, John Efford, the Minister of Fisheries for the Province, has made a concerted attempt to promote the benefits of the fishery in Newfoundland. Secondly, there has been the development of a series of television advertisements to introduce people in the fishery, its sectors, and the productivity of the fishery to the general public. These are positive steps in developing awareness.

The experience of being disrespectfully judged is hard to combat, but it needs to be addressed. Through the moratorium we can begin to see the damage that such judgement can have on self-worth. It is possible that the cultural differences between fishers and non-fishers demonstrate the need to bridge understandings and respect for those who are distinct. To change this pattern it may be necessary to introduce third party intervention, such as the process facilitation. Dialogue and education with non-fishers' and fishers may be useful in creating public understanding for the need for compensation programs. It may also help counter the judgements and increase a more balanced and accurate understanding of others' cultural and economical experiences.

There may be different ways to change attitudes both of those doing the judging and those who feel they are unfairly judged. A change may occur if there is respect for the individuals even in the midst of the disagreement. To ensure respect, dialogue is essential, not only during critical moments and events but also in the long term. Stereotyping of groups and using inappropriate standards or vocabulary contribute to the
problem. While it is possible that some fishers did acquire "new toys" during the moratorium, few fishers can be seen as profiting from the problem.

An example is the experience of blaming, which may be useful for several reasons and may also be detrimental by displacing all responsibility. In listening to the fishers it was evident that the communication between them, the government, and other institutions was insufficient for the purposes of empowerment. They did not feel listened to regarding the state of the cod stocks, and they did not feel listened to regarding the compensation programs. In their frustration it was natural to place the responsibility for the cod crisis on the government. The apparent difficulty with laying the blame can be the limitation of reflection on the contributing factors and the potential remedies. Blaming may limit the ability to critique the events and the potential areas for change, including personal change. If both groups, the fishers and the government, remain in the blaming mode, constructive problem solving will be improbable. To break this cycle of blame it would be useful to develop constructive dialogue processes. With honest communication and dialogue, the opportunity could be provided for each group of stakeholders to name their reality, for each to be heard, for each to take responsibility, and for stakeholders to name what changes can take place for the common sustainability of the resource. This type of process would be beneficial in naming the issues and developing common goals to promote working practices that are respectful of each of the stakeholders. Such process facilitation techniques as Open Space Technology (Owen, 1992) and Dialogue (Bohm, 1996) enhance group effectiveness and increase constructive between groups.
Rituals of closure

Processes and rituals that acknowledge painful experiences and continue the process of putting closure on unresolved issues and unfinished business need to be developed. Loss and grief, abandonment, and dashed hopes are very real experiences that must be resolved to help move people forward into new growth. For many of the fishers, there has been a sense of termination of the fishery, as it was known. For those who have been displaced or have had to make major adjustments to survive, there is a sense of unfinished business. It may be possible that the development of rituals with and by those fishers will help them put closure on this time in their life, not so that it may be forgotten but rather that the experience may continue to be honoured as an opportunity for growth and learning.

Development of humane policies

Counsellors can confront the problems of abandonment by working with policy makers and institutions to develop humane policies that take individual’s well being into account. Idealistically, integration of psychosocial constructs would assist in creating holistic programs that are respectful of the people involved. Developing programs that are realistic in scope and time frames will be useful in empowering the people involved to have realistic expectations and goals for themselves and for particular programs.

Articulating realistic expectations

The experience of dashed hopes can be attributed to unrealistic expectations. Two things, which will assist clients cope, are acknowledgement of their experience, and processes to assist in normalizing realistic expectations. In one case, one such expectation was the moratorium being lifted after the stated two-year period. Realistically, the
biological reproduction of cod is seven years and it was highly probable that the stocks could not rebound before that time. Even though government was not willing to impose the longer time frame, such information may have helped fishers make informed decisions. One fisher had suggested that a buy out from the fishery, maybe $100,000, might have been more respectful and effective than being strung along, experiencing disappointment after disappointment.

As stated in the analysis, the experience of waiting for the moratorium to end was an alternative that some fishers opted for, since two years did not seem like a long time. There had been downturns in the fishery before and the hope that the stocks would recover meant they could go back to the way the fishery was in the past. The financial compensation met the physical needs and if the fishery recovered they could stay involved.

**Adult centered learning**

In order to develop and implement programs that are satisfactory in assisting displaced workers, the circumstance of those workers must be taken into account and reflected in the processes used. Adult centered learning relies heavily on consultation with the participants; it is respectful of adult learning conditions, which differ from didactic learning often promoted in secondary schools. The participants in these programs needed to feel valued in order to feel that the programs were more than political actions.

