

LEADERSHIP IN A DEPRESSED PRIMARY INDUSTRY
A SOCIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FISHERMEN
OF LAKE WINNIFEG

by

Dennis Philip Forcese

A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Major Subject: Sociology

Minor Subject: Political Science

The University of Manitoba

1964



Third Fisherman: Master, I
marvel how fishes live in the
sea.

First Fisherman: Why, as
men a-land; the great ones
eat up the little ones.

William Shakespeare

Pericles, Prince of Tyre

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Any number of individuals contributes to an undertaking such as this, whether formally or in coffee session. However, specific persons must be distinguished for special mention.

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ABSTRACT

Exploratory research in areas faced with impending socio-technological change is often of considerable value. Frequently it anticipates problems and the means whereby they may be met. More generally it provides guidelines for the gradual and non-injurious introduction of change.

This thesis is the product of one hundred and thirteen interviews with fishermen. It describes the fishermen of Lake Winnipeg who reside in the area of Manitoba from Gimli to Hecla Island. Fundamental sociological variables, such as ethnic origins, age, marital status, education, and income, provide the terms of description. The backdrop is that of impending social and technological change.

The social and attitudinal characteristics that distinguish leaders from non-leaders among the fishermen of the sample area are pointed out. The criteria which, when satisfied, qualify an individual fisherman for leadership status are suggested.

Because change is anticipated in the fisheries an attempt is made to determine to what degree the leadership criteria coincide with the characteristics of innovators as suggested by

the pertinent literature. Three closely related variables appear to be associated with the influential fishermen. These are youth, relatively greater education, and relatively greater incomes. These characteristics as well as others suggest that the influential fishermen are more cosmopolitan than their fellows and conceivably are innovators as well as leaders.

In general the implications of and the prerequisites for the initiation and conduct of change in the fishing industry are suggested. More emphatic leadership and greater cooperation among the fishermen are desirable. Similarly, improved communication between the fishermen and government agencies appears to be a prerequisite of a successful change programme.

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CHAPTER I

THE STATE OF THE LAKE WINNIPEG FISHING INDUSTRY

In 1961 the Manitoba lakes produced 31,900,000 pounds of fish. The market value was \$6,500,000. Employed in the industry were 5,279 part- or full-time fishermen, while related industries such as processing, transport, and boat-building provided employment for an additional six thousand persons. The total capital invested in the industry in 1961 was approximately \$6,600,000.¹

Of the inland fisheries of Canada, the resources of Manitoba are second in production, following Ontario. Lake Winnipeg is the source of the largest part of Manitoba's production.²

The products of Canadian fisheries are sold almost exclusively to the United States, exports of fish in 1961 totalling \$18,986,000.³ Though this sum is slight in terms of total Canadian exports to the United States of \$3,109,109,000,⁴ it cannot be dismissed as insignificant. Nor can Manitoba's contribution

¹The Canada Year Book 1962, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1963, page 581

²Ibid., page 570

³Ibid., page 570

⁴Ibid., page 953

of approximately one-third of this fisheries export. Moreover, the output of the Western regions of the Dominion is increasing,⁵ and hence, so too is its importance in relation to the export total. In like manner, and proportionately,

Manitoba's freshwater fishery resources continue to occupy an important position in the economy of the province and will expand as new lake areas are opened for development through an extension of railway lines and road construction into virgin areas.⁶

Needless to say, not only is the industry important to the province as an economic unit, but also to the substantial number of residents engaged in fishing. Growth, or lack of growth, in the industry, assumes more immediate social implications when one thinks in terms of the individuals involved.

Even in light of promised increases in production to be derived from the northern lakes, Lake Winnipeg, the sixth largest inland body of water in North America,⁷ persists as the

⁵Ibid., page 570

⁶Ibid., page 581

⁷Ibid., page 11. Lake Winnipeg is the fifth largest body of water in Canada as approximately one-half of Lake Erie is in the United States. In Canada, Lakes Huron, Superior, Great Bear, and Great Slave, are larger than Lake Winnipeg's 9,465 square miles with, respectively, 15,353 (of 23,860), 11,524 (32,483), 12,275, and 10,980 square miles.

most important source of production. Manitoba's fishing industry focuses upon and revolves about this Lake.

It is becoming increasingly more apparent to the Fisheries Branch of the Manitoba provincial government that, despite the promise of yet unexploited bodies of water, the time for change and further development of the industry, and of its core, Lake Winnipeg in particular, is, if not overdue, certainly at hand. The fishing industry of the Lake finds itself faced with the need to "change with the times." As so many industries before it, the fishing industry must now adopt new techniques of production, processing, and marketing. In short, it must mechanize. To many individuals now employed in the industry, mechanization will mean a lost job. To those who remain it will probably mean greater incomes.

But mechanization also means something to the fishery. It means a more efficient operation which reflects itself in lower production costs. This, in the years ahead, may be important in meeting competition from other fish producers and from other food producers who are anxious to take away part of the consumer fish market.⁸

As for most primary resources, the exploitation of Lake Winnipeg's fisheries has changed through time. At the outset the

⁸Fishing: A Bulletin for Commerical Fishermen 2:
p. 13, 1961

Lake was rich, fished only by the resident Indians and, after 1875, the Icelandic settlers. But continuous and increasing commercial exploitation dating from before the turn of the century has resulted in the current appearance of serious deficiencies in the supply of marketable fish species. All species of fish in the Lake are edible, but they are more or less in demand, generally depending upon the texture of the flesh, and partly upon tradition.⁹ Hence, certain species have been fished continually while the less desirable or "rough" fish have been left to reproduce and to overrun spawning and feeding grounds. Also contributing to the relative depletion of the valuable species has been the increase in producers and marketing firms from the early days of the industry.

The impact of the increase in producers and marketing agencies extends beyond increased ability to exploit the resources of the Lake. It has also tended to make the industry less

⁹Values, of course, are very important in setting the demand for fish. "The fisheries supply a clear case of an industry's forming its structure from the operations of...social values.....If fish were eaten strictly for their protein, mineral or similar content, all biologically edible fish would be eaten. There are dozens of neglected food fish species off the coast of New England (Gulf of Maine). If all fish were eaten, demand would fluctuate in terms of biological values competing with other products or with their protein substitutes. Or the demand might fluctuate in terms of local and national incomes alone." Richard E. DuWors, "Markets and the Mores", Social Forces 27: 128, 129.

economically efficient. There appears to be over-competition, or collusion as the case may well be. Specifically, there exists an expensive duplication of efforts, with the resulting decrease in profits and increase in costs. The brunt of this situation is borne not so much by the consumer, and apparently not by the commercial fish companies, but rather, by the fishermen who are forced to accept lower prices for their produce.

(Table I, page 7.)

Aggravating the above problem is the marketing system, a fragile, over-extended creature supporting far too many middlemen. Before the fish reach market, for the most part in the large urban centers of Minneapolis, Chicago and New York, they must pass from the fishermen, to the company packers on the Lake, to the company processors, to the company transporters, and finally to the handlers and retailers in the above American centers who in turn must derive some measure of profit from the fish being sold. The trek from the primary producers to the consumers is long and expensive, with a great disparity between the price received by the fishermen and that paid by the consumers. (Table I)

Two problems, then, are apparent: the expensive duplication and over-extension of efforts in producing and marketing, and the vulnerable position of the fishermen.

It has been conceded by the relevant government agencies that a solution to the marketing difficulties would consist in the establishment of effective fishermen's cooperative marketing systems. Cooperatives would provide the fishermen with a means of controlling their own interests. It would remove the question of their livelihood from the control of the commercial fish companies.

Yet, though desirable in theory to social and economic observers,¹⁰ such a system is far from realization in Manitoba. In 1960 every province in Canada possessed some form of a cooperative fish marketing system, with the exceptions of Alberta and Manitoba.¹¹ This appears remarkable in light of Manitoba's stature in the Dominion-wide fishing industry. It has been suggested that in Manitoba two basic conditions of success for fish marketing cooperative ventures appear to be lacking:

1. Enlightened fishermen;
2. A well-knit cooperative organization.¹²

¹⁰For example, Louis Berube of L'Ecole Superieure des Pecheries de Quebec, who spent six months in Manitoba in 1961 for the provincial government to whom he submitted a report.

¹¹Canada Year Book 1962, op.cit., page 899.

¹²Berube, "Progress Report on the Manitoba Fisheries and the Fisherman's Problem", unpublished report submitted to Fisheries Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba Government, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1959, page 2d.

TABLE I

The Total Value of Fish Produced in Manitoba
for a Period of Ten Years--1951/52 to 1960/61@

Year	Value to Fishermen	Fishermen's Percentage of Market Value	Market Value
51/52	\$4,263,187	56%	\$7,664,503
52/53	3,438,677	58	5,875,555
53/54	2,717,076	56	4,818,924
54/55	3,087,959	57	5,435,305
55/56	3,476,843	57	6,146,761
56/57	2,947,008	55	5,390,267
57/58	3,279,179	55	5,935,245
58/59	3,540,398	57	6,253,524
59/60	3,757,143	58	6,507,348
60/61	3,866,748	59	6,521,684

@ Reproduced from Fishing: A Bulletin for Commercial Fishermen 3:
p. 15, 1963.

Note that production has remained reasonably steady through the years, tending to support an argument against the notion of the exhaustion of Lake Winnipeg, the largest contributor to the above sums. Of course, through the years other Lakes have been brought into production while the total production has remained relatively constant, thereby indicating at least some decrease in the production of Lake Winnipeg. Note also that the percentage of the market value going to the fishermen varies from year to year, decreasing in years of decreased production. This would suggest that possibly the profits of the commercial fish companies are remaining steady while the fishermen are bearing the loss involved in lower production.

The Manitoba fishermen, speaking generally, appear to be unaware of the merit of cooperative marketing though they often speak of it. The explanation, perhaps, partially lies in the past with an unfortunate cooperative attempt in which a substantial sum of money was lost by the Riverton fishermen due to the poor management and/or the dubious integrity of the manager. Today the fishermen, with the exception of government initiated and directed Indian producer cooperatives, are not involved in any such venture. As the poor support given the Fishermen's Federation would indicate, the fishermen appear unwilling, and perhaps unable, to form independently even a rudimentary cooperative organization of any stability, let alone an extensive and effective marketing system.

Without meaning to oversimplify, what appears to be required to satisfy the above two prerequisites, and to successfully initiate change generally, is a programme of education. Firstly, the fishermen must have demonstrated the advantages of cooperative organization. They must also be provided the knowledge with which to manage, if not initiate, such organizations. A technique comparable to that employed by the Indian Affairs Branch of the government would probably serve in this regard, whereby government agents establish the cooperative and gradual-

ly train fishermen to operate it themselves.

Secondly, aside from the problems of marketing, education would be of aid in the shift to mechanized operations on the Lake. Again the advantages of modern fishing techniques and devices must be demonstrated, and then the fishermen must be instructed in their use. Also, and perhaps of greatest importance, those fishermen who will be displaced by mechanization must be trained for alternative employment.¹³

Implicit in the above "mandate for change" is the belief that the potential of fishing in Lake Winnipeg is not exhausted. Manitoba government agents, basing their confidence upon the reports of government biologists who are continually sampling the Lake, do believe that the Lake is still capable of large scale production. Yet, problems are conceded. The desirable fish species in Lake Winnipeg, though likely having been to some extent depleted by commercial fishing, and by the unchecked growth in the numbers of "rough" or undesirable fish species, still exist in considerable and exploitable quantity. The market for these species, of course, remains. There also exists the possibility of promoting a market for currently undesirable species, both for

¹³Education for change will be discussed in the final chapter.

human consumption and for animal consumption in the form of mink and pet feed. Practical conservation measures are therefore called for, but apparently, if adequate enforcement measures are implemented there is little cause for concern over the exhaustion of Lake Winnipeg.

In summary, then, change in the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry is impending. Independent fishermen and self-sufficient fisheries are desired.¹⁴ It is intended that cooperative marketing will bring about the former, and mechanization the latter. Government change agents likely will initiate both the cooperatives and the mechanization.

With mechanization to be promoted by the government the number of persons able to derive a livelihood from the Lake will decrease. Only a minority at best will be able to afford the initial cost of new equipment, unless the government provides loans. At any rate, as is always the case with mechanization, fewer laborers will be required.

¹⁴Modernization is not yet a definitely espoused government aim as disagreement exists between two government branches, Fisheries and Indian Affairs. The former is opting for modernization while the latter, concerned for its charges, tends to support a semi-welfare industry with many persons able to derive at least some income from the Lake, however small.

It is likely that the survivors will be drawn from the group of Icelandic fishermen. Among them are to be found the most economically successful fishermen on the Lake. The Indians, largely subsistence fishermen, will be displaced along with a substantial number of the less successful Icelanders. Hopefully this displacement will be achieved with a minimum of shock to the fishermen by way of carefully prepared and gradually initiated change.

CHAPTER II

THE ICELANDERS IN MANITOBA

The fishermen of Icelandic descent appear to comprise the successful core of the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry. Therefore this study concentrated upon the area of the province in which the majority of the Icelandic fishermen resided. The sample area coincided exactly with the lakeshore boundaries of the original settlement of New Iceland.

As the Icelandic Canadian fishermen likely will be the focus of any technological development in the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry, it was considered imperative that at least a brief outline of the Icelandic background in Manitoba be presented. Hopefully this cursory history will throw some light upon the peoples with whom we are concerned and aid in the interpretation of our contemporary data.

A Brief History

I. Immigration

In 1870 the first immigration of Icelanders to North America began, gradually gaining momentum to 1872. The first settlers went to Washington Island in Wisconsin, but in 1872, though a portion of the party continued on to Wisconsin, the large part of a body of one hundred and eighty persons formed the first

Icelandic settlement in Canada, situated on the Rousseau River in Ontario.

In 1874 a party of three hundred and sixty-five Icelandic emigrants arrived in Canada. A portion of the party settled in Nova Scotia where they received assistance from the provincial government. The majority of the group, however, settled in the village of Kinmount situated about seventy miles North of Toronto in Ontario. The terms of settlement provided the Icelanders were excellent, with guarantees of adequate land for a colony, equality of citizenship, and the right to preserve their language and customs.¹ Yet very few of the Icelanders took up land in or around Kinmount. For the most part they simply depended upon employment as laborers with the railroad then under construction. Such jobs gradually proved transitory and the Kinmount Icelanders began to look for a more desirable location. Many slowly dispersed to join their fellows in Nova Scotia where in 1875 a community of two hundred persons was in existence.

In the meantime interest was growing in the Canadian Northwest. Ultimately this interest was to result in a total migration of the Icelandic settlers from Nova Scotia to the Red River Valley.

¹Roy Herbert Ruth, "A History of Education of the Icelanders in Manitoba", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960, page 14.

In 1875 a delegation from Kinmount arrived in Manitoba to examine possibilities for an Icelandic settlement. The land about the shore of Lake Winnipeg met with their approval over the more fertile prairie to the South.

After examining portions of the west shore of Lake Winnipeg, as far as time would allow, and finding that the soil was of good quality, they selected there a site for an Icelandic colony, commencing at the southern boundary of township 18 and running North along the shore a distance of thirty-six miles--together with Big Island--and christened the tract selected 'New Iceland', the same being now included in the municipality of Gimli.²

A number of factors influenced the decision of the delegates. Arriving at Fort Garry they had been somewhat disturbed by evidences of grasshopper damages to crops. The delegates believed this danger would be less likely of a serious nature to the North in the area which they selected. They discerned a considerable quantity of timber, an item very scarce in Iceland, available for building and fuel. Also, a water route from the proposed site to Winnipeg was available whereby the settlers could remain in contact with other persons yet at the same time gain a large tract of land in reasonable isolation. And it was anticipated that the railroad was to be constructed by the not distant

²Sigtr Jonasson, The Early Icelandic Settlements in Canada, Winnipeg, Transaction Number 59, The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, published by the Manitoba Free Press, 1901, pages 10, 11.

town of Selkirk.³ Also influencing their decision was the delegates' favorable assessment of the soil.⁴ Lastly, the delegates recognized the potential of the great inland body of water beside which they proposed to settle. Here was a means of supplementing the larder,⁵ and potentially, a source of commercial revenue. Thus, in their Report, the delegation noted:

³In fact the railroad never did pass through Selkirk, but did reach the town. The line was constructed to Selkirk, but rather than crossing the Red River at that point as had been originally intended, it then turned South to Winnipeg. In large part the change was made due to the lobbying of a group of Winnipeg businessmen.

⁴The delegates reported the soil as of "good quality". In fact it is very ill-suited to farming, but probably the Icelanders were thinking in terms of meadow lands for livestock, the common agricultural pursuit of their homeland.

⁵Aaron Rosenthal in an unpublished paper draws attention to the apparent failure of the Icelandic settlers to fish during their first winter of settlement. (A. Rosenthal, "Ethnographic History of the Icelanders in Manitoba", an unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1964.)

With regard to the Fisheries in Lake Winnipeg, we will say that we have ourselves seen, and therefore can speak from our own experience, that there is abundance of different kinds of fish in this lake. The Indians catch them all summer in their nets and manage to live on what they catch from day to day, although in our opinion their outfit is rather poor, and apparently they never try anywhere but close to shore.

In the fall of the year the whitefish are caught in nets in large numbers, and also during the winter, under the ice. This kind of fish will no doubt become a valuable article of commerce.

The principal kinds of fish caught in the lake are whitefish, sturgeon, pike or jackfish, gold-eyes, sunfish, catfish, pickerel, and suckers. All these are good eating and except the whitefish are taken in the spring when the ice leaves the lake.⁶

(the emphasis is ours)

Hence, the delegates, favorably impressed with the opportunities to be had in an area which was to become part of the province of Manitoba, advised their fellows in Kinmount to migrate to the approved site. The Icelandic settlers in Kinmount decided to move in mass.

On October 21, 1875, just as winter was setting in, the settlers, having been transported up the Red River by barge from the United States, landed at a sand bar known as Willow Bar

⁶"Report of the Icelandic Deputation", Fort Garry, Manitoba, Manitoba Sessional Papers, No. 8, 1876.

near the present site of Gimli. Three hundred settlers disembarked. In 1881 the Icelandic settlers in Nova Scotia followed, eventually none remaining in the maritime province.

II. Settlement

From the first, attention was given to the construction of schools. On October 30, 1875, a scant nine days from their arrival, the Icelandic Agent, John Taylor, sent a letter to Alexander Morris, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, emphasizing the eagerness of the settlers to have a school erected immediately, in integration with the Manitoba educational program. A teacher was present in the Icelandic party.⁷ By Christmas of 1875 a school had indeed been constructed in Gimli, and by 1877 another had been built in Riverton.

Similarly, churches were erected early in the life of the settlements, providing both a religious and a social center. Usually it was the pastor who became the intellectual leader of the communities.

Characteristic of the settlers from the time of their arrival was an emphasis upon two closely related values--education and tradition as preserved in Icelandic literature. The immigrant

⁷Ruth, op.cit, pages 16, 17.

families, despite the poverty of their original surroundings, prided themselves upon each possessing a small personal library. Lord Dufferin, visiting the Icelandic settlements in 1877, remarked upon this very feature.

.....I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the settlement which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls, or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes; and I am informed that there is scarcely a child amongst you who cannot read or write.⁸

The same point is illustrated in a reminiscence of the early days of the Icelandic settlement.

.....each little log cabin had its own library. When the day was done and the shades of evening began to fall, the family would all gather in the 'Baðstofa' (Livingroom) with the only light coming from flickering candles or stoves. Someone, usually the head of the family, would read aloud, while the women would mend, spin or knit, the men would carve wood or do other things that they could work at while they all listened. The children would play around quietly, and when the reading was done listen to the older couple discuss what had been read.⁹

As early as 1877 the settlers had formed a company, the New Iceland Publishing Company, for the publication of books

⁸Ibid., page 20.

⁹Sigguros Vidal, "Our Heritage: Icelandic Settlements in Manitoba" (Parts I and II), Winnipeg, unpublished Report to the Department of Public Health and Welfare, Manitoba Government, 1944, page 6.

and a newspaper.¹⁰

Socialized in such an environment the Icelanders began to send forth highly educated individuals. Very early in the history of New Iceland University graduates appeared. In 1885 an Icelander graduated from the University of Manitoba with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, First Class Honors.¹¹ By the years 1911-1912 there were seventy-four Icelanders in all University divisions and sixteen in the Agricultural College.¹² The total enrollment of the University was seven hundred and sixty-six.¹³ Yet in 1911-1912 the population of the province was 455,614,¹⁴ of which only approximately 10,500¹⁵ were Icelandic. Thus the Icelanders represented approximately 2.3 per cent of the population and 9.8 per cent of the University enrollment, excluding those Icelanders in the Agricultural College.

¹⁰ Ruth, op. cit., page 20

¹¹ Ibid., page 42

¹² Ibid., page 48

¹³ W. L. Morton, One University, London, McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1957, page 64

¹⁴ The Canada Year Book 1911, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1912, page 2

¹⁵ Ibid., page 2

The present day finds persons of Icelandic descent dispersed throughout the province. Moreover, other immigrants have rendered less complete the ethnic homogeneity of their original settlements, such as Gimli or Riverton. Yet, the Icelanders have maintained a very strong ethnic consciousness and pride. Emphasizing their Norse traditions from the earliest days of their settlement in Canada, the Icelanders have managed to maintain a tie, however fragile, with the land of their origin. The value placed upon Icelandic literature, and that upon education, have hand in hand contributed to the maintenance of the Icelanders as a self-conscious ethnic unit. The strength of their ethnic identity is especially remarkable in light of their number, a scant 23,307 individuals of Icelandic descent (paternally) in Canada in 1951 of a total population of 14,009,429.¹⁶

Therefore, though no value study of the Icelandic peoples

¹⁶Of those ethnic groupings sufficiently represented in Canada to be classified separately, the Icelanders are the sixth smallest according to the 1951 census. Their proportion to the total population appears quite constant as in 1941 there were 21,059 Icelanders of a Canadian population of 11,506,655, the fifth smallest ethnic group, and in 1931, 19,382 Icelanders to a total Canadian population of 10,376,786, again the fifth smallest group. (The Canada Year Book 1962, Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, 1963, page 163.)

is available¹⁷ we are confident in ascribing two cherished values to them, that placed upon education and that upon Icelandic literature. The former renders possible the latter, which in turn has bolstered the strong ethnic identity¹⁸ of the Icelandic persons in Manitoba. To complete the circular pattern, this strong sense of identity maintains the viability of the value upon education.

The high value ascribed to educational achievement shall prove central to the forthcoming consideration of change in the fishing industry.

¹⁷A partial study is currently being undertaken by Professor M. Stancliff of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Manitoba. However, no results are available to this date.

¹⁸Indicative of the strength of their ethnic consciousness is the content of the journal, The Icelandic Canadian. It continually draws attention to Icelandic Canadians who have achieved academic successes, or successes within the community generally. It emphasizes the common bonds of the Icelandic Canadians. "The Icelandic ethnic group is not simply a nationality, it is a clan. Really it is an enlarged family circle." (Sigmar, "The Family of Icelandic Canadians," The Icelandic Canadian III: 1953, p. 20.) "The people of Icelandic descent in North America are something in addition to being Americans or Canadians. They feel that this something additional, inherited from the former motherland, even if stripped of all sentiment, is of intrinsic value and should be preserved." ("A Common Perspective", The Icelandic Canadian II: 1952, p.9.)

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND DESIGN

Sample Area and Problem

An opportunity to conduct research in the area formerly known as New Iceland arose in 1963. The Manitoba provincial government commissioned a number of studies in the Interlake region of Manitoba, that is, the area bounded by Lake Winnipeg to the East and Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis to the West. These studies were under the general sponsorship of the federal Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act, or as it is more commonly and simply known, ARDA.¹

Of these studies one evolved into a sociological investigation of leadership in an area apparently characterized by a marginal agricultural-fishing economy. This commission sought the

¹This Act was introduced in 1961. Two of its main priorities, acting in conjunction with the provincial governments, are the initiation and promotion of projects to develop alternative uses for marginal land, that is, land unsuited for profitable cultivation, and secondly, the initiation of projects for the development of incomes and employment in rural areas. The Interlake is such a marginal area. "The Act also authorizes the Federal Government to carry on broad-scale research and it is proposed to carry forward basic research on national land-use needs and rural adjustment trends." (The Canada Year Book 1962, Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, 1963, p. 389.)

identification of existing and potential leaders from among the fishermen of the designated sample area. A close association was established between the researchers and the Fisheries Branch of the Manitoba government.²

The specific sample area was designated by the government which, on the basis of many years of contact with the industry, acted upon the assumption that the sample area was representative of the Lake's more affluent fishermen, the Icelanders.

As discussed earlier, it is likely that the fishermen who survive the contemplated changes in the industry will be from among the Icelanders. Only they have the financial resources to invest in new equipment unless government financial aid is provided others, such as the Indian-Metis fishermen of the Lake. The Icelandic fishermen constitute the economic elite of the commercial fishermen insofar as some of their number derive a profit, often substantial, from their efforts. Conversely, the Indian-Metis fishermen derive, generally, only a subsistence income from

²It must immediately be pointed out that the writer was associated with the project as Research Assistant. L. B. Siemens of the Department of Plant Science, University of Manitoba, was the Project Leader. The reader wishing a full presentation of the data gained in research is referred to L. B. Siemens, D. P. Forcese, Leadership Patterns in a Manitoba Agricultural-Fishing Community, Winnipeg, Queen's Printer, 1964.

the Lake, a supplement to government allowances. Therefore, assuming that the industry would operate upon a sound economic basis, that is, unsubsidized by government, the Icelandic population is likely to provide the survivors of mechanization in the industry. For this reason government wished to direct its initial investigations among the Icelandic group. To promote change in the industry, Icelandic leaders would be required.

The sample area selected was characterized by the greatest concentration of Icelandic fishermen in the province. It coincided exactly with the original settlement pattern of New Iceland. Just as the early Icelandic pioneers expanded along the Western shore of Lake Winnipeg, North from Gimli to Big Island,³ so our sample area extended. The town of Gimli, where the Icelandic settlers first landed, constituted the southern limit of our sample area, and the small fishing village on the eastern shore of Hecla Island the most northerly settlement. Within these two extremes are located two additional communities, the Arnes-Hnausa area, two extremely small hamlets consolidated for our purposes, to the North

³Big Island is today known as Hecla Island. See Figure 1, page 25 and page 14 for a description of the boundaries of New Iceland insofar as they extended along the shore of Lake Winnipeg and not inland. It was along the shore of the Lake and not inland that the Icelandic settlements first spread.

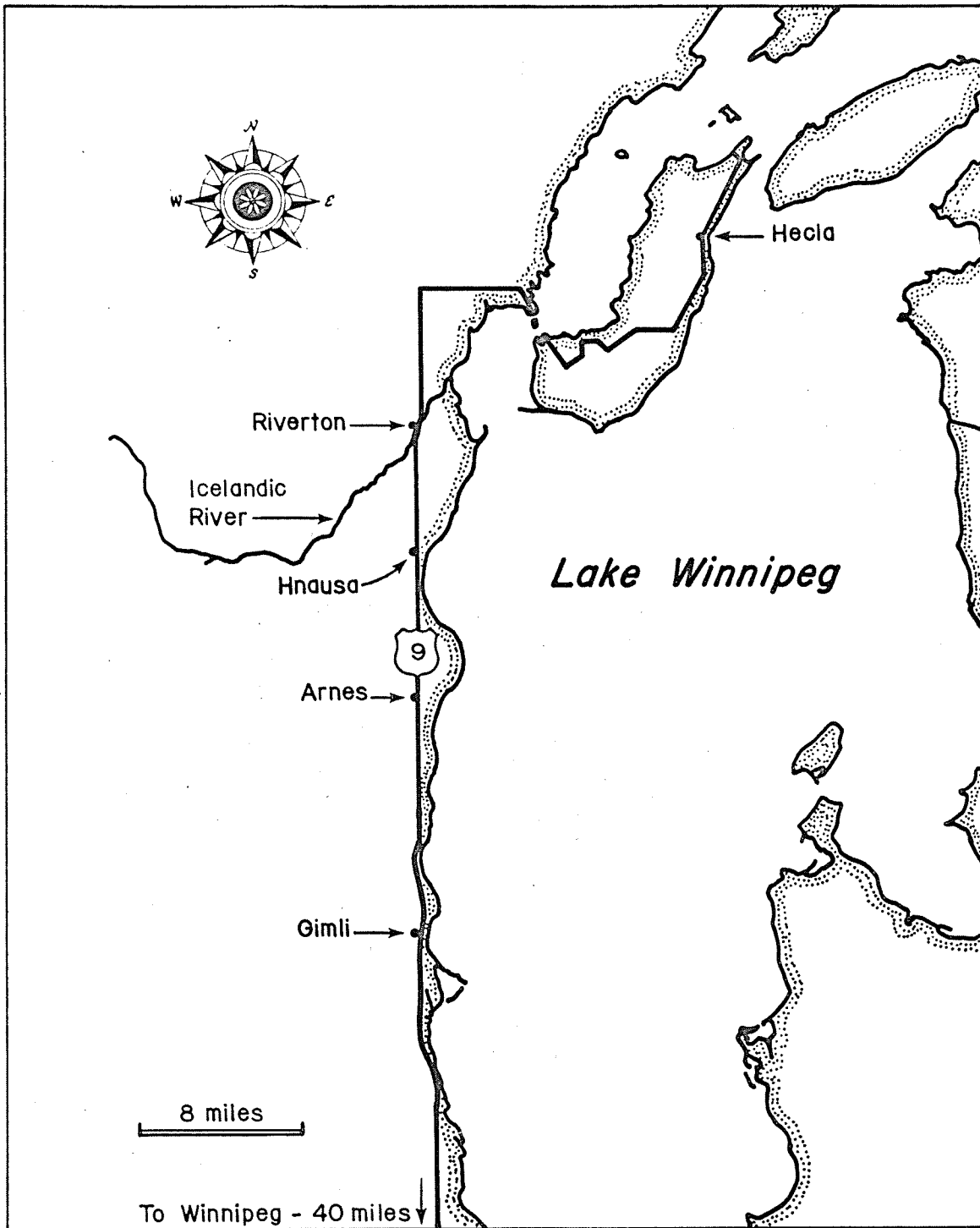


FIGURE 1 Map of sample area.

Reproduced from L.B. Siemens, D.P. Forcese, Leadership Patterns in a Manitoba Agricultural-Fishing Community, Winnipeg, Queen's Printer, 1964, page 6.

of Gimli, and the village of Riverton, located slightly inland on the Icelandic River, southwest of Hecla Island.

The economy of each of these communities is presently influenced by the fishing industry, though, apparently, progressively less so than in the past. In 1962 a total of 210 commercial fishing licenses were issued to persons residing within this sample area. These 210 persons represented our population.

It seems that with the exception of the island community of Hecla none of the four communities is primarily dependent upon fishing for its existence, whatever the case may have been in the past. In the town of Gimli, only about 20 to 30 per cent of the population appears to depend upon the industry, of a total population of approximately 1,800. Hence, the community as a whole has an existence apart from fishing, though some of the residents may be very much dependent upon the industry. Besides fishing the economic base of Gimli includes some light industry, a large seasonal tourist trade, and an R.C.A.F. training station on the outskirts of the town.

The villages of Arnes-Hnausa would appear to depend at least equally upon farming and construction as they do upon fishing for their existence. In short, they are typical rural supply posts for the surrounding farms and they do not owe their continued

existence to the fishing industry.

The village of Riverton, substantially larger than Arnes or Hnausa, though still considerably smaller than Gimli, appears to be in a similar state. It appears to be a reasonably prosperous settlement, servicing and supplying the hinterland. In the past it was a fishing village, but today it is difficult to find a fisherman in the town. They are there, but they no longer predominate.

Hecla Island seems to be the last stronghold of the industry, and even it has faltered badly. Other than fishing, and the aesthetic value of its locale, there appears no reason for its existence, barring tradition and force of habit. It is small, with about two hundred people, and growing continually smaller as the older generation passes on and the younger people leave the Island for employment. There is no farming to speak of, other than the growth of some hay and the maintenance of a few head of cattle. Traditionally its people are fishermen, and not farmers.

Previous Studies

Survey of the Literature

Commissioned to discover the leaders from among the

fishermen of four small rural towns, we turned to the literature in sociology, and to a lesser extent in psychology, anthropology and economics, for indications as to an appropriate research procedure.

From the outset we were struck with the paucity of research undertaken upon fishermen. Three articles,⁴ none of them recent or outstanding, were all that we could discover in the major journals.⁵ A comment made by DuWors in 1948 appears equally valid today.

...the fisheries are practically virginal territory for exploring by sociologists, economists, and various natural scientists.⁶

⁴These were: Richard DuWors, "Custom and Contract: A Functional Analysis of the Wage System in the Atlantic Fisheries", American Sociological Review 13: 55-61; and by the same author, a supplement, "Markets and the Mores", Social Forces 27: 127-35; the third is G. W. Horobin, "Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry", British Journal of Sociology 8: 343-9.

⁵By "major journals" we mean: American Journal of Sociology; American Sociological Review; Social Forces; Rural Sociology; Social Research; and British Journal of Sociology.

⁶DuWors, "Custom and Contract", American Sociological Review 13: p. 55, 1948.

Similarly, though many leadership studies had been reported, few were concerned with rural settings. The focus was predominantly urban. Yet, rural sociology provided us with some material removed from a metropolitan orientation. We also availed ourselves of a representation of the very ample small group research on leadership that exists.

Outside of small group research, we found that three broad approaches to leadership investigation were commonly employed. Though variations exist, the approaches currently in vogue could be grouped under three categorizations.⁷ These are the reputational, the positional, and the decision-making approach.

The positional approach concentrates upon individuals who could be termed formal leaders.

⁷There are others. For example, Bell et al distinguish, in addition to the three above, "the social-participation approach", and the "personal-influence or opinion-leadership approach", as well as a miscellany which are not categorized. (Wendell Bell, Richard Hill, Charles Wright, Public Leadership, San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1961.) But the three which we have distinguished appear to be the most frequently reported in the literature. Moreover, the two additional approaches of Bell et al could reasonably be included within the three approaches which we have designated, the personal-influence included in the reputational, and the social-participation in the positional approach.

One of the most direct ways of locating leaders is to select those persons who occupy important organizational positions.⁸

C. Wright Mills, for example, in his Power Elite⁹ designated influentials insofar as they occupied positions of power. Perhaps more common is the designation of individuals occupying executive positions in voluntary community organizations as leaders, which Bell distinguishes as "the social-participation approach".¹⁰

The decision-making approach determines leadership by an analysis of important community decisions. Thereby it seeks to learn what individuals played the important roles in the resolution of the issue at hand.