**Summary of Implications for Policy and Practice**

Individual psychological issues demand the attention of critical reflection on the issues and concerns that impact clients and their continued health. It is essential that counsellors attune themselves to the cultural realities of the people they are working with
and sensitize themselves to the issues at hand. By working individually and in group settings they can assist clients to articulate their experiences and share with others. They must work with clients to provide holistic assessments to benefit the clients in dealing with present issues and in making informed decisions. Just as important is the creation of rituals that can be used to symbolically assist in honouring their experiences and providing the opportunity to initiate closure for those who need it.

In combination with other processes to assist in dealing with the events and institutes involved, it is essential to consider the counselling implications for external experiences as well. Developing processes that include all stakeholders would advance the understanding of all groups. Personal and group critical reflection can promote learning from past experiences and the creation of methods and procedures promote sustainability of the resource.

There are no neat divisions in personal experiences, whether it is categorizing internal and external experiences or subdividing expressions of feelings from actual events. In this research, as in life, there are no neat boxes. People have to be considered in their own right, and their individual experiences are interdependent upon each other. One experience may trigger another. Addressing the themes gives a perspective to counsellors of fishers’ experiences and points out the implications for counselling practises and initiative for policy procedures.

Directions for Further Research

The research methodology used in this study is essential in understanding the psychological experience of the cod moratorium. From the themes, which emerged in this research, it is evident that further investigation of this experience would be invaluable for
an extensive understanding of the moratorium and in a broader perspective of the loss of mass employment. To develop a comprehensive understanding of the moratorium, interviews need to be conducted with a spectrum of the people involved. I suggest collecting data from various locations throughout the island, to work with the various stakeholders: fishers, inshore, mid-shore and offshore, plant workers, plant owners, business owners, spouses, youth, community leaders, union leaders, government officials, scientists, non-fishers. Using the EPP-method, the issues, concerns and realities of all Newfoundlanders can be extracted from the preconscious understandings to an increased consciousness of the effect the moratorium has had on all our people. The collection of interviews can be supplemented with the pieces of local articles such as written and oral stories, poetry, songs, pictures and personal retrospectives, the anthology of the folk literature which will be invaluable to preserving this phenomenon.

During this research a link was made between the resettlement programs of the 1960's and the cod moratorium of the 1990's. Many of the families who were involved in the moratorium had been forced to leave their communities during the earlier resettlement program. Further qualitative research can be conducted to understand the impact that the program has had on the people of Newfoundland. A comparison could be made of the survivors of the resettlement program, such as descendant families from Merasheen (Dog of the Sea) Island, and communities that maintained their isolation such as Petite Forte (Small Strong). This research could consider parallel and divergent themes from each of the moratorium and the resettlement programs.
Limitations for Present Research

This research focused on one small component of the fishery and those who have been affected by the cod moratorium. To attain comprehensive understanding of the moratorium all stakeholders would have to be engaged. This research is limited because it did not include female fishers, plant workers, retired fishers, and fishers who had retrained. This research did not engage spouses; women's experiences were not delineated, nor did it include the experience of youth and children.

This research was conducted in one area of Newfoundland, St. Mary's Bay. As stated by the fishers, this area was less affected by the moratorium than other areas of the province, possibly due to the location on the southern part of the island. A limitation of this research is that it does not work with fishers from other areas, such as the Northern Peninsula, that had been dealing with the decrease in the cod stocks over a longer period than the south coast. Also, the focus was on inshore and mid-shore fishers; no trawler fishers were included.

Other limitations of this research are that it did not include the experience of families who have left the island because of the moratorium, nor the experience of non-fishers, both rural and urban. Each of these groups could add a dimension of understanding that would assist the policy makers and counsellors to develop procedures that would be effective in addressing the needs of all stakeholders in the face of a major social crisis.

Personal Reflections on the Research Process

It was with great trepidation that I entered into this research and the lives of the fishers. I was afraid of imposing on them my needs and my ignorance. Their openness to
express their thoughts and feelings with me, a stranger, has been a gift I will cherish throughout my life. I will be a better counsellor. I am more empathic about situations and events with which I do not have direct experience. I will also be a better-informed Newfoundlander. I have been exposed to the gaps of our culture and I desire to delve more deeply into the events that have shaped us as persons and as a culture.