Such research usually focuses on the decision-making process, locating the various decision-makers and tracing the steps in policy development.¹¹

The third approach is known as the reputational. The reputational approach, as its name would imply, does not identify

⁸Wendell Bell et al, Public Leadership, San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Company, 1961, page 6.

⁹C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, New York, Oxford University Press, 1956.

¹⁰Bell et al, op. cit., page 21.

¹¹Ibid., page 8.

leaders by resorting to concrete social positions or to actions, but rather by eliciting the opinion of members of the community as to whom they think are the leaders.

The researcher then uses some criterion of consensus to decide which persons appear to be operating as leaders in the community.¹²

Though it involves a considerable variation, we would also include in the category of the reputational approach what Bell et al distinguish as "the personal influence or opinion-leadership approach."¹³

Each of the approaches incorporates a wide range of variations. Each possesses merits and demerits insofar as effective leadership detection is concerned.¹⁴ These advantages and disadvantages were weighed in relation to our particular goal and we

¹²Ibid., page 13.

¹³Ibid., page 23.

¹⁴A very extensive dialogue exists in the literature between those espousing the reputational as opposed to the positional approach, or vice versa. Many researchers claim that the two succeed in gaining quite different results. For example, see Robert O. Schulze, Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites", American Journal of Sociology 63: 57-58, 1958, and more recently, Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement", American Journal of Sociology 68: 672-83, 1963. But Richard Laskin suggests that in small towns the two approaches produce comparable results; that is, the formal and the informal leaders are the same. See in particular Richard Laskin, "A Depth Study of Small Community Leadership", unpublished research proposal, Saskatchewan, Center for Community Studies, 1963.

resolved upon the adoption of a¹⁵ reputational approach. A number of factors influenced the choice. Firstly, our particular problem was somewhat unique. It involved the determination of leaders from among one occupational group in four small rural towns; whereas the studies reported in the literature were generally concerned with the study of total communities, urban or rural. Therefore any approach adopted would have to be adapted, and the reputational seemed the most flexible. In our rural setting it was unlikely that we would be able to discover sufficiently numerous and documented decisions to employ a decision-making approach. Nor was it likely that sufficient voluntary organizations would be available for the employment of a positional approach. Perhaps a sufficient number of organizations would exist in the communities, though even this was not certain. But it remained unlikely that the fishermen, because of the peculiar nature of their occupation involving many days from home, would be very involved in these organizations.¹⁶ The reputational approach, on the other hand, appeared almost ideal. Crucial to the effectiveness of the approach is a body of informants aware

¹⁵Note that we say "a" reputational approach. There is variation within the approach. For example, a panel of "knowledgeables" or "judges" is frequently employed by researchers to evaluate the leadership selections of the respondents at large. We did not employ such a panel.

¹⁶In some sense a positional confirmation of the findings was employed. In the interview schedule we included a question as to organizational membership and position in the organization(s). Therefore, we had both reputational data from our respondents and positional data.

of the state of the leadership in the area under investigation. Thus, individuals in intimate contact with one another, as the fishermen, were admirably suited to a reputational approach. It was assumed that because we were dealing with one occupational group characterized by a reasonably strong group consciousness we would have informed respondents. Moreover, greatly influencing our decision was the apparent fact that the reputational was probably the least complex and easiest to administer approach to leadership detection. Finally, in carrying it out it would be possible to simultaneously gather data other than that strictly required for leadership determination.¹⁷

Research Instrument and Field Technique

Having resolved upon a research method and having familiarized ourselves with the research area we next determined specifically whom our respondents would be. We elected to interview all fishermen holding commercial fishing licences within the sample area for the years 1962-63. In addition, we decided to interview two representatives, preferably the owner and/or manager and a second high ranking executive of the commercial fish companies operating on Lake Winnipeg. Lastly, we determined to interview a

¹⁷It is essentially this ancillary data that this thesis is oriented about.

token number of government officials concerned with the Lake Winnipeg fisheries, at least the highest ranking officers.¹⁸

An interview schedule was developed containing two questions to elicit the required information as to leadership.¹⁹ The first question was preceded by a number of questions as to problems on the Lake. Thereby a problem orientation was established in our respondents. We first asked the question:

Suppose a committee of fishermen was to be formed to study and solve these problems, would you mind suggesting five Lake Winnipeg fishermen you feel would best represent you? These men can be from anywhere on the Lake.

This we called our "indirect" reputational question.

Our second question, later in the interview schedule, was considered the actual manifestation of the reputational approach. It was more direct and asked:

In your opinion, who among the Lake Winnipeg fishermen are the important and influential persons in what goes on in fishing; that is, the fishermen who get things done -- who are the leaders?

The respondent was then asked to rank the designated individuals.

¹⁸See Appendix B for the data gathered pertaining to company and government respondents.

¹⁹The interview schedule devised for the fishermen was employed in abbreviated form for government and company respondents.

These two questions were included in the pretest of the interview schedule.²⁰ It was anticipated that the pretest would reveal which of the two questions was more effective. But the test indicated that, without any predictable reasons, one question would often be answered and the other not, with the two questions having approximately equal success.

Therefore, because of the results of the pretest it was decided that both questions should be retained. The determination of leaders or influentials²¹ was central to the study and employing both questions was intended as more likely to gain sufficiently numerous replies. Moreover, it was also thought that with the interviews completed, the two questions would serve to confirm the

²⁰For a copy of the pretest interview schedule and for the final interview schedule see Appendix A. The pretest was run in two fishing villages to the North and isolated from our sample area proper. These were Pine Dock and Matheson Island.

²¹We shall use the terms "leader" and "influential" as interchangeable although they are not always so used in the literature. In a sense the distinction between the two concepts is artificial, as leadership implies the existence of influence. Explicitly, leadership implies the influencing of the actions and decision-making of a given group. We acknowledge a distinction, as an influential need not consciously lead. But because there appears little concerted action by the fishermen, it would be difficult to think of leadership in terms of the effective establishment and achievement of group goals. Rather, we think of leaders simply in terms of influence. We think of leaders, then, as influentials.

results of one another.²²

Also included in the pretest, and in modified form in the final interview schedule, were a number of questions designed to elicit information from the respondents as to a variety of social characteristics and attitudes. Information about ethnic origin, age, marital status, income, opinions as to preferred marketing organizations, power on the Lake, problems of the fishermen, and so on, was obtained.

Thereby the original purpose of the research project, the government sponsored leadership identification, was expanded to include the collection of data on characteristics of fishermen. It is specifically with these data that we are concerned in this paper. Our interest proceeds from the accomplished identification of leadership.

Having completed an interview schedule to our satisfaction the actual field work was begun. Timing our arrival to coincide with the return of the whitefish boats from the Lake we began interviewing the fishermen who were licensed in 1962 and/or 1963. We had obtained a list of the fishermen from Fisheries Branch, Manitoba government, directly from the file of licensees. In interviewing, the respondents of one community at a time were dealt

²²The two questions did achieve comparable results. See the discussion on page 39 and see also Figure 2 on page 40.

with. In this manner, due to the relative remoteness of the communities from one another, it was hoped that word of our presence would not be rapidly spread, thereby avoiding the formation of prejudgments by the fishermen.

An interview was attempted with every fisherman included on the list. It soon became apparent, however, that many of these men were transients, often Indians from the North who had simply indicated a temporary address. Such individuals could not be contacted. It was also found that many of the 1962 licence-holders were no longer fishing, having obtained employment elsewhere. Table II provides a categorization of those who were not interviewed.

After a period of interviewing it was found that a "saturation" point had been reached. Each succeeding interview was yielding no new information. The same nominations of influential persons were recurring, as were the same social and attitudinal features or trends. By this time we had already attempted to contact every individual on our list. Those who had not been contacted upon the first attempt we attempted to reach at least two more times. Failing to contact the individual after the third time, interview attempts were discontinued. Thus, a natural "cut-off" point was reached. Those respondents who could not be contacted on three occasions were simply bypassed. These are the persons included in the category "unable to contact" in Table II.

TABLE II
 Number of Licence-Holders Not Interviewed *

	Total	Gimli	Arnes- Hnausa	Riverton	Hecla
Employed elsewhere	22	4	7	9	2
Not resident	25	7	3	9	6
Deceased	1	0	0	1	0
Unable to contact	26	10	5	3	8
Disqualified	2	1	1	0	0
Refused	2	1	1	0	0
Transient	14	4	1	1	8
Inebriated	4	2	0	2	0
Retired	1	0	0	1	0
Total	97	29	18	26	24

* Reproduced in revised form from: L. B. Siemens, D. P. Forcese, Leadership Patterns in a Manitoba Agricultural-Fishing Community, Winnipeg, Queen's Printer, 1964, page 152.

Results and Analysis

The interviews completed, the data were then analyzed. The interview schedule had been partially precoded, but some open-ended questions had to be dealt with. Once coded the data was placed on IBM cards.

The leadership nominations when tabulated revealed that our "direct" and "indirect" questions had elicited comparable responses. (Figure 2.) Each nomination from the indirect question was assigned one point. The points were simply added and the top scores ordered as our leaders. The nominations from the direct question were treated somewhat differently. After the direct question we had asked the respondents to order the nominees in order of importance, from one to five. We therefore assigned weights of one to five to each of the individuals named, added their scores, and again ordered them as leaders.

Generally, our results appeared satisfactory, not only insofar as leadership nominations, but in response to all the questions. Of 115 approaches to individuals only two refusals were met. In light of the number of fishermen no longer residing in the area or working outside of the occupation, we obtained a sample of active fishermen in excess of fifty per cent. Sixty-three of the ninety-

FIGURE 2

Influentials Identified by INDIRECT Method From the Entire Group of Respondents.

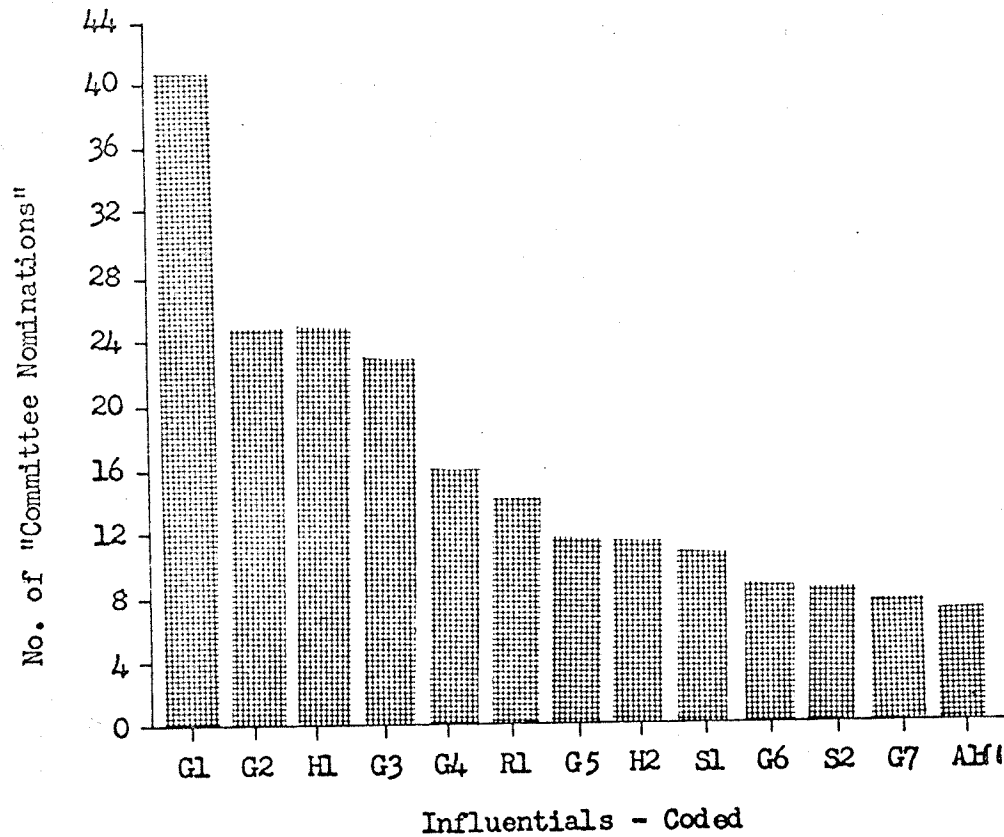
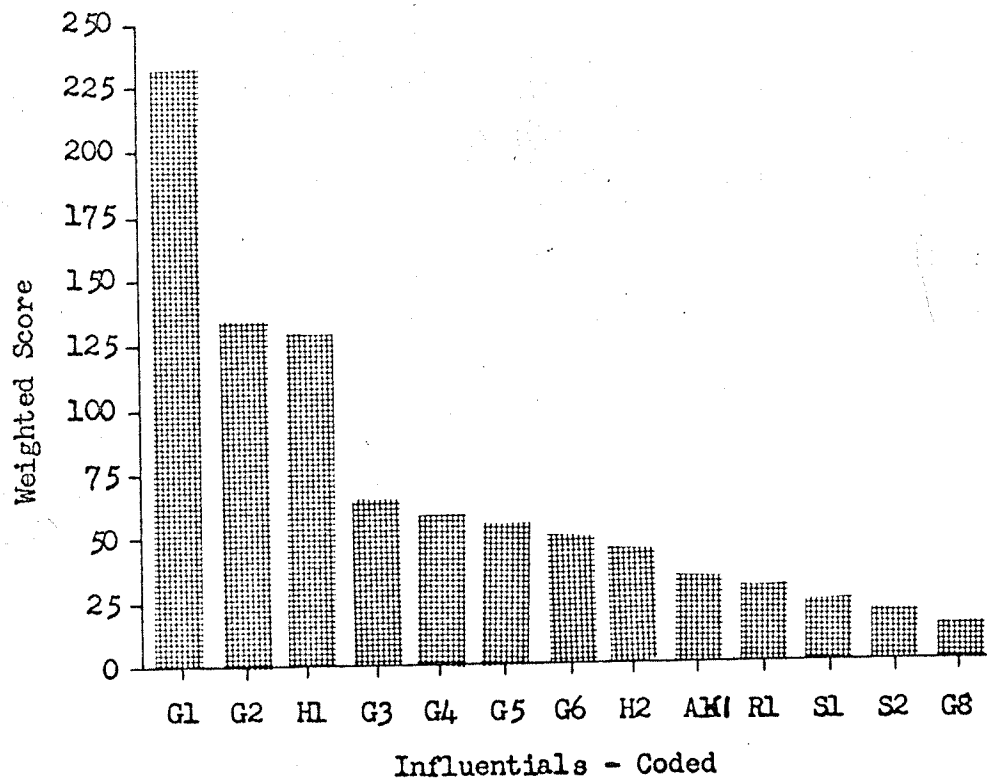


FIGURE 3

Influentials Identified by DIRECT Method From the Entire Group of Respondents.



Reproduced from L.B. Siemens, D.P. Forcese, Leadership Patterns in a Manitoba Agricultural-Fishing Community, Winnipeg,

Queen's Printer, 1964, page 15.

seven persons not interviewed were no longer admissible to our sphere of research as they were outside of the sample area or the industry itself. Thus, 113 of 148 individuals still engaged in fishing, or 76.6 per cent, were interviewed.



CHAPTER IV

THE FISHERMEN IN OUTLINE

A number of features, social and attitudinal, as revealed by our data stood out as predominantly characteristic of the fishermen in the sample area. (Table III.)

Social Characteristics

Ethnic Origins and Religion

Firstly, and as anticipated, the fishermen interviewed were, with few exceptions, Icelandic-Canadians. Of our total cohort of respondents, 86.8 per cent (97) indicated their ethnic origin, paternally, to be Icelandic. There were three fishermen each of Polish, Ukrainian and English origins, and seven fishermen representing varied ethnic backgrounds.

Similarly, the religious affiliation of the majority of the fishermen was Lutheran. To a very large extent we found that religion and ethnic background went hand in hand. If an individual was Icelandic, then he was generally a member of the Lutheran Church. The Unitarian Church, at one time apparently attracting considerable support from the Icelandic people in Manitoba,¹ was represented in

¹See: Angantyr Arnason, "Icelandic Settlements in America", unpublished M. A. thesis (History), University of Manitoba, 1929, page 45. See also: Olaf Sigurdson, "Icelandic Settlements in Manitoba and other Points in America", unpublished M. A. thesis (History), University of Manitoba, 1929, pages 105-106.

TABLE III
*
Dominant Characteristics of the
Total Cohort of Fishermen

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Total number in sample	(113)	100.0
Icelandic	(97)	85.8
Lutheran	(75)	66.3
35 to 64 years	(73)	64.6
Grades 5 to 8	(57)	50.4
Married	(84)	74.3
\$0 to \$3,000 income	(75)	66.3
100% fishing income	(40)	35.3
Federation Members	(54)	47.7
No voluntary memberships	(71)	62.8
Desire to leave fishing	(72)	63.7
Companies as power	(89)	78.7
Cooperatives as marketing agencies preferred	(62)	54.8

* The term "dominant" will recur throughout the forthcoming tables. It refers to an editing of the data. Rather than include all the data available the tables have been restricted to a presentation of variables that a) apply to at least 20 per cent of the respondents and/or b) vary significantly in relationship to the independent variable. Variables that characterize only a small number of the fishermen have been excluded.

our sample by only four individuals, 3.5 per cent of the total number of respondents. Four fishermen were Catholics, two were Greek Catholics, one was United, and twenty-seven indicated that they were affiliated with no church. The non-church members represented 23.8 per cent of the cohort.²

Age

Our respondents as a group were notably characterized by a preponderance of middle-aged to old fishermen. Thirty-two per cent (36) of the respondents were found to be between the ages of thirty-five to forty-nine years of age, while 32.7 per cent (37) were between fifty to sixty-four years of age. Only 21.1 per cent (24) of the respondents were under thirty-five years of age.

Apparently, then, there is little of attraction in the industry for younger men. The fishing industry, depressed by the standards of the older generation, no longer appeals to youth as it did in the past. Yet, some young men still turn to the Lake for a livelihood in hopes of the fabled "big catch". Individuals, lacking education and destined to work as laborers, still find

²Needless to say, our figures are by no means necessarily indicative of religion. They merely indicate the number of fishermen who claimed membership in a church. Conceivably, as is common everywhere, many of our respondents may have found it more convenient to simply reveal the religious denomination into which they were born rather than to reveal no church activity.

fishing alluring. If one must labor it is just as well to do so where the possibility of a quick and substantial gain exists, provided that in the meantime a living wage can be achieved. The fact that it often cannot, probably serves to deter a great influx into the industry.³

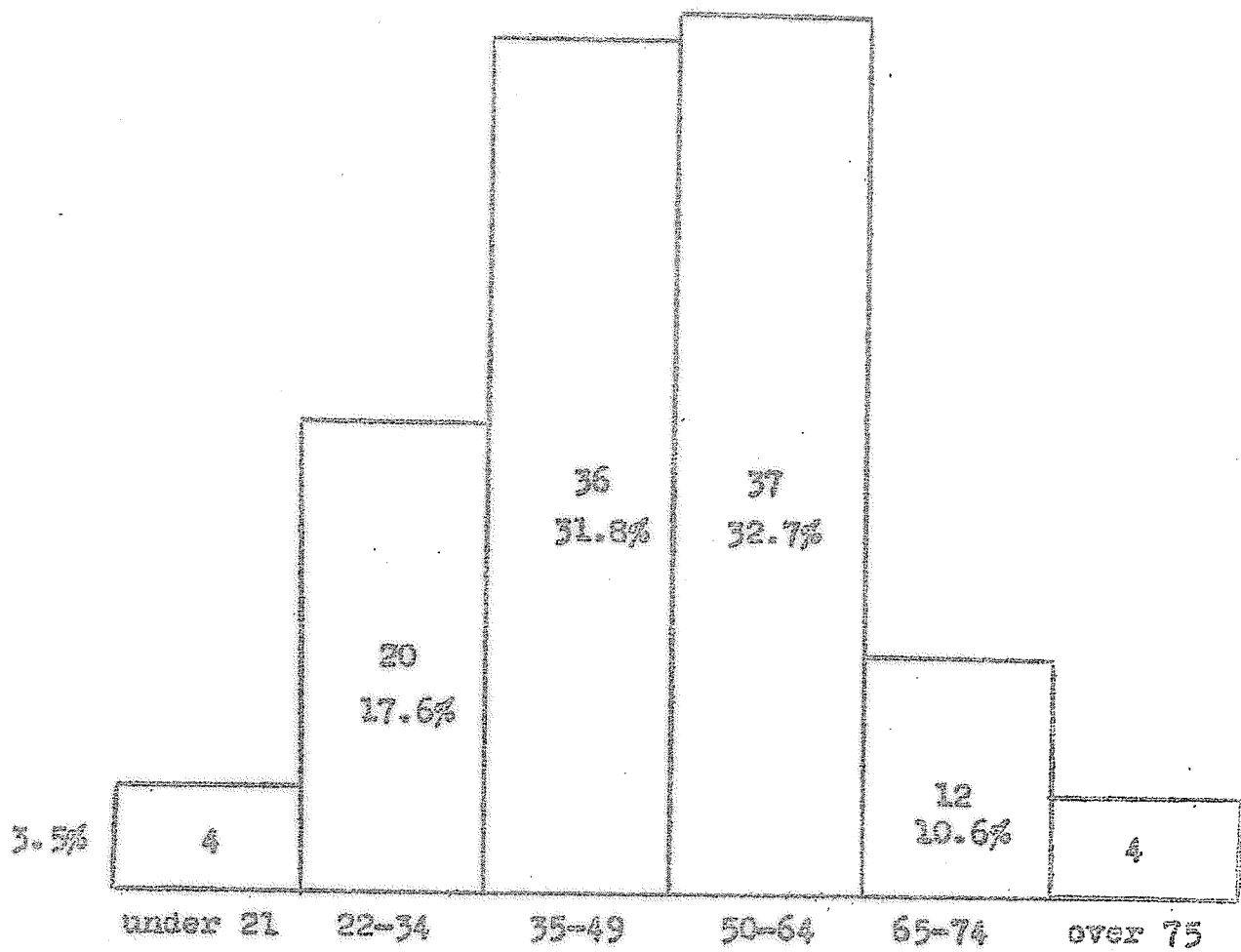
Education

Also contributing to the decline in recruits to the industry would be the factor of education.⁴ A generally higher level

³Jeremy Tunstall (The Fishermen, London, Macgibbon and Kee, 1962, page 17), in a study of the Hull fishermen, suggests that an important factor in influencing young men into fishing is the desire to escape from a position of low prestige ashore. The recruits are drawn from the lower class. "One reason why these boys want to go on trawlers and see the shore only at infrequent intervals is that they are trying to say 'No' to their inferior position in the class system. At sea they are not inferior on a class basis." We accept the limited applicability of this analysis to our situation. But we do suggest that it is limited because our fishermen do not reside in an urban area of diverse and sharply drawn class distinctions as is presumably the case in Hull, England. Rather, as ARDA's concern bears witness, the sample area is a rural area characterized by a marginal economy.

⁴A related factor which can be surmised but not drawn from our data would be the permeation of urban values to the rural area from which our sample was drawn. The mass media, and even the flood of urbanites to the area as vacationers, would tend to have an effect upon this formerly secluded area. Hence, the aspirations of youth will have altered. Fishing is less desirable, and education as a means to "greater things" is more likely to be accepted by parents as well as by offspring.

FIGURE 4 Age Structure of Sample of Fishermen



of educational achievement would tend to permit youths to obtain jobs elsewhere than in the fishing industry.⁵ As many older fishermen pointed out, there was not the time, and often not the facilities, for education when they were children. Taken out on the fishing boats by their fathers while still young, often from ten to twelve years of age, the fishermen of the currently older generation were unable to obtain any measure of formal education. Even when not pushed into the industry, the fishermen of that generation soon decided for themselves that there was a living to be earned and time spent in school was time wasted. Today, less likely to be driven by economic necessity, youths are able to stay in school longer, especially since the facilities are now available.

Yet, quite conceivably, when youths do leave school without having achieved a great deal of education, they will turn to fishing, especially if they have a relative in the industry. Education is highly valued by the Icelanders and a young man lacking education may well find sanctuary from this social demand on the Lake.

⁵Richardson, referring to fishing communities on the Canadian East Coast, noted: "Advanced education and vocational training...means that the boys will almost certainly settle away from the islands where there are few occupations open besides fishing." (Richardson, "Technological Change: Some Effects on Three Canadian Fishing Villages", Human Organization 11: pp. 20-21, 1952.)

The majority of fishermen possessed formal educations of grades five to eight. Approximately fifty per cent were in this educational category. Only 24.7 per cent possessed any measure of high school education. Twenty-eight fishermen, that is, 24.7 per cent, had less than a grade five education.

Marital Status

Very few of the fishermen interviewed were unmarried. Twenty-four fishermen (21.2%) were single, and five (4.4%) were widowers. The remaining eighty-four respondents (74.3%) were married. Apparently the occupational feature of many weeks from home does not detract from the fisherman's desirability as a marital partner.⁶ However, we have no indication of the stability of the fishermen's marriages. No divorces were reported, but it is unlikely that divorce would be economically practicable for an individual of the fisherman's socio-economic status. However, no separations were reported, allowing one to speculate that the marriages are at least not unusually unstable.⁷

⁶Tunstall (Ibid., pages 141-142) also found that the Hull fishermen were generally married by their late twenties.

⁷Due to the lengthy absences of the fishermen, probably the wife assumes a very important and dominant role in the family, perhaps extending to a large measure of influence over the fisherman himself.

Income

The modal income of the fishermen interviewed was from \$1,000 to \$2,000 for the tax year of 1962. This sum represented income from all sources, fishing and otherwise, after operating expenses. Thirty-two fishermen, or 28.3 per cent, reported incomes from one to two thousand dollars. Twenty-three respondents, that is, 20.3 per cent, reported incomes below \$1,000. Twenty fishermen, 17.6 per cent, indicated incomes ranging from \$2,000 to \$3,000. Twenty-one (18.4 per cent) indicated incomes of \$3,000 to \$6,000, and six fishermen claimed incomes in excess of \$6,000. Ten fishermen did not reply to the question. Such extremes in income conceivably are characteristic of fishing. Tunstall also reported wide variations in income, ranging from a low hourly rate for deckworkers, "Probably the lowest paid workers in any British industry," to incomes of approximately five thousand pounds per year for trawler skippers.⁸

Forty fishermen, 35.3 per cent, derived one hundred per cent of their incomes from fishing. Thirty-eight fishermen, or 33.5 per cent, earned less than fifty per cent of their incomes from fishing.

⁸Ibid., page 12.

Alternative Employment

The majority of fishermen indicated that they would be willing to leave fishing should a suitable alternative employment prove available. Seventy-two fishermen, 63.7 per cent, declared that they would be willing to give up fishing. Those who replied negatively generally excused themselves on the basis of old age.

When questioned regarding the alternative employment which they would find satisfactory, the most frequently mentioned occupations were carpentry, trucking and farming. At no time did a respondent indicate a desire for technical training. The most ambitious respondent desired a government position as a "lighthouse keeper". A low level of aspiration, probably realistically so, was general, with the respondents apparently reconciled to a position requiring no skills, that is, no formal training.⁹

Though many of the fishermen indicated a desire to abandon the fishing industry, it is unlikely that many would voluntarily give it up entirely.¹⁰ One reason is that there are simply not that

⁹Actually many of the fishermen do appear quite "skilled" though they lack formal training. Many apparently are excellent carpenters. Many spend some time in boat-building.

¹⁰Tunstall reports: "Fishermen at sea talk a good deal about their desire to get well-paid jobs ashore." (Ibid., page 143.)

many alternate employment opportunities available for unskilled persons. In particular, there are very few alternative employments that would at least promise the gamble of the "big catch".

The fisherman longs for the shore but when he is ashore the humble position and low pay which it offers him usually sends him back to sea.¹¹

Organizational Affiliations and Attitudes

Community Organizations

Reflecting the long periods of time away from home demanded of the fishermen was the low number of voluntary organizational memberships reported. Seventy-one (62.8%) of the fishermen belonged to no community organizations. Twenty-two (19.4%) indicated one membership, ten (8.8%) indicated two, and seven (6.1%) indicated three. Only three fishermen belonged to more than four organizations.

Fishermen's Federation Membership

Even fishermen in the Fishermen's Federation were few. Only fifty-four fishermen, or 47.7 per cent, were members of this organization. It is this lack of general support that to a very

¹¹Ibid., page 147.

great extent denies the fishermen a more influential voice in the affairs of the industry.¹²

In large part the lack of support can be attributed to an apparent sense of individualism upon which the fishermen pride themselves. Their consciousness of kind appears strong, that is, the well-feeling of the fishermen as members of a distinctive occupational group.¹³ But group solidarity or cohesiveness, that is, the tendency

¹²Low Fishermen's Federation membership will be discussed in Chapter IX.

¹³This in-group association of fishermen appears to a very great extent to be oriented about drinking. Many of the fishermen, from the time they arrive from the Lake spend their time drinking, in the beverage rooms when they are open, and at their homes when the "pubs" are closed. Drinking seems to be a tradition among the fishermen and is often referred to with pride. It is a trademark of the fishermen, in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. Of course, this drinking may not be actually excessive in comparison to that of non-fishermen, but simply more concentrated, and hence more conspicuous. Nonetheless, it is the accepted stereotype and does seem to serve the function of holding together the fisherman in-group. Tunstall observed of the Hull fishermen: "At sea a fisherman suffers, but when ashore he has money to spare. He is unlikely to have any self-improving hobbies. His favorite relaxation is drinking, mainly with other fishermen, because only they are free all day when ashore, have the same attitude to life, and the same spare cash.....When fishermen drink they buy rounds compulsively. Giving away drinks buys a man status--even if only temporary." (Tunstall, The Fisherman, London, Macgibbon and Kee, 1962, page 137.)

of the members to stand together, appears to be very weak.¹⁴ The lack of solidarity in part can be explained by reference to the control that the companies exercise over the fishermen. The fishermen possess little security and therefore one man's job often means another's unemployment.

There is another reason for the poor support offered the Fishermen's Federation. To a remarkable degree the fishermen are resigned to the existing state of the industry. One respondent, commenting on his fellows, expressed this attitude as follows:

...they are in a rut. They accept the situation the way it is; they don't want to change.

Often we encountered a rationalization for the lack of interest shown by the fishermen in their own Federation. They would explain:

What's the use? We can't do anything anyway.

Notably Tunstall observed the same attitude among the Hull fishermen.

He is cynical about the union leadership, and also insists that not only can you not change fishing, but you cannot change fishermen.¹⁵

¹⁴The question of group solidarity will be discussed further in Chapters VIII and IX.

¹⁵Ibid., page 173.

The fisherman, then, is intensely fatalistic. There is sometimes in his fatalism an element of wilfulness, almost of delight. He seems at times to be in love with the system which he believes to be corrupt.¹⁶

Whyte, commenting upon the New England fishermen, noted very much the same characteristic attitude.

The fishermen are highly individualistic, very 'short-run' in outlook, and in a sense, 'crisis-minded'. Having spent long hours at sea battling the ocean and elements--and surviving often only through his own resourcefulness--the average fisherman has a powerful sense of self-reliance. Moreover, he is quite content to let tomorrow take care of itself; it is the 'here and now' which concerns him.....he is not easy to arouse unless the situation is really 'tough'.¹⁷

The Marketing System

The Lake Winnipeg fisherman generally explained his inaction by reference to the commercial fish companies. "They run things so what can the fishermen do?", was the typical attitude. Asked who exercised the greatest influence on the Lake, 78.7 per cent (89) of the fishermen cited the companies. Only 13.2 per cent (15) selected the government.

The individual fisherman on Lake Winnipeg is very much

¹⁶Ibid., page 174.

¹⁷Donald J. Whyte, The New England Fishing Industry, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, page 48, 1954.

dependent upon the commercial fish companies for his equipment and hence for his livelihood. Few fishermen own the boats that they use on the Lake. The fishing craft are the property of the companies, as is much of the gear, including nets. Before the beginning of each season the fisherman contracts to supply a particular company with his catch, and it is from this company that the fisherman acquires his equipment. A skipper renting a boat is no less dependent than the ordinary deck laborer unless the skipper is a man of rather substantial means, owning a great deal of his own equipment and fish packing facilities. Very often before even leaving shore the fisherman is in debt to the companies, having obtained loans on the strength of a catch yet to be realized. As one respondent explained it:

The companies get the fishermen needing equipment. They get a strangle-hold on them.

Not surprisingly, then, the fisherman, from his vantage point, sees the companies as the most powerful force on the Lake.

Associated with this dependence upon the commercial fish companies is a general dissatisfaction among the fishermen with the currently existing marketing system. The companies control the equipment, the marketing, and hence, the price the fisherman receives for his catch. Thus, sixty-two fishermen, 54.8 per cent,

expressed the desire for some form of fishermen's cooperative. Twenty-one fishermen, 18.5 per cent, favored a government marketing agency, though many expressed concern over the Saskatchewan government's attempt in this regard. Only thirteen respondents, 11.5 per cent, indicated satisfaction with the existing system.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preliminary discussion of the data the dominant characteristics of the respondents were noted.

The great majority of the fishermen interviewed were of Icelandic descent. Generally the traditional affiliation with the Lutheran Church was claimed.

Very few young men appeared to be entering the industry, promising a sharp decline in the number of fishermen as the present generation retires. Undoubtedly contributing to the decrease in recruits to the industry is an improvement in educational opportunities and a general decline in the promise of the fishing industry.

Although extremes of high and low income were found associated with the fishermen, the majority of the fishermen earned less than two thousand dollars in 1962. Similarly, the majority depended upon fishing for greater than fifty per cent of their incomes.

The fishermen generally did not participate in community voluntary organizations. Social relationships appeared to be largely confined to other fishermen. Yet group solidarity appeared weak as even a rudimentary Fishermen's Federation has been unable to attract support.

Many fishermen expressed dissatisfaction with the current state of the fishing industry, and their position relative to it. The influence of the companies was singled out as a particular point of dissatisfaction. However, in large part the fishermen appeared reconciled to the existing conditions, unwilling and convinced that they are unable to alter the situation to their satisfaction.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENTIAL FISHERMEN

Faced with a situation in the industry which they generally assessed as undesirable, the fishermen require competent leadership to achieve a remedy. Similarly, to implement change in the industry the government requires that the fishermen be provided leaders. This leadership need not come from within the group of fishermen. Preferably, however, it would.

From within the cohort of fishermen respondents thirteen fishermen were distinguished by their fellows as influentials or leaders. Seven of the influentials were Gimli residents, two were Hecla Islanders, two were from Selkirk, one was from Riverton, one was from Arnes-Hnausa.