This has been an experience of a Newfoundlander who has changed. I believe that the importance of this research is for the people whose lives are most directly affected by the moratorium. I did this research because I needed to give something to Newfoundland which has given so much to me. There was a myth in my head that basically all Newfoundlanders were alike. I have been educated to the difference. When I began this research, I didn't know what was going to result from it. I had to trust the process and I had to trust my advisors to guide me on journey in the methodology. It is from this perspective that I entered into this research. It is my hope that we can continue to learn for the lived experience of fishers and that the fishers who worked with me have an opportunity to feel their experience is valuable and worthwhile.

Concluding Remarks

Fishers’ lived experience of the cod fish moratorium is the foundation for this research. It is through the fishers’ stories that I was able to record what happened and how they coped with the experience. The themes that were extracted were the issues they articulated as their experience of the moratorium. Through the experiences, which were so generously shared with me by the fishers, implications for the counselling practises and policy making became evident.
The implications for working with displaced fishers pertain to the areas of counselling, process facilitation and public education. To learn from the phenomenon of the moratorium each of the areas was addressed separately. The expressed need for fishers to be listened to can be addressed in individual and group work. There is need for counsellors to have extensive job market information, assessment skills and proficient debriefing skills. Job matching programs can help direct efforts for retraining.

Counsellors must be empathic to the issues, attitudes, beliefs, and cultural norms as part of the process rather minimizing their impact on the counselling process. The need for awareness of the numerous, inter-related issues and compounding issues, from past events, must be dealt with in the midst of crisis. Rituals may be created and used as one avenue to bring closure to certain periods, such as changes in the fishery. These could help to honour people's experience and as opportunities for growth and learning.

Process facilitation is a tool that can be utilized to promote dialogue, personal and group reflection, sharing, listening, problem solving and action plans with all stakeholders. Learning from one's experience is essential, process facilitation can use creative dynamics and critical reflection can enhance this learning potential. The role of public education may be used to raise awareness on the role of fishers, their contribution to the economic health of the province, and the role government programs have in their lives. And it can be used to bridge cultural differences between fishers and non-fishers and promote understandings and respect for those who are distinct. The fishers' stories relate the need for humane policies that take the whole person into account, not just their economic realities. Integration of psychosocial constructs will be useful in developing programs that are respectful of the people involved on all levels, physically, emotionally,
and culturally. Providing realistic time frames will empower people to have realistic expectations and goals for themselves and for particular programs. Finally, consultation with the participants to work within adult centered learning environments is respectful of the life and culture of individuals.

Knowing and appreciating the lived experience of fishers through the moratorium is vital to develop counselling procedures and policies. This methodology allows the issues to come directly from the source, individuals affected by the phenomenon, in this case fishers and the cod-fishing moratorium. Counsellors so informed will be more effective in their work and fishers will benefit more.
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Appendix A

Initial Contact Letter

Dear _____,

I appreciate you taking the time to consider helping me with my research project and the opportunity to introduce myself.

I am a Newfoundlander studying for a Master of Arts Degree in Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia. I am not connected with the press or with the federal or provincial governments or with any government agency.

As part of the research for my degree, I am studying the ways fishers have experienced the Cod Moratorium. My research focuses on the actual experience of how men and women have been living and coping since the beginning of the moratorium. Through this study I hope to be able to deepen the wider community’s understanding of how this experience affects fishers' lives.

If you were willing to participate, we could meet at your home or in a suitable office your area, if you would prefer. I would interview you twice, with about a month between our meetings. There will be no financial compensation for participation in the study.

Each interview would take about one hour. The interviews would be private and confidential. Only you and I would be present in the interviews. No one else will ever have access to any notes, although direct quotations from my interviews may be used in reporting of the results of this research. The research will not include your name or any personally identifying information whatsoever. Only my research supervisors and I will have access to the interview data. While the interviews are being studied they will be
opportunity to reflect on the findings of the research, to ask questions regarding the feedback and to comment on my impressions of the interviewing.

Without identifying me personally, direct quotations from my interviews may be used in the reporting of the results of this research. Any other personally identifying information such, as my name, is not required in this project. The information needed for the research project will be transcribed within a few weeks of the interview and the audio-tape will be erased. The audio-tape will not be available to any persons other than the researcher and other members of the research team. While the interviews are being studied they will be secured in a locked cabinet and all computer files will be protected by a password.

I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and may be terminated at any time. Should I have any questions about the procedures, I may ask them at any time. There are no known risks to the participants. I understand that I will receive no financial compensation for my participation. I also acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form.