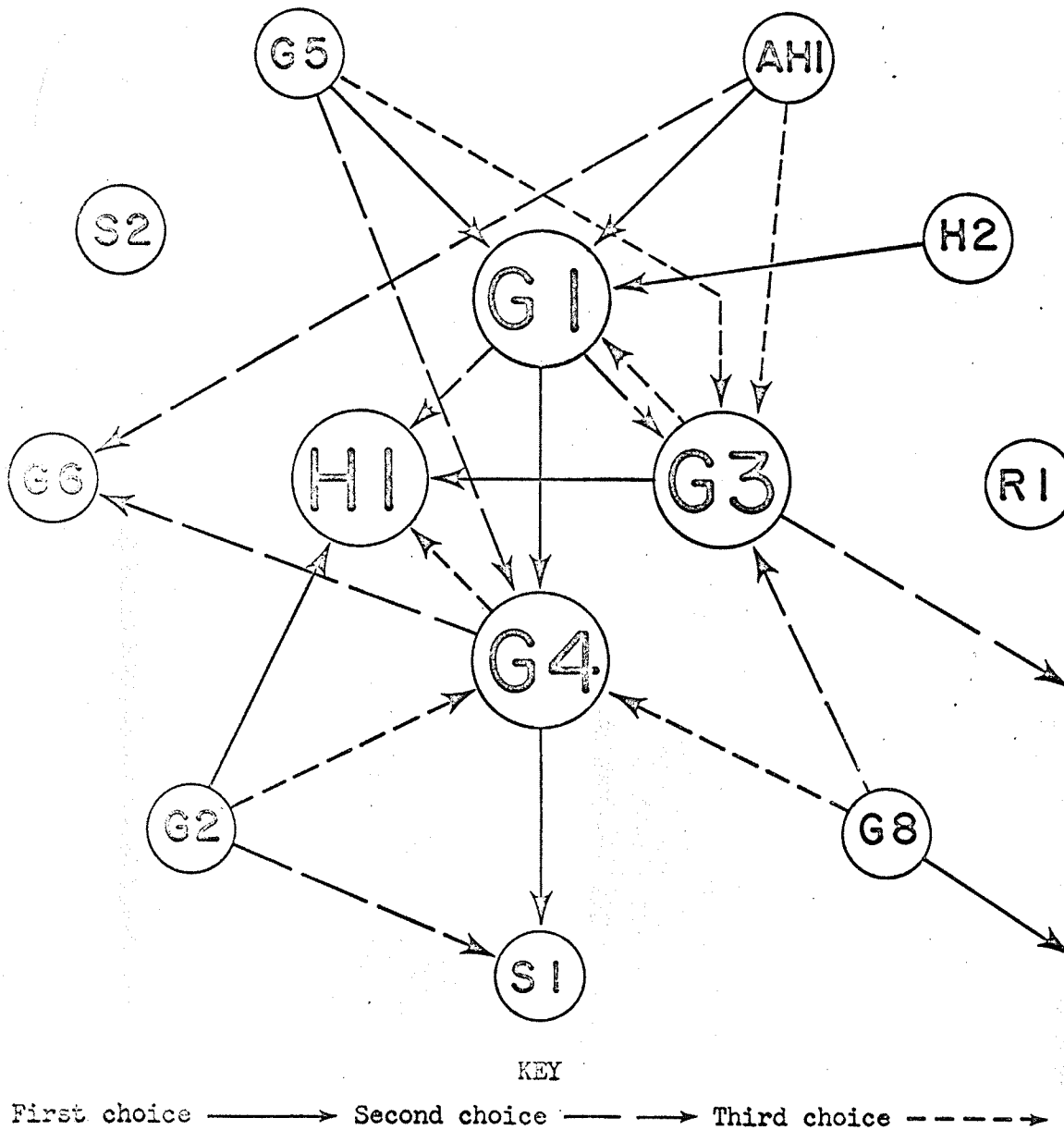
Of these thirteen individuals we obtained interviews with nine. Two of the leaders not interviewed were residents of Selkirk, beyond our sample area. They were both Icelandic-Canadians. The remaining two uninterviewed leaders were no longer working in the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry and could not be contacted. One was fishing on Great Slave Lake and the other was working in northern Manitoba for the provincial government. Unfortunately, this latter individual, H1, was one of four "top" influentials, that is, most frequently selected by the respondents.

TABLE I V

Dominant Characteristics of Leaders and Non-Leaders

	<u>Leaders</u>		<u>Non-Leaders</u>		<u>Cohort</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Totals	(9)	100.0	(104)	100.0	(113)	100.0
Icelandic	(8)	88.9	(89)	85.6	(97)	85.8
Lutheran	(8)	88.9	(67)	65.6	(75)	66.3
35 to 49 years	(7)	77.7	(29)	27.9	(36)	31.8
50 to 64 years	(1)	11.1	(36)	34.6	(37)	32.7
Grades 5 to 8	(4)	44.4	(53)	50.9	(57)	50.4
\$0 - \$3,000 income	(0)	0	(75)	71.4	(75)	66.3
\$3,000-\$5,000 income	(5)	55.6	(15)	14.4	(20)	17.7
100% fishing income	(5)	55.6	(35)	33.6	(40)	35.3
Federation members	(9)	100.0	(45)	43.3	(54)	47.7
No voluntary memberships	(1)	11.1	(70)	67.4	(71)	62.8
Desire to leave fishing	(7)	77.8	(65)	62.5	(72)	63.7
Companies as power	(6)	66.7	(83)	79.8	(89)	78.7
Cooperative marketing agencies preferred	(7)	77.8	(55)	52.9	(62)	54.8

FIGURE 7: Sociogram indicating the leadership choices of the nine influentials identified by the direct method.



© Reproduced from L.B. Siemens, D.P. Forcese,
Leadership Patterns in a Manitoba Agricultural-
Fishing Community, Winnipeg, Queen's Printer,
 1964, page 32.

Four influentials, G1, G3, G4 and H1 were most frequently selected by the respondents, and H1 most frequently selected by the other three top influentials (Figure 5). Significantly, many of our respondents had remarked that the "best men get out of fishing".

Social Characteristics

Ethnic Origins

Eight of nine of the leaders interviewed were Icelandic. Thus, 89 per cent of the leadership as compared to 85.2 per cent of the rank and file fishermen were Icelandic Canadians.¹ Our results, then, corresponded exactly to what one would expect knowing the composition of the total sample.

Religious Affiliations

Similarly, the religious memberships of the influentials were consistent with the indicated religions of the total cohort. Eight leaders were Lutheran while one leader indicated membership in no religious denomination. A slightly smaller proportion, 65.6 per cent, of the non-leaders were Lutheran, while 23.5 per cent in-

¹The four leaders whom we were unable to interview were also Icelandic Canadians. Therefore the percentage of Icelanders would be 92.3.

licated that they were associated with no church.

Age

In age our influentials varied somewhat from the modal age of the rank and file. They also varied from the ages generally found to characterize leaders of urban communities. For example, Floyd Hunter, in reporting his now classic study of "Regional City", noted that: "All of our top leaders are about fifty years of age. Several of them are well past 60."²

Our leaders were comparatively youthful, mostly middle-aged. Seven of the nine leaders whom we interviewed were between thirty-five and forty-nine years of age. One was younger. Only one influential was over fifty years of age, falling in the fifty to sixty-four age group.

These figures were sharply out of proportion with those of the non-leaders. The average age of the influentials was clearly below that of the fishermen at large. The modal age for the influentials was thirty-five to forty-nine years, and for the non-leaders fifty to sixty-four years. Moreover, the non-leader group

²F. Hunter, Community Power Structure, Garden City, Doubleday and Company, p. 41, 1963. (First published by the University of California Press, 1953.)

ranged to an extreme of over seventy-five years of age while no leader was older than sixty-four.

The explanation of the distinctive age of the fishermen influentials as opposed to leaders discerned by other leadership investigators and in relation to the remainder of our cohort, is probably to be found in the very nature of the occupation of our respondents. Fishing is a very rigorous task, demanding long working hours, long periods of time away from home, and intensive labor. Such being the case it would naturally incline to be a young man's work, especially since even the master of a fishing boat must "pull his weight" physically.³ We suggest, then, that to some extent, the vigor of youth proves more important than the sagacity of age in the selection of leaders by the fishermen.

Education

Education also appears to be related to leadership. Grades successfully completed by the leaders were somewhat higher than those of the non-leaders. The modal educational achievement for each ranged from grades five to eight. Yet five leaders had reached

³Often there is really not even a question of being master of a fishing boat as many of the fishermen operate from skiffs.

high school, grades nine to twelve, as compared to 23.5 per cent of the non-leaders. There were no leaders with less than a grade five education, while there were 27.4 per cent (23) of the non-leaders with a grade four or less education. Indeed, there were five fishermen with no formal education whatsoever.

Though the influentials were thus characterized by somewhat higher education, in no cases beyond grade 12, it is obvious that education is not an independent factor. It is quite likely that the higher formal education of the leaders is simply a reflection of their relative youth. They have had a greater opportunity to acquire an education. Yet, despite this relationship between age and education, we would be hasty to simply dismiss the variable of education. Our discussion of Icelandic values emphasized that education is very highly regarded by the Icelandic Canadians. Indeed, it is vigorously promoted. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that the educational status of the leaders was a significant factor in the prestige assigned them by the fishermen at large. Their educational superiority is not great, but it is the best available from within the ranks of the fishermen.⁴

⁴Often a respondent, when asked about leaders from among the fishermen, would reply that there are no able leaders because there are no fishermen with an adequate education. This was also the reason frequently offered for the fishermen's inability to establish a viable Federation, and a marketing cooperative.

Income

The variable of income is the third member of the triad of factors which we believe to be centrally characteristic of the leadership group. These three variables, age, education, and income, appear to be very closely interrelated.

The influentials' reported total net incomes for the year 1962 were well above those of the rank and file. The single exception was G2 who indicated a loss in 1962; since his loss was the result of a substantial capital investment we need not regard this individual as a serious exception. The modal income of the leadership group was in the \$4,000 to \$5,000 category. The modal income category for the fishermen at large was \$1,000 to \$2,000. Thus, the incomes of the non-leaders ranged from \$2,000 to \$4,000 less than the incomes of the influentials. With the one exception already mentioned, no leader had an income below \$3,000, while 71.4 per cent of the non-leaders indicated incomes below \$3,000. One influential had an income ranging between \$5,000 to \$6,000, and one beyond \$6,000. The non-leaders were represented by five individuals reporting incomes in excess of \$6,000 in 1962. Generally, then, the leaders were characterized by an income level higher than that of the non-leaders.

All of the leaders indicated that over 50 per cent of their incomes were from fishing, the one exception being G2 because of the

loss he suffered. Deriving their incomes entirely from fishing were five of the leaders. Of the non-leaders, 55.6 indicated an income of which over 50 per cent was derived from fishing. But only 33.6 per cent indicated a 100 per cent dependency.

If we take the percentage of income derived from fishing as an index of commitment to fishing, that is, as a means of distinguishing "full-time" fishermen from "part-time" fishermen, we will note that the leaders were predominantly full-time. That is, 50 per cent of their incomes or more were derived from fishing.

Characteristic of the influentials, then, were relatively higher incomes and a greater commitment to fishing. Needless to say, the factor of higher income would appear to be closely related to those of age and education. Their youth enabled the influentials to achieve a measure of success in fishing since the occupation demands physical strength. Moreover education may have allowed the leaders a greater ability to adapt to new techniques in the industry. Perhaps higher education has rendered them less "tradition-bound" than the fishermen at large and more amenable to innovations that would permit greater success in fishing. For example, of the "top leaders", G1 has invested substantially in the newly introduced trap-nets⁵ which are very much opposed by the majority of fishermen.

⁵Other influentials may have also. Our data does not include this information. However, we know from our experience in the field that G1 is using trap-nets.

And conversely, initial success in the industry, perhaps attributable to youth, has provided the influentials with the capital with which to invest in such new devices, as well as older gear. The leaders have "risk capital" that the rank and file lack. The process, therefore, very much resembles the proverbial vicious circle. But the end result is greater income and greater prestige.

Organizational Memberships and Attitudes

Community Memberships

Local organizations in the community appeared to be neglected by the rank and file fishermen, while they were supported to a somewhat greater extent by the influentials. Of the influentials, only one indicated no community memberships while 67.4 per cent of the non-leaders were non-joiners. The mode for the influentials was two memberships, and for the non-leaders, no memberships. Two leaders indicated memberships in excess of two, as did eight non-leaders.

Thus the influentials did appear to find more time than the majority of the rank and file to interact with the non-fishermen in their communities. Possibly this is another reason for their leadership status. Greater community contacts could produce a more cosmopolitan attitude among the influentials. This attitude may be valued by the fishermen at large who find themselves generally lack-

ing in social prestige.⁶

Fishermen's Federation Membership

Membership in the Fishermen's Federation was low among the fishermen generally. However, each of the influentials interviewed was a member. Moreover, three of the influentials were officers in the organization, while the others had held some executive position in the past. Only 43.3 per cent of the non-leaders were members of the Federation. The leaders nominated by the respondents would therefore appear to correspond with the formal leaders,⁷ although less than half of the non-leaders are themselves members of the Federation and considerably fewer are active members.

Their prominence in the Fishermen's Federation would suggest that the influentials possess the inclination and ability to assume leadership functions. Petruccio and Bass, generalizing about

⁶See Bernard R. Blishen's "occupational class scale" in Blishen *et al*, Canadian Society, Toronto, The Macmillan Co.; New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, p. 484.

⁷Richard Laskin has hypothesized that in non-urban communities the formal and the informal leaders are likely to coincide. (Laskin and Phillett, Leadership Identification in Large and Small Communities, Research Review, Center for Community Studies, Saskatchewan, 1963. See also, Laskin, "A Depth Study of Small Community Leadership", unpublished research proposal, Center for Community Studies, Saskatchewan, 1963.)

leadership, have remarked that the individual likely to assume the role of leader is one who has successfully led earlier, and has done so by virtue of his ability to deal with the group's problems.⁸

In another work Bass elaborates:

Who attempts to lead? He who has been successful earlier, for earlier success reinforces renewed attempts by the leader to exhibit the same behavior. Who will be successful as a leader? He who has been effective earlier, for earlier satisfaction to those who have followed the leader will reinforce their tendency to accept his continued attempts. Who will be effective, if he is successful? One member may reinforce the behavior of other members in two ways. He may have the ability to solve the group's problems; he may know how the group can achieve its goals attaining its rewards.⁹

The very desirable income level of the influentials indicates that personally the influentials have the ability to overcome occupational difficulties. Their better education indicates that they have the potential to solve the problems of the occupational group generally. Lack of success thus far with the Federation does not appear to have destroyed the confidence given them by their fellows as the comparable responses to the direct and indirect interview questions indicated. The same individuals were selected as actual

⁸L. Petruccio and B. Bass, Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961, p. 5.

⁹B. Bass, Leadership, Psychology, and Organizational Behavior, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1960, p. 140.

influentials as were selected when respondents were asked whom they would like to see represent them on a committee to seek a resolution of the problems of the fishermen.¹⁰ The influentials, then, would appear to be capable of successful leadership.

Alternative Employment

Despite their having gained greater economic success within the industry, a willingness to leave fishing was expressed by the influentials. Seven of the nine leaders conceded that they would be willing to leave fishing if the opportunity presented itself. Yet they have a great deal of money invested in the industry, more than the average fisherman. Moreover, it is unlikely that they could earn an income comparable to that which fishing provides them outside of the industry as they, like the fishermen generally, have little education and are unskilled. Therefore, the possibility of their actual withdrawal from the industry is questionable.¹¹

¹⁰See Figure 2, page 40 and Figure 3, page 40.

¹¹However, if any fishermen leave the industry it is more likely that the influentials will do so successfully because of the social attributes which we have discussed. In the process of interviewing we had occasion to meet several individuals who were at one time in fishing but who had now turned to other tasks. The striking fact was that so many of these men were regarded by the fishermen as "good men", men who were influential, and still retained a measure of influence although outside of the industry.

The Marketing System

Perceptions of power on the Lake by the fishermen approached unanimity. The fish companies were pinpointed as the power on the Lake. To paraphrase a frequent comment: "They even run the government."

Six of the nine leaders selected the commercial fish companies as most influential on the Lake, as did 79.8 per cent of the non-leaders. One leader selected the government, as did 13.5 per cent of the non-leaders. One leader suggested that power was distributed equally among fishermen and government, and one influential and one non-influential that power was shared by the companies and the government.

The second choice perceptions of the influentials and non-influentials were again comparable.

The marketing system preferred by both the influentials and the rank and file fishermen reflected the feeling that the commercial fish companies were currently getting their own way to the disadvantage of the fishermen. Seven of the nine leaders and 52.9 per cent of the non-leaders preferred a system of cooperative marketing. Five of the leaders and 39.4 per cent of the non-leaders preferred a single Lake Winnipeg fishermen's cooperative, and two leaders and 13.5 per cent non-leaders preferred a number of local

cooperatives. One leader preferred a government marketing agency, as did twenty non-leaders (19.2%). No leader indicated a desire for some arrangement of companies on the Lake, though the non-leaders, in small numbers, ranged through all the offered choices. One leader and six non-leaders suggested combinations, leaving room on the Lake for both companies and cooperatives.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A triad of variables comprised of age, education, and income, distinctively characterized the fishermen influentials. The influentials were generally younger, better educated, and earned higher incomes than the typical rank and file fishermen.

The three variables appeared closely interrelated. Youth likely explains both better education and higher income. In turn, higher income and better education probably are factors contributing to the esteem in which the influentials are held by their fellows.

Notably, the influentials nominated by the fishermen were all members of the Fishermen's Federation, assuming leading roles. Having achieved success economically in the fishing industry, having assumed leadership functions in the past, and possessing educational qualifications generally lacked by the fishermen at large, the influentials possessed the confidence of their fellows and the ability to successfully lead.

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENTIALS AND INNOVATORS

In Chapter V the leaders or influentials as determined by our research were discussed in relation to their basic social characteristics and attitudes. In this chapter, preliminary to a discussion of social change in the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry, the traits or characteristics of leaders, as discussed in the literature, shall be examined and compared with those of our leaders.

Secondly, the characteristics of innovators¹ generally agreed upon by researchers shall be discussed in relation to those discernible characteristics of the influential fishermen.

Leaders and Fishermen

Leadership, essentially, implies influence.² A leader

¹Our interview schedule did not allow for the gathering of data relating to innovators and the adoption of innovations. A comparison of leaders and the characteristics of innovators, therefore, will not establish that the influential fishermen are, or are not, in fact innovators. It will simply suggest.

²We define leadership as interpersonal influence, exercised in situation and directed, through the communication process, toward the attainment of a specified goal or goals. Leadership always involves attempts on the part of the leader (influencer) to affect (influence) the behavior of a follower (influencee) or followers in situation." (R. Tannenbaum et al, Leadership and Organization, New York, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill, 1961, p. 24.)

is an individual who by virtue of social position, personality, or both, influences the attitudes and actions of others. If a given leader's influence is derived solely from his formal position, such as that of an executive in a voluntary organization, then we speak of "formal leaders". Conversely, "informal leaders" are individuals whose influence is not by virtue of a formal leadership position.

The informal leader, whom we prefer to call an "influential", may derive his influence from personality features, and hence be thought of as "charismatic"³, or from social characteristics associated with his person, such as high income and high education. The social criteria of leadership will depend upon the cultural values of the given social system. Generally a combination of personal and social attributes will be involved in the designation of an informal leader.

The leader's influence may operate, generally speaking, in two alternative directions, or again, some combination of the two, depending upon degree of emphasis. The leader may be essentially concerned with preserving the current existence of his social group, as all leaders must be to some extent, or he may essentially

³Max Weber defined "charisma" as "...an extraordinary quality of person, regardless of whether this quality is actual, alleged, or presumed." (Max Weber in Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, New York, Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 295.)

be concerned with implementing social change. In the latter case, the group will be preserved, but its form altered. In both instances the leader's function is to preserve the group of which he is a member, but in the former case the leader resorts to tradition and resists change, while in the latter change is promoted.

Because the reputational method of leadership identification was employed rather than the positional, the leaders described in Chapter V were informal leaders. However, as was pointed out, there was a marked relationship between the informal leaders, or influentials, and individuals prominent in a formal organization,⁴ the Fishermen's Federation. It was found that each fisherman who was designated by our respondents as an influential had at some time occupied a position in either the central or local executive of the Fishermen's Federation.

However, the functioning of the influential fishermen appeared somewhat limited. The fishermen, characterized by a sense of individualism, have generally failed to rally about their leaders, as witnessed by the poor support given the Fishermen's Federation. The fishermen as a group appear to tend toward "low

⁴"A formal organization is a social organization that has been "formally established for the explicit purpose of achieving certain goals...." (P. Blau and W. Scott, Formal Organizations, San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Company, 1962, p. 5.)

group morale".⁵ Thus, though the leaders appeared to exercise a measure of influence among their fellows, they by no means have been able to weld and unify the actions and attitudes of the fishermen as a group. The leadership has been inadequate, in effect and numbers, if not in quality.⁶

⁵A group with "high morale" holds together through "internal cohesiveness rather than through mere external pressures", contains within itself a minimum of "divisive frictions", is adaptable to changing situations, involves frequent contact among the members, common goals, a "positive attitude" to group objectives and leaders, and lastly, the desire of the group to maintain itself. Conversely, a group of "low morale" "falls apart easily or breaks up into antagonistic subgroups once the external pressures holding it together are reduced", harbors "interpersonal frictions" and distrust, "fails to be self-governing of inner tensions", lacks friendly contacts among members, individual goals conflict with group goals, "members have negative attitudes toward the group objectives and its leadership", and lastly, there is "little feeling of identification and involvement in the group." (D. Krech and R. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology, New York, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948, p. 404-405.) All the above "low morale" characteristics would appear to apply to the fishermen with some modification, with the possible exception of "lack of friendly contacts" and "lack of identification with the group."

⁶"The further a group is from maximum effectiveness, the more leadership is possible and required; the closer to maximum effectiveness, the less leadership is necessary. Ineffectiveness may be described in terms of the complexity of problems, or it may be viewed in terms of the immaturity or lack of ability, training, or experience of the members. The relation is complicated by the fact that if effectiveness is too low initially, members may quit the group rather than change their behavior to solve the group's problems." (B. Bass, Leadership, Psychology, and Organizational Behavior, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1960, p. 134.) The fishermen's problems are many and unresolved. Education and technical training are generally low or absent. Many fishermen have left the industry, or express a desire to do so given the opportunity.

It is probable that the influential fishermen were selected by the respondents not so much because of actual leadership as because of their prestige. The influentials enjoyed this prestige essentially for two reasons. Firstly, and likely most important, they were financially the most successful fishermen on the Lake. Their incomes were among the highest and hence they enjoyed the respect of their fellows. Secondly, the influential fishermen were characterized by relatively higher education. Though grade twelve represented the maximum educational achievement, it appeared to be respected by the fishermen. By urban standards grade twelve is not a great deal, but to the fishermen, among whom grades five to eight are the mode, a high school education is to be looked up to.

Hence, the individuals nominated by the respondents as leaders were selected in large part because of the factors of high income and high education. This is not to discount the significance of leadership functions assumed in the past. Their formal positions in the Federation, whether as executives or simply as active members, indicated an attempt to lead. Undoubtedly this actual attempt at leadership was also very important in bringing about their informal selection by the fishermen. This factor must, however, be considered in conjunction with the two factors mentioned,

income and education.⁷

Innovators and Influential Fishermen

It was noted in Chapter V that the influential fishermen were generally younger than the rank and file, and displayed a greater number of voluntary organization memberships.

Our data also indicated that the influentials appeared to be more in contact with government agencies and such fishing information and news of concern to the industry as was available. All the influentials indicated that they regularly read the bulletin for commercial fishermen published by the Fisheries Branch of the Manitoba government. Only 54 per cent of the fishermen at large indicated that they read the bulletin often. As a further example, eight of the nine leaders reported that they were familiar with, and had read at least in part, the Report of the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future (COMEF) as it related to the fishing industry. Only 36 per cent of the non-leaders could say the same.

Comparing the characteristics of the influential fishermen with the characteristics of innovators⁸ as described in the

⁷A possible factor which we cannot measure empirically is the possible "charisma" of the influential fishermen.

⁸"By definition, innovators are the first to adopt new ideas in their social system." (E. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, New York, Free Press of Glencoe; London, Macmillan Press, 1962, page 193.)

literature, a marked correspondence is noted.

Rural sociologists, in studying the adoption of innovations⁹ among farm populations, have generally agreed upon several characteristics of the innovators. It has been found that youthfulness, better education, and a greater number of organizational memberships were related to the early adoption of innovations. Also associated was higher income, indicating that "risk capital" was necessary for an individual to undertake an innovation.

...it might be inferred tentatively that preliminary acceptance of a new technique would most readily be attained among the socially active, younger, better educated and large-scale operators.¹⁰

Moreover, researchers have found that the innovators were generally better informed than the rank and file.

⁹"An innovation is an idea perceived as new by the individual." (Ibid, page 13.) "An innovation is...any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms. Strictly speaking, every innovation is an idea, or constellation of ideas; but some innovations in their nature must remain mental organizations only, whereas others may be given overt and tangible expression. 'Innovation' is therefore a comprehensive term covering all kinds of mental constructs, whether they can be given sensible representation or not." (H. Barnett, Innovation, the Basis of Cultural Change, New York, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill, 1953, p. 7.)

¹⁰B. Ryan and N. Gross, Acceptance and Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities, Arnes, Iowa, Research Bulletin 372, 1950, p. 705. See also, How Farm People Accept New Ideas, Special Report No. 83, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1955, pp. 8 - 9.

...the innovators and early adopters seemed to have the ability to utilize impersonal sources of information, whereas the later majority and laggards seemed to require more personalized sources of information.¹¹

Thus, the innovator among the fishermen would read the fishermen's journal, and the average fishermen would rely upon contact with the Fishermen's Representative, neighbors and friends.

Implicit in the explanations offered by sociologists of the relationship between the above factors and the adoption of innovations is a distinction similar to Everett Rogers' tradition- and modern-oriented types,¹² or Robert Merton's "localites" and "cosmopolites".¹³ There are also the "sacred"- and "secular"- oriented types that may be derived from Howard Becker's "sacred"

¹¹G. Beal and E. Rogers, The Adoption of Two Farm Practices in a Central Iowa Community, Arnes, Iowa, Special Report 6, 1960, p. 19.

¹²E. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, New York, Free Press of Glencoe; London, Macmillan, 1962.

¹³This is a distinction popularized by R. K. Merton in his essay "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials", in Chapter X of Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1963. As Merton explained, they were adopted from Carle C. Zimmerman who employed them in translation of Ferdinand Toennies "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft". Merton applied them to individuals rather than societies. The dichotomy connotes localism versus outside awareness.

and "secular" dichotomy of societies.¹⁴

Though these typologies are not strictly synonymous, they are broadly similar. The common note in each of these ideal types is a distinction between the traditional and the modern, and a corresponding unfavorableness or favorableness of attitude toward social change.

Frequently throughout our discussion we have raised this distinction in reference to the fishermen. The influential fishermen, and other higher income and better educated fishermen, appeared to be more cosmopolitan than their fellows. In this regard, also, then, the influential fishermen would appear to match the generally accepted characteristics of innovators.

Thus, our data have indicated several individuals who would appear to satisfy the characteristics of innovators and/or early adopters. Yet, other researchers have found that

Leadership in organized community affairs was not related to leadership in the adoption of new techniques.¹⁵

Or, generalizing from the research done upon innovation rather than

¹⁴H. Becker, Through Values to Social Interpretation, Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1950, Chapter 5.

¹⁵Ryan and Gross, op.cit., page 705.

reporting a specific study, Rogers comments that:

...the innovator is not always the most respected member of a system. He prefers venture-someness to the respect of his peers.¹⁶

In short, the innovator has often been a deviant. Whether or not an innovator is a deviant or a respected influential often depends upon the nature of his milieu. Specifically, if the given social system is tradition-oriented the innovator will likely be considered deviant. On the other hand, if the social system is modern-oriented the leader or influential may well also be the innovator.

Elements of both tradition- and modern-orientation appeared evident in the group of fishermen. As always, reality does not perfectly fit the ideal types. Conceivably the modern-orientation prevails.¹⁷

We suggest, however, that our situation differs in one essential respect from that reported in the literature. The fishermen represent a low status occupational group within a broader rural community. They do not comprise the entire community as the farmers studied by rural sociologists. Therefore, conceivably, there is no distinction to be made between the innovator and the influential. The influential is not a leader in the broader commu-

¹⁶Rogers, op.cit., page 193.

¹⁷The question of whether a modern- or a tradition-orientation prevails among the fishermen will recur in Chapter IX.

nity, but within a specific occupational group within the broader community. Quite specifically, the influential within an occupational group need not strictly reflect the norms and values of the followers. He is allowed variation without disapproval, especially when the group lacks cohesion and is uncoordinated, as is the group of fishermen. Non-conformity is less difficult. Whereas a leader in the broader community to a large extent would have to conform to the ideas of the followers, among the fishermen an influential may well be the individual who is simply succeeding to such an extent that he is able to meet with acceptance within the broader community.¹⁸

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The influential fishermen appeared to be individuals selected because of their higher incomes and educations, and because of the measure of renown which they have achieved by virtue of their activities in the Fishermen's Federation. They appeared to be men who were respected by their fellows but thus far unsuccessful in really leading, that is, consciously and effectively bringing about

¹⁸This, of course, is speculation. We suggest it as an hypothesis to be tested. Our cohort of influentials is extremely small and all that we have established is that those individuals whom the fishermen have called leaders happen to possess characteristics commonly associated with innovators.

a specific action or opinion among the fishermen.

It was suggested that the influential fishermen were similar in many characteristics to innovators, despite the fact that researchers have generally disassociated leaders from innovators. However, notably, the fishermen influentials were not leaders in the community at large, but leaders of rather limited influence among a specific and diffusely situated occupational group. The members of this occupational group represented only a fraction of the larger communities of which they were a part. Hence, the dimension was unique, confined to a specific group within a broader community, rather than the broader community itself. Similarly, the leadership was not strictly comparable to that which rural sociologists have found disassociated with innovation. In short, we suggested that leadership and the adoption of innovations may indeed coincide within a given occupational group when that occupational group does not dominate the community at large, and especially when that occupational group lacks solidarity and prestige.

The influential fishermen appeared to be more cosmopolitan than the non-influentials. Ryan and Gross suggest that

...the farmers most emancipated from the traditional closely built neighborhood life more

readily emancipate themselves from a traditional technique.¹⁹

Our data have indicated several individuals, non-influentials as well as influentials, who would appear to satisfy the characteristics of innovators and early adopters. These individuals would be the focal point of a programme for change.

¹⁹Ibid., page 707.

CHAPTER VII

THE MARGINAL FISHERMAN

Distinguishable from the influentials and the fishermen as a group was a number of fishermen whose participation in fishing was marginal. Frequently, during the course of interviews and conversations, respondents would vaguely distinguish between full-time and part-time fishermen. If the respondent was himself "bona fide", that is, full-time, then very often the reference was accompanied by some antagonism.

Marginal, that is, part-time, fishermen, able to fish or not fish as they chose, were generally resented by the more committed fishermen. If the season was bad the marginal fishermen could tend to affairs other than fishing, and if the season promised to be good, he could turn to the quick gain to be reaped from fishing.

The marginal fisherman was found in a diversity of "shore" occupations. Trucking, mink ranching, carpentry, were not at all uncommon. But most frequently our respondents would specify farmer-fishermen as the outstanding grievance.¹

¹Certainly it is easy enough to fish in Lake Winnipeg if one chooses. A commercial fishing license is inexpensive and if an individual happens to live by the Lake and has time available, as the farmer, for example, then it is little trouble to set a net

Only the people who live off the Lake should have a license, and not the farmers.

Yet, in the course of our study we encountered few fishermen who did not to some extent engage in some work outside of fishing. And, we discovered only twenty-one farmer-fishermen in our sample.

The fishermen could not provide us with a clear indication of just how one distinguished between a "bona fide" and a part-time fisherman. But the dichotomy was so frequently mentioned that we have attempted such a division. In this chapter, therefore, we shall examine the social and attitudinal characteristics of those fishermen earning more than fifty per cent of their incomes by fishing, whom we shall characterize as full-time fishermen, as compared with the characteristics of fishermen deriving less than fifty per cent of their incomes from fishing, the part-time or marginal fishermen.

The farmer-fishermen will be examined separately, not on the basis of an income distinction, but on the basis of a respondent's having indicated engagement in farming as well as fishing.

or two in the Lake. It is especially inexpensive to legally fish since a given license covers but one of four possible fishing seasons in a year. Thus it is found that a large influx of men into fishing generally occurs in summer when fishing is less rigorous physically and decreases in other seasons, especially in winter. Many fishermen feel that one yearly license would resolve this situation by being more prohibitive in cost.

In this manner we shall examine the relevance of the part-time fishermen to the fishing industry and to change in the industry. We wish to determine whether the marginal fishermen in general and the farmer-fishermen in particular can be overlooked in a change programme.

The Marginal Fisherman

Thirty-eight fishermen earned less than fifty per cent of their incomes from fishing and thus fell into our marginal category. Of this thirty-eight, twenty-five could be classified as "extreme marginals",² as they derived less than thirty per cent of their livelihoods from the fishing industry.

Conversely, sixty-seven fishermen qualified for full-time categorization, fifty-one per cent of whom fell into the 80 to 100 per cent range of dependency.

Ethnic Origins

Since 85.8 per cent of the total cohort indicated that they were Icelandic Canadians it is not unexpected that there was

²An examination of the "extreme" marginal and full-time fishermen disclosed no variation distinctive from variation between the broad groupings. Hence only the broad groupings will be discussed in this chapter.

TABLE V
 Dominant Characteristics of Marginal
 and Full-time Fishermen

	<u>Marginal</u>		<u>Full-time</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Totals	(38)	100.0	(67)	100.0 [@]
Icelandic	(31)	82.7	(60)	90.6
Lutheran	(19)	51.0	(50)	75.6
35 to 49 years	(14)	36.8	(19)	29.4
50 to 64 years	(9)	24.7	(25)	38.3
Grades 5 to 8	(19)	51.0	(35)	53.2
\$0 - \$3,000 income	(19)	51.0	(36)	53.7
\$3 - \$5,000 income	(11)	28.9	(22)	32.7
Federation members	(12)	31.6	(39)	58.2
No voluntary memberships	(22)	57.9	(47)	70.1
Desire to leave fishing	(29)	76.4	(38)	56.7

[@] Note that the total number of respondents discussed is 105 and not 113 due to the refusal of eight fishermen to disclose income proportions.

little variation in this respect among our sub-groups. So slight as to be utterly insignificant was the higher proportion of Icelanders evident in the full-time group. In the full-time category 90.6 per cent of the fishermen were Icelandic Canadians. This proportion compares to that of 82.7 per cent in the marginal group. Thus, insofar as ethnic origins are concerned, the marginal fisherman was not distinguishable from the fishermen at large.