Date: ____________________ Signed: ____________________
Appendix C

Orienting Interviewing Statements

Interview I

The purpose of this interview is to take the opportunity to talk to you and listen to what it has been like for you since the beginning of the moratorium. I believe your experience is important for both fishers and non-fishers. It is important that we understand more fully what it has been like for people who have been directly affected by the events surrounding the moratorium. We know what has been written in the paper and what the government has said, I think it is important that we hear from your perspective, whether you are continuing to fish or have retired due to the moratorium. I will ask a few questions to help you start, and please feel free to share anything that you wish. If during our time or afterwards, you have any questions, I am would like you to ask.

I will be tape recording the conversations because I want to accurately record what is shared. Then I will reflect on what you and other fishers have said to develop a broad understanding of the first hand experience of the moratorium.

To assist you in recalling your experience, I invite to remember back to the start of the moratorium. What I am most interested in is what you remember, how you felt and what your thoughts were. Can you tell me, in as much detail as possible, what memories you have you first heard the news of the cod moratorium? What are the things did people speak about around this? How has your life changed because of the moratorium? Has there been positive things come from the moratorium? What is your opinion regarding the retraining programs?
In regard to the interviews, I am prepared to question specific areas of the happenings. I also believe it is important to have an open ended approach. The purpose of this research is to elicit the fishers personal experience and not to impose my agenda on the interview. Thus, the orienting statement begins the process and the questions are areas that I can ask the fisher to respond to if the issues do not arise in the discussion.

Interview II

We meet a month ago and you shared about your experience since the moratorium. Since then I have had an opportunity to speak with others in a similar manner and gathered a number of stories. Today I would like to share some time with you reflect back on our first conversation and also look at the information that has been gathered to date.

Let us begin by looking back at our last meeting. Have you had any other thoughts regarding what you spoke about? What do you feel about what the stories you shared? Is there anything else you would like to say at this time?

From the stories people have shared I have recorded issues (themes) that various people spoke about. I have given you a summary of the findings; would you comment on the issues that arose in the study.

After looking back at your first interview and the summary of the findings is there any thing else that you think should be brought out.
Appendix D

Songs of the Moratorium

Newfoundland People, Salt Sea
Lyrics; Myrtle Power/Music; Ged Blackmore

The waters are calm now,
Not a Breath on the wind,
The mist is just burning away.
The boats that once sputtered their way
to the sea.
Are lying at home in the bay.

The shorelines are dotted with rudders and oars,
All upturned and baked in the sun.
The names that were painted with pride
on the bows,
Are withered and rusted and done.

Oh Newfoundland people where will you go?
What will you do to hold free?
The white squalls still beckon the fghorns still blow.
Oh Newfoundland people salt sea.

And what of your children,
Oh, what will they know?
For stocks have all vanished from sight
Will they ever look seaward and ride with the wind,
In oilskins that harbour the bite.

What will they remember?
What will they hold dear?
When stories fall faint on the tongue
When the sea and its fury that kept us alive
Drift away like a song that’s been sung.

Oh Newfoundland people where will you go?
What will you do to hold free?
The white squalls still beckon the fghorns still blow.
Oh Newfoundland people salt sea.

An old man looks lonely on the landwash below
Staring into an empty trawl heap.
The lines and the wrinkles that weather his brow,
Tell a tale of the fish in the deep.

Oh Newfoundland people where will you go?
What will you do to hold free?
The white squalls still beckon the fghorns still blow.
Oh Newfoundland people salt sea.

A tale of the glory and plight of the sea
When fish flourished rich on the run.
When cod-lines scaled heavy with teeming full loads,
And seagulls yelled into the sun.
We’re Folk of the Sea
By Ged Blackmore

We’re folk of the sea
children of salt sea air
we live with ocean roar
smile in the spray.
We’re folk of the sea
sprung from shorelines carved by years
and wrought in silent grief
steeped in tears
and what of our woes, well, God,
God only knows.

We face the grey black dawn
when hopes are dashed and gone
when fate is cruel, unkind
we search till we can find
a far better day
for this we pray.

We’re folk of the sea
children of salt sea air
we live with ocean roar
smile in the spray.
We’re folk of the sea
sprung from shorelines carved by years
and wrought in silent grief
steeped in tears
and what of our woes, well, God,
God only knows.

We are folks who dare
Blest with wings and a prayer
A spirit strong and alive
A will to work and to strive
We hear a voice in the breeze
There is someone there who sees, who sees.