Religion

Church membership, however, did vary distinctly among the groupings. Seventy-six per cent of the full-time grouping were members of the Lutheran Church. But only 51 per cent of the marginal grouping were Lutheran. Seven per cent of the full-timers were affiliated with other religious organizations as compared with 19.4 per cent of the marginals, while 20.4 per cent and 32.6 per cent of the full-timers and the marginals, respectively, were non-affiliates of a church organization.

In part this variation may be explained by the slight ethnic variation noted earlier. That is, the greater incidence of non-Lutheran church affiliations in the marginal group is likely associated with the non-Icelanders. However, this accounts for only a fraction of the variation. It does not explain the higher rate of non-church members in the marginal grouping. We suggest, as has

been suggested earlier, that possibly the part-timers are less tradition-bound than the full-timers,³ experiencing as they do more contacts outside of the fishing industry. Less intimately associated with the fisherman in-group, the traditional Lutheran Church membership is not meaningful.

Age

The ages of the full-time and the marginal fishermen were similar. Twenty-two per cent of the marginal fishermen were younger than thirty-five years of age, 36.8 per cent between thirty-five and forty-nine years of age, and 36.2 per cent beyond fifty years of age. Of the full-time fishermen, 24.4 per cent, 29.4 per cent, and 49.7 per cent were younger than thirty-five, between thirty-five and fifty, and beyond fifty, respectively.

Marital Status

In marital status there again appeared little to distinguish the marginal from the full-time fisherman. Seventy-four per cent of the marginals and 71.6 per cent of the full-timers were

³It could be noted that Fuguitt, looking at the part-time farmer, made much the same hypothesis. Yet, he found, upon testing the hypothesis, that the part-time fishermen appeared no less tradition-bound than the full-time farmer. See Glenn Fuguitt, "A Typology of the Part-time Farmer", Rural Sociology 26: pp. 39-48.

married, 2.6 per cent and 6 per cent of the marginals and full-timers, respectively, were divorced, and 23.7 per cent of the former and 22.4 per cent of the latter were single.

Education

The educational achievements of the two groupings were also comparable. The modal education for each was the grades five to eight range, containing 51 per cent of the marginals and 53.2 per cent of the full-timers. Eight per cent of the marginals and 7.5 per cent of the full-time fishermen had successfully completed grade 12. At no level did education vary significantly between our two categories.

Income

Total net incomes were similarly comparable. Though the economic base of the marginal fisherman may be more diversified, he does not appear to earn more than the full-time fisherman. Earning less than \$2,000 were 51 per cent of the marginals and 53.7 per cent of the full-timers. Netting \$2,000 to \$4,000 were 28.9 per cent of the marginal fishermen and 32.7 per cent of the full-time fishermen, while 21 per cent of the former and 11.9 per cent of the latter earned above \$4,000 in 1962.

Community Memberships

Community memberships varied between the two groupings with a greater proportion of the marginal as opposed to the full-

time fishermen participating in local voluntary organizations. The variation, however, was not great. Fifty-eight per cent of the marginals and 70.1 per cent of the full-timers indicated no community memberships. This slight distinction likely can be understood by reference to the greater amount of time spent ashore by the marginal fisherman. He is thereby permitted greater participation in voluntary organizations in the community.

Fishermen's Federation Membership

Membership in the Fishermen's Federation was greater, quite understandably, among the full-time than among the marginal fishermen. Only 31.6 per cent of the marginal fishermen were members, as opposed to 48.2 per cent of the full-time fishermen. Thus, as one would expect, those fishermen most dependent upon the industry displayed the greatest participation in the Federation, though the rate of participation was still by no means high.

Alternative Employment

Willingness to leave fishing as expressed by our respondents also differed between the two categories. Less dependent upon the industry, a greater proportion of marginal fishermen, 76.4 per cent, as opposed to 56.7 per cent of the genuine fishermen, replied in the affirmative. Yet, 18.4 per cent of the marginal fishermen insisted that they would not give up fishing entirely, as did 40.3 per cent of the full-timers.

The Farmer-Fisherman

Because our sample area was rural we had anticipated encountering some, perhaps many, individuals who combined farming with fishing. Our data revealed that twenty-one of one hundred and thirteen respondents were farmer-fishermen. That is, 21 respondents stated that they engaged in some farming.

In ethnic origins there was no variation between farmer-fishermen and non-farmers. Nor was there a variation in religious affiliation.

Age

Age, however, varied between the two groups. The modal age of the farmer-fishermen was in the age range of fifty years to sixty-four years, while for the fishermen at large, thirty-five to forty-nine was the modal age category. Moreover, 19 per cent of the farmer-fishermen as opposed to 13 per cent of the non-farmers were above sixty-four years of age. It would appear, then, that the farmer-fishermen as a group are older than the remainder of our respondents.

Education

In education the mode for both groupings was in the category range of grades five to eight. There was no farmer-fisherman with an education beyond grade ten, however, while nine per cent of

TABLE VI

Dominant Characteristics of Farmer-Fishermen
and Non-farmers

	<u>Farmer-Fishermen</u>		<u>Non-Farmers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Totals	(21)	100.0	(92)	100.0
Icelandic	(18)	85.7	(79)	85.9
Lutheran	(14)	66.6	(61)	66.3
35 to 49 years	(4)	19.0	(32)	34.8
50 to 64 years	(9)	42.8	(28)	30.4
Grades 5 to 8	(12)	57.1	(45)	48.9
\$0 - \$3,000 income	(17)	80.8	(58)	63.0
\$3 - \$5,000 income	(1)	4.7	(19)	20.6
50% - 100% income from fishing	(7)	33.3	(60)	65.2
Less than 50% income from fishing	(13)	61.8	(25)	27.2
Federation members	(10)	47.6	(44)	47.9
No voluntary memberships	(11)	52.3	(60)	65.2
Desire to leave fishing	(16)	76.0	(56)	60.8

the non-farmers had reached grades eleven and twelve. Otherwise there appeared to be no significant distinction between the educational achievements of the farmer-fishermen and the non-farmers. Of the farmer-fishermen 9.5 per cent possessed no formal education, as opposed to 3.3 per cent of the non-farmers. Nineteen per cent of the farmer-fishermen had completed grades one to four, as had 20.6 per cent of the non-farmers; 57.1 per cent of the farmer-fishermen had reached grades five to eight, and 14.2 per cent grades nine and ten, as compared to 48.9 per cent and 18.5 per cent for these respective grades by the full-time fishermen.

Marital Status

The marital status of the farmer-fishermen as a group differed somewhat from that of the non-farmers. Eighty-six per cent of the farmers as opposed to 71.7 per cent of the non-farmers were married, or, conversely, only one (4.7%) of the farmer-fishermen and 23.9 per cent of the fishermen at large were single. The number of widowers in each group is proportionate, 4.7 per cent of the farmer-fishermen and 4.3 per cent of the non-farmers. In large part this slightly greater number of married men among the farmer-fishermen is explainable by reference to the absence of extreme youth in the farmer-fishermen group.

Income

The incomes of both groupings were comparable. For each the modal income ranged from \$1,000 to \$2,000. The farmer-fishermen ranged from the less than \$1,000 income level with 23.8 per cent as compared with 19.6 per cent of the non-farmers, to the \$6,000 and above level where we noted one (1.7%) farmer-fishermen and five (5.4%) non-farmers.

The proportion of incomes earned in fishing was, not unexpectedly, greater among the non-farmers. The modal dependency for the farmer-fishermen was a very low 10 to 29 per cent, as compared to a mode of 100 per cent dependency for the remainder of the respondents. However, seven (33.3%) farmer-fishermen indicated a dependency of above 50 per cent, three (14.3%) ranging from 70 to 79 per cent, and one (4.7%) from 90 to 99 per cent. Thus, we could logically distinguish between six marginal farmers and the remaining fifteen marginal fishermen included in the farmer-fishermen grouping.⁴

Community Memberships

Community organizational membership displayed little variation. A slightly lower proportion, 52.3 per cent, of the farmer-

⁴As thirteen of the farmer-fishermen (61.8%) fall into an income category (less than 2,000) which may be thought of as a subsistence level, we cannot say that fishing is unimportant to these persons. Even a meagre supplement derived from fishing could be vital.

fishermen than of the non-farmers, 65.2 per cent, belonged to no organizations. Likely included in the organizations of those farmer-fishermen who indicated memberships would be farm produce marketing agencies.

Fishermen's Federation Membership

Membership in the Fishermen's Federation did not vary between the two groupings. With one foot in and one foot out of fishing, we had anticipated less participation by the farmer-fishermen in the Fishermen's Federation. But 47.6 per cent of the farmer-fishermen, a similar proportion to the 47.9 per cent of the non-farmers, indicated membership. Or, conversely, 52.1 per cent of the farmer-fishermen, and 51.1 per cent of the remaining respondents forthrightly denied membership.

Unfortunately we do not have data that would indicate active as opposed to inactive participation in the Federation. Therefore we have had to accept a respondent's statement of membership at face value. We can only conjecture, with some insight gained from the interview situations, that the farmer-fishermen, though proportionately active insofar as membership is concerned, were perhaps members only in name, rarely attending meetings and contributing to the conduct of Federation affairs. But though in-

formal insights gained while interviewing would lead us to this opinion, nevertheless, it is equally true that a great many, quite probably the majority, of the Federation members from the fishermen at large were similarly inactive insofar as meaningful participation is concerned.

Alternative Employment

The willingness to leave fishing of the two groupings was also comparable. Slightly more farmer-fishermen replied with an unqualified affirmative, and also a slightly higher proportion with a qualified affirmative. Only five farmer-fishermen, that is, 23.7 per cent, stated that they would not want to give up fishing.

But though "yeses" predominate, it is not altogether certain, or indeed likely, that such expressions of willingness to leave fishing would materialize in reality. What is "good employment elsewhere" for persons without education or a trade? Both the farmer-fishermen and the non-farmer would vaguely like to be "better off", but it is unlikely that such passive aspirations would be realized were the matter left to their own volition.

Moreover, looking at the farmer-fisherman in particular, it appears that he has no more call to be anxious to leave fishing than any other fisherman, though he nominally recognizes the merit of the notion. If fishing is important to an individual

economically, as it is to those farmer-fishermen deriving a large proportion of their incomes from fishing and to those earning a lesser proportion but an important supplement to their farm earnings, then such an individual is naturally in a comparable position with the fishermen at large. And conversely, if fishing is not vital in the economic sense for a particular farmer-fisherman, then he need not be anxious to give up fishing for obviously it is serving some valuable function for the individual if he is fishing without expecting gain. As one respondent made particularly clear, fishing provided pleasant relief from work on the farm.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Distinguishing between those earning less and those earning more than fifty per cent of their incomes from fishing, we somewhat arbitrarily designated a dichotomy of marginal and full-time fishermen. The intention was to determine in what way, if at all, the thirty-eight marginal fishermen differed from the fishermen at large and whether their participation in fishing was relevant to change in the industry.

Our data indicated that variations between the two categories were few. In church affiliation, the proportion of marginal fishermen indicating membership was lower than that of full-time

fishermen. Slightly fewer of the marginal fishermen were members of the Fishermen's Federation, while a greater number indicated a definite willingness to abandon fishing completely.

In considerable part, then, the members of the two groupings were identical. There were no outstanding distinctions that would indicate that the marginal fishermen differed from the full-time fishermen. Quite conceivably, from year to year a given individual would vary from marginal to full-time status depending upon work opportunities outside of fishing. A comment made by a researcher in reference to part-time farmers might be applicable to our situation.

A factor which may account for lack of significant differences is the extent to which part-time farmers are recruited from the full-time farm population, either sons of full-time farmers or former full-time farmers now on the brink of retirement engaging in off-farm work in order to supplement small incomes from a reduced scale of farm operation.⁵

Looking at a particular group of marginal fishermen, the twenty-one farmer-fishermen included among our respondents, it was noted that the farmer-fishermen as a group were somewhat older than the fishermen at large. There were no farmer-fishermen in the highest educational ranges, as there were among the non-farmers, though the modal educations for both groups were the same. Perhaps most vital, it was noted that seven farmer-fishermen earned a

⁵George A. Donahue, "Full-time and Part-time Farmers", Rural Sociology 22: p. 228.

sufficiently high proportion of their total incomes from fishing to qualify as full-time fishermen. That is, they earned more than fifty per cent of their incomes from fishing. In this sense, then, these seven individuals were not marginal fishermen, but rather, marginal farmers.

It is to be emphasized, moreover, that even the marginal farmer-fishermen may well depend to a considerable extent upon the returns gained from fishing. Existing at a subsistence level, fishing, whether the catch was sold or simply stored and consumed on the farm, may well mean more to the marginal farmer-fisherman than simply a "fly-by-night" attempt for quick gain.

As individuals, and as a group, the farmer-fishermen may not contribute substantially to the industry. Their slight numbers alone would preclude this. But the industry may well be vital to them. Their marginal status, therefore, should not lead one to think that changes in the industry would be of little consequence to the farmer-fishermen.

Generally, the same remarks would pertain to the marginal fisherman other than the farmer. Though the part-time fisherman may have interests other than fishing, it should not be assumed that his dependence upon the industry is so slight as to be unworthy of consideration. In short, the part-time fisherman's participation

in the industry must not be thought of as irrelevant when considering the "human factor" of the industry in any period of impending and actual change.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FISHERMAN'S PROBLEMS

In introducing the theme of this thesis the state of the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry was discussed to some length. The difficulties now being encountered on the Lake and the impending technological change were emphasized.

Aware of the official assessment, that is, the views of the government and its advisors, we were very much interested in learning what the fisherman himself believed to be wrong with the fisheries, if anything.

Therefore the respondents were asked for their views as to the problems of the fishermen, of the commercial fish companies, and of the government, in the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry.

As an addendum, our own perceptions, where they added to those of the fishermen, have been included in this chapter.

The Fisherman's Perceptions

Grossly over-simplifying, the most favored response of the fishermen as the "most serious problem" was "lack of fish." Thirty-three per cent of the cohort responded in this fashion. Only rarely did they elaborate and suggest why this "lack" existed.

Generally they helplessly limited themselves to the nostalgic platitude that "things used to be a lot better."

It is quite true that many fishermen are not gaining the catch that has come to be thought of as desirable and reasonable to expect. Extensive exploitation of the fisheries has resulted in, to some degree at least, a depletion of the desirable species.¹ But generally the fishermen were unable to explain the situation beyond this stark shortage.

Associated with the lack of fish complaint was the problem of "too many rough fish." The fishermen often complained that there exist too many of the undesirable fish species in the Lake. In this they appear to be in agreement with government biologists.

Commercially unattractive, the so-called rough fish have not been fished and rather have been left to reproduce to the point

¹Whyte, reporting upon the New England fisheries, remarked upon a comparable situation of extensive exploitation. "The key species of fish in the New England catch have become more difficult to secure in recent years. The operation of market forces has led the New England interests to exploit recklessly the limited self-renewing stocks of these species on New England banks...." The effect is similar to that in Manitoba. "Limited supply of...fish means substantially higher unit costs of production as the industry's output per day of fishing effort declines." (Donald J. Whyte, The New England Fishing Industry, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1954, pages 4-5.)

where they have become obnoxious, over-running spawning and feeding grounds, and often, ruining nets.² The fishermen desire a market for these fish. They suggest the establishment of a fish meal processing plant, and the encouragement of the use of rough fish as mink feed.³ In this way, by bringing the rough fish ashore the fishermen could at least pay for their gas. At present the rough fish are utterly worthless, and therefore they are simply thrown back into the Lake when caught rather than allowed to take up valuable space in the boat. The fishermen recognize that in the long run it would be in the best interests of the Lake to remove these fish. But they are forced to concern themselves with the short run and earn a livelihood today, not tomorrow when they may not even be fishing.

Some fishermen specified a specific item as the cause of the ills which they were suffering. The most popular was the trap-net, the innovation that the government is attempting to introduce

²The carp grows to a large size and has the strength to rip nets beyond repair. It is interesting to note that the carp is considered a delicacy in Europe, in Germany in particular, but in North America it is not at all desirable. Indeed, in Europe the fisheries are stocked with carp. Many of the fishermen when interviewed stated that they themselves enjoyed carp, though sometimes when from the marshy regions adjoining the Lake they had an undesirable taste. However, generally, the lack of market for this fish is the result of traditional values and not the result of the quality of the fish itself.

³Many mink ranchers supply themselves with fish by setting a net or two.

to the Lake's fishing industry. Sixteen per cent of the respondents selected trapnets as the most serious problem, while 9.7 per cent and 5.3 per cent selected the nets as the second and third most serious problems respectively. In total, 31 per cent of the fishermen indicated an unfavorable reaction to the trapnets.

Interestingly enough, an observer of a group of Canadian East Coast fishermen noted a similar tendency to project all one's difficulties upon one new innovation, in this case the introduction of trawling.