We’re folk of the sea
bold, fierce and proud are we
to rise and face the light
of each new dawn
to struggle on, on
Proud to be folk of the sea!
In nineteen eighty-five
In a quiet fishing village
Where I was well known
In a time of recession
With a wife and two children
I built our new home
As a backyard mechanic
I'd fix up their old cars
When something went wrong
And I'd be the first one
To give them a loan
When their money was gone

Cause I was plumber
And I was a carpenter
In my spare time
Then out on the Grand Banks
I worked on the big ones
Until eighty-nine
And I was the musician
At parties and weddings
I played and I sang
Cause I’m jack of all trades
But least I can say
I’m a fisherman

Chorus:
I’m a fisherman
Just like my father before me
I’m a teacher, a preacher
I can be anything
That you want me to be
And I am the critic
Who fights the politicians
To get the work done
Cause I’m jack of all trades
But least I can say
I’m a fisherman

Now the years have gone by
There tears in my eyes
And my children have grown
My old boat is all dried
There it sits on its side
Down the path from my home
My old house is still standing
For sale the sign reads
Standing out on the lawn
And to each eye explains
All the hardships
Of a fisherman

Chorus:
Now it’s nineteen ninety-four
I’ll go fishing no more
Don’t you think that it’s cruel
Almost fifty years old
And today I was told
I should go back to school
I’ve got no diploma
And I’ve got no paper
To prove what I am
Cause I’m jack of all trades
but at least I can say
I’m a fisherman.

Chorus:
No Longer a Fisherman
By Selby Noseworthy

A young man was angry,
he wanted to know
Why a fisherman's life,
was not his to hold
A from a long line he'd come,
of old fishermen
He fished on the shores, of old Labrador
When was but ten

And the way that he captured,
the prize of the sea
With his life now in shambles,
is just fond memory
Of the long lines he hauled,
he knew them as trawls
Of six or eight lines,
that he'd ran several times
How nice to recall.

He remembers the old days,
in the spring of the year
When new would be heard,
of the fish coming near
The cod traps were ready,
when the caplin arrived
He tried everything,
if a dollar, it'd bring
That's how he survived.

Now his boat is all shabby,
his gear is all old
The life that he longs for,
is beyond his control
Though the time keep on movin',
his memory lags
And the pay that he gets,
is a government cheque
For now he's on TAGS

Now on some day he wonders,
what good will it do
And how will he make when it,
this program is through
So as he waits without knowing,
He utter a prayer
And talks to his wife,
of a fisherman's life
that is no longer there

For he's just a shadow,
of his forefathers name
And he feels quite dejected,
but he's not to blame
For the way that the fishery,
was so blindly destroyed
And away went his pay,
and his freedom to say
I have a fisherman's pride.

For the way that the fishing
has been so blindly destroyed
And away went his pay,
and his freedom to say
I have a fisherman's pride.
FISHERMAN’S LAMENT
Lyrics; Ed McCann/Music; Sean McCann
Performed by Great Big Sea on the Album; Great Big Sea

I stand in my doorway as the moon rises high,
Over glorious ocean that reflects the bright sky
My heart it is aching, so much I could die
I’ve known only the ocean since I was a boy

And I spent my whole life out there on the sea
Some government bastard now takes it from me
It is not just the fish they’ve taken my pride
I feel so ashamed that I just want to hide.

I fished with my father, so long, long ago
We were proud of our trade and in us it did show
We held our heads high there was lots of fish then
That was the time when we were proud men.
We challenged great storms and sometimes we won
Faced death and disaster we rose with the sun
We worked and we tolled we strained our man’s brain.
We were a proud people, will we ‘ere be again.

And I spent my whole life out there on the sea
Some government bastard now takes it from me
It is not just the fish they’ve taken my pride
I feel so ashamed that I just want to hide.

My father is gone now and the fish are gone too
Abused and mismanaged oh what can we do
I am too old to change but what of my sons
How will they know that we weren’t the ones?
DFO regulations permitted the raid
Of our beautiful ocean from headland again
They brought in big trawlers they tour up our twine
Politicians don’t care for what’s your and what’s mind.

And I spent my whole life out there on the sea
Some government bastard now takes it from me
It is not just the fish they’ve taken my pride
I feel so ashamed that I just want to hide.

You brave Newfoundlanders now listen to me
Shove the Package to hell go back to sea
If we don’t stand our ground we will fade away
And the bones of our fathers will turn into clay.

And I spent my whole life out there on the sea
Some government bastard now takes it from me
It is not just the fish they’ve taken my pride
I feel so ashamed that I just want to die.