Much of the anxiety engendered by the factors of falling fish prices, falling catches, and increased gear costs have been transferred to the draggers, which are a more concrete and immediate object on which to focus hostility.⁴

On Lake Winnipeg specifically, probably contributing to the hostility of the fishermen toward the trapnets is the fact that they were introduced essentially not by fishermen but by the government, generally against the wishes of the fishermen. The nets are expensive and thus are restricted to a few. They appear to provide the commercial fish companies with a tighter grip upon the fishermen. Moreover, several reasonable doubts as to the destructiveness of the trapnets have not been answered to the satisfaction of the

⁴Stephen A. Richardson, "Technological Change: Some Effects on Three Canadian Fishing Villages" Human Organization II: page 27.

fishermen.⁵

Thus, insofar as trapnets are an object of concern, the problem appears twofold. Firstly, the nets may well simply be a convenient object upon which to blame one's difficulties, and the industry's generally, for many fishermen. But, on the other hand, there is some room for legitimate concern. This concern would seem to place the onus upon the government, the agency which introduced the trapnets, to satisfy, probably by way of demonstration, the legitimate questions of the fishermen.⁶

⁵It still has not been demonstrated that the trapnets definitely do not destroy young fish. Moreover, many fishermen argue that for a trapnet to be effective it must be utilized when the fish are in schools. The fishermen claim that, for pickerel in particular, this is only before spawning. Therefore, the catch of the future is destroyed. Perhaps warning can be taken from a comparable situation described by Whyte. About 1905 the otter-trawl was introduced to the New England fishing industry. Today it is commonly utilized. But "otter-trawling did not make its debut without opposition. Hook-and-line fishermen and schooner owners besieged Congress to prohibit the importing and landing of trawler-caught fish. They charged that the method would deplete the fishing grounds and destroy their gear. Their plea failed. Studies by the U. S. Commissioner of Fisheries discounted the opponents' claims. Looking to the future, however, the Commissioner's report warned that its new otter-trawl method did destroy large quantities of commercial fish too small to market because the net, when dragged over the ground, tended to sweep up everything in its way. It pointed out that unregulated use of the method might in the future cause the fishery resource to suffer from overfishing and recommended that the use of the otter-trawl be restricted to designated banks and grounds." (Whyte, op.cit., pages 10, 11.)

⁶Rural sociologists commenting upon the adoption of innovations among farm populations speak of the lag between the

Another problem frequently cited by the respondents was the control exerted by the commercial fish companies. The fishermen generally believed themselves overly dependent upon the companies, even for the equipment with which they fish.

The companies get the fishermen needing equipment. They get a strangle-hold on them.

The dependency also extends to the prices which the fishermen received for their catch. Low and unstable prices, generally associated with the commercial fish company dominance of the industry, were clearly the major reason for the fishermen's nominally agreed upon desire for cooperative marketing.

This broad area of dissatisfaction pertaining to dependence upon the commercial fish companies, especially insofar as the

introduction or awareness of an innovation and its actual acceptance. Our experience with the Lake Winnipeg fishermen would suggest that for the trapnets the stage of known advantage has not been reached. We would not place the situation, looking again specifically at trapnets, beyond an "awareness stage." "At this stage the individual learns of the existence of an idea or practice but has little knowledge about it." The stages that follow are the "interest" where the individual desires more information, the "evaluation" where the individual weighs the merits and demerits of the item for his own situation, the "trial" stage where the individual applies the innovation upon a small scale, and lastly, the "adoption" stage where the individual accepts and probably will continue to employ the innovation. (How Farm People Accept New Ideas, Special Report No. 83, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, November, 1955, pages 1-2.)

marketing of the catch, is not without foundation. As was discussed in the introductory chapter, the marketing system as it now exists definitely does appear disadvantageous to the best interests of the fishermen. Whyte described a similar, though probably less extreme situation in the New England fishing industry.

...the distribution system for fish has tended to absorb a high percentage of the retail price. New England interests has stated that wholesale mark ups of 30-40 per cent and retail margins of 50-100 per cent have not been unusual. This allocation has held the industry's (and particularly the fisherman's) share of the retail sales dollar to a minimum, even though margins as high as those cited no longer prevail generally.⁷

Mentioned by some of the fishermen as another problem was the presence of too many fishermen on the Lake for all to earn a living wage. In this regard, then, these few fishermen are in agreement with the government's COMEF Report⁸ which recommended in essence a decrease in the number of companies and fishermen.

Also raised, but rather infrequently, by our respondents, was the problem of lack of cooperation among the fishermen themselves, a point deserving careful consideration. Some fishermen

⁷Whyte, op.cit., page 5.

⁸"Report of the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future" presented to the Manitoba government. The portion pertaining to the fishing industry was published in Fishing, Vol. 111, June, 1963.

conceded that a reckless independence appeared to characterize the actions of the fishermen. One respondent went so far as to suggest that if one had the opportunity to profit to the detriment of another fisherman, then one did not hesitate to do so, specifically by "beating him out of a job." In other words, fishermen did not cooperate to protect one another's interests. Individualism and distrust appeared general. There was only so much money to be made in the Lake and each fisherman was anxious to see that he "got his share." Richardson noted the same characteristic among the group of fishermen which he studied on the Canadian East Coast, as did Whyte in New England and Tunstall in Hull, England.⁹

⁹Richardson speaks of "The lack of trust between fishermen who suspect that others might be getting away with something or making more out of it." (Richardson, op.cit., page 20.) Whyte described a period when depletion threatened the haddock industry of New England. Biologists had recommended a larger mesh net to conserve smaller fish. But "The industry spurned the mesh recommendation. Vessel owners could not agree unanimously to make the change. Each feared that the other would secretly use the smaller mesh and gain a competitive advantage." (Whyte, op.cit., page 105.) On Lake Winnipeg we noted on many occasions much the same attitude. Often a fisherman would openly admit that illegal size nets were being used, probably to the long range detriment of the industry. But the other people were using them, so if one was to get "one's share" then one could not be left using legal size mesh. Obviously the companies are also at fault for there would be no point in the fishermen catching small fish if the companies were not illegally buying them. A last example is provided by Tunstall. "A man will insist almost with pride that he will take another man's job any day he gets the chance." (Tunstall, The Fisherman, London, Macgibbon and Kee, 1962, page 174.)

An Outsider's Perceptions

Two further problems appear to stand out. The first is related to the lack of cooperation among the fishermen. Specifically, this is the problem of a weak Fishermen's Federation. Secondly, there is the problem of poor public relations between fishermen and government.

The Fishermen's Federation of Manitoba represented an attempt by the fishermen to establish an effective means of united opinion and action. The commercial fish companies operating on Lake Winnipeg, by virtue of a very effective organization, appear to act with such general unanimity. The fishermen, by way of the Federation, have attempted to establish a countervailing force to the company influence.

Thus far, however, the Federation has been less than successful. Some fishermen would attribute slight gains to it, but generally it is regarded as ineffectual. Obviously contributing to its failure has been very poor membership support. The fishermen have not aroused themselves to the point of even regularly attending meetings let alone reaching agreement upon pertinent topics of concern.

Often the non-support of the Federation was rationalized by our respondents. Several times the matter was simply shrugged off

with a resigned comment. For example:

The companies run things anyway. They run the government and the fishermen and always get their way.

Or we would hear the defeated view of a respondent who had initially taken some interest and placed some hope in the Federation.

...the government has implemented only a few minor recommendations that the Federation has submitted. All the really important ones have been turned down so what's the use?

Yet, as was asserted earlier, the Federation represents a necessary first step toward the establishment of fishermen's co-operatives. Or, more modestly, it is a necessary first step toward permitting the fisherman a voice in the conduct of his own affairs. The state of the Federation on Lake Winnipeg is of utmost import to the fisherman.

The reasons for the poor support are complex. In some part the fishermen's complaint that the "companies get their way anyway" is valid. But the companies act with a large measure of concert, unlike the fishermen. That is, they can decide upon general policies. Therefore, the government, when facing a policy decision, has the alternative of crediting company representations, which are agreed upon by the companies, or a motley of fishermen's views. The choice is obvious.

Thus, the basic problem remains that of poor cooperation among the fishermen. Perhaps the basis of this problem lies in the "dog-eat-dog" system of employment that prevails in the industry. Unless the fisherman is of independent means, as few are, he is forced to rely upon a company job or affiliation. There is no security. A fisherman must arrange for a position season by season. If he owns nets and a boat he can fish, but must accept a company price. If he does not own his own equipment, he must hire out as a crew member. Earnings vary from season to season, from man to man. Once again a reference can be made to a similar, though larger scale, situation in the Hull deep water fisheries.

The present casual system of employment with its insecurity and radically different levels of earnings for men even in the same mode of job, militates against any feeling of solidarity on the part of the men and keeps the union weak.¹⁰

Tunstall discusses the situation to greater length. His analysis would appear to be applicable to the Lake Winnipeg situation.

...fishermen differ markedly from the kind of disciplined and loyal trade union members one finds in some numbers in other industries. Because of the highly competitive structure of their job and the very wide variations in fortunes of individual fishermen, there is little general sense of unity. Their experience of the shore comes in brief intervals, when they

¹⁰Tunstall, op.cit., page 60.

are normally urgently preoccupied with fulfilling their stored-up desires for leisure, drink, sex, and family life. Fishing thus shapes men who engage in it to a particular pattern, but it also attracts in the first place a group of men who have a special attitude to work. Fishing does not attract the kind of man who wants to work a 42-hour week under certain agreed conditions, to be paid at overtime rates for any additional work, and to have a shop steward always near at hand. A lad who goes fishing opts out of the more normal pattern of working-class life. He is not interested in the limited objectives which trade unions aim at on behalf of all the workers on the particular job. He is attracted by the gamble of each trip and the gamble of possibly getting up to the skipper's position. He is prepared to accept harsh conditions, very long hours, and the bullying treatment of some of his superiors.¹¹

Of course the fit is not perfect. But in broad outline the analysis would seem to extend to the fishermen of Lake Winnipeg.

This would appear to be the general situation on Lake Winnipeg that militates against an effective Fishermen's Federation. The fisherman, by virtue of his conditioning, is incapable of speaking with one voice.

Fundamentally this is also the reason for the failure to develop marketing, or even producer cooperatives. At risk of commenting upon the obvious, cooperation must precede cooperatives. Thus, before one can speak of lack of business experience or the opposition of the commercial fish companies, one must recognize that

¹¹Ibid., pages 244-245.

the key reason for the absence of cooperative ventures is the lack of trust and concerted action and opinion among the fishermen.

A second problem is related. This is the lack of communication between government, the would-be change agent, and the fishermen. Granted that a divided group of fishermen is not conducive to an excellent system of government-fishermen contact,¹² it still appears that government efforts are less than adequate. Indeed, a concerted government programme could conceivably heal the breaches among the fishermen, and would have to be the first aim of any educational programme.

The government, however, to this day remains something removed from the average fisherman. A Fishermen's Representative exists who was originally selected by the fishermen, but is now paid by the government with an office in Winnipeg. Only periodically is he able to visit the fishermen. He is doing as much as one

¹²"...studies in communication show that meaningful communication is more likely to be found in a congenial group in which mutual trustfulness and respect characterize relations between members than in groups in which feelings of suspicion, distrust, and jealousy predominate. This may provide an important clue for group functioning, for unless there is effective communication it is difficult for the group to be cohesive, productive, or effective." (Ross and Hendry, New Understandings of Leadership, New York, Association Press, 1957, page 68.) This analysis deriving from small group studies would probably hold for our situation.

individual can but it is unlikely that he knows whom he should please, the government or the fishermen. Moreover, even were he to spend all his time in the field, he alone could not hope to keep in contact with all the fishermen, especially in their presently unorganized state where individuals and not organizations have to be visited. Salaried by the government, removed from the fishermen whom he represents, the position of the Fishermen's Representative has been severely compromised. Naturally he does not have the authority to act upon the suggestions of the Fishermen's Federation, even were it desirable. He can only suggest, in turn, to his employers, the government. But when the suggested implementations are turned down, the reaction among the fishermen is that the Representative has let them down.¹³

Other than the Fishermen's Representative there is only one other media of communication between the government and the fishermen. This is the government published bulletin, Fishing, which is mailed to every commercial fishing license-holder. Unfortunately, however, the bulletin appears to be published only if and when funds permit. In other words, it is a marginal effort, published "if there

¹³We wish to make perfectly clear that we believe that the Fishermen's Representative is doing as much as he can for the fishermen. It is his unfortunate position that we are criticizing.

is money left over." Moreover, even when published, the magazine seems ineffectual. Few fishermen reported any useful information being provided. Many did not even read it. Of the cohort only 57.5 per cent stated that they read the bulletin "often." The other answers ranged from "sometimes" and "rarely" to 18.5 per cent definitely stating that they never read Fishing.

Thus, because of such poor communication, an important government report such as COMEF is virtually unheard of by the fishermen.¹⁴ Or new fishing regulations are left unexplained, the motives of the government allowed to appear arbitrary and capricious, or a reflection of the will of the fish companies.

One respondent summed up the situation, and included an excellent suggestion.

There are poor public relations between government and fishermen. The government should be advising fishermen through a permanent advisory committee.

Obviously this is a problem that government must face before it can attempt a programme of change.

¹⁴The leaders were aware of COMEF and its implications. Generally they appeared better informed than the fishermen at large. Passing on the information to their fellows would be a function of the influential, especially if the direction of the fishermen were intended.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Generally, surveying the trend of problem awareness of the respondents, it appeared that a fear of unemployment and depletion of the Lake were uppermost in their minds. They were suspicious of the introduction of new and expensive equipment which would remove fishing from the realm of the economically feasible for the large majority. In short, the fishermen feared being driven from the industry, with only an elite remaining.

Yet, the fishermen were not completely unreasonable in their fears. In many respects their problems were legitimate. For example, the problem of rough fish is fundamental and its resolution would appear to necessarily precede technological change. New techniques of production are hardly practicable if the Lake is incapable of production.

The most serious problem of the fishermen appeared to be their individualism. They cannot agree upon desirable measures, or even upon the need for measures, and apparently derive some degree of pride from this disagreement. So-called independence appeared to be a valued stereotype of the fisherman, held by non-fishermen and rigorously and consciously adhered to, and promoted, by the fishermen. Because of this attitude Federation support has

tended to be apathetic. Rather, the fisherman has immersed himself in a tragic situation of "one-up-manship" where no one is trusted. It is everyone for himself. The resolution of this situation would appear to be a necessary first step of any educational programme designed for broad-scale technological change in the industry. Cooperation among the fishermen must be achieved.

Lastly, also to be overcome is the inadequate communication between government and fishermen. The government and its policies are misunderstood by the fishermen when they are recognized. Often the fisherman is unable to even discern a policy. If the government is to assume the function of a change agent, then it must revamp its public relations media. It must develop more adequate media of contact with the fishermen.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE FISHERMEN

A Concluding Statement

Throughout the discussion our observations have pivoted upon the assumption of impending change in the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry. In this concluding chapter the prerequisites for and the implications of a programme for "socio-technological" change will be discussed.

Toward Change

It appears that the Lake Winnipeg fishing industry has approached the point of change. As it currently exists it is not satisfying the economic needs of its participants. Dysfunctional items, such as too many primary producers and too many distributors, are not only retarding the industry, but threatening its ruin. Specifically, too few fish are being produced and distributed by too many individuals and organizations. A more compact and economically efficient industry is required, at all levels, from the primary producer to the retailer. New technological devices and new organizations are called for.

As was pointed out in Chapter I, the Manitoba provincial government would promote the change, and hence sponsor the change

agent(s).¹ The change agent(s) would promote the adoption of new means of production, distribution, and marketing. The goal would be to achieve an independent and self-sufficient role for the industry in the modern economy of the province.² A fisherman summed up the situation:

There is a danger of the country automating and the fishermen not. They are going to be the lowest among the peasants.

Essentially the change agent(s) in this instance would emphasize technological change. The introduction of more modern

¹"A change agent is a professional person (representing an organization external to the system) who attempts to influence adoption decisions in a direction that he feels desirable." (E. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, New York, Free Press of Glencoe; London, Macmillan, 1962, p. 17.)

²The sagacity of a carefully researched and gradually initiated change programme, with accommodation made for those to be displaced from the industry, is indisputable. A most vivid illustration of the disastrous social and economic repercussions of unplanned and uncontrolled technological change is provided by the Appalachian coal mining regions of the United States. The dimensions of this industry are, of course, much vaster than those of the Manitoba fishing industry. Yet this very disproportion in magnitude serves to dramatically emphasize the difficulties that "natural" technological change can produce, with its widespread unemployment and severe economic depression.

and efficient techniques of production would be the first aim. Yet it is inconceivable that change in this specific sphere could occur without change also appearing within the broader structure of the fishermen's social environment. Just as in reality culture cannot be abstracted from society, so too the change involved in the adoption of technological innovations and in the reorganization of the industry cannot be abstracted from the social repercussions of such adoptions. For those individuals in particular who will be forced to quit the industry social adjustments will have to be made. New occupations will have to be learned, with correspondingly new roles within and without the confines of the new occupation.

Technological development is a complex process, imperfectly understood even by specialists. The expression itself is misleading for, strictly speaking, there can be no such thing as technological development in isolation. Perhaps the use of the term sociotechnological development would clarify our thinking, for development is much more than the overt acceptance of material and technical improvements. It is a cultural, social, and psychological process as well. Associated with every technical and material change there is a corresponding change in the attitudes, the thoughts, the values, the beliefs, and the behavior of the people who are affected by the material change. These non-material changes are more subtle. Often they are overlooked or their significance is underestimated. Yet the eventual effect of a material or social improvement is determined by the extent

to which the other aspects of culture affected by it can alter their forms with a minimum of disruption.³

To avoid undesirable social disruptions, at least in their grossest form, it is necessary to have individuals accepting and promoting the sponsored change, rather than simply passively aware of or actively opposing it. This is the prerequisite of successful and non-disruptive change.

Traditional versus Modern

The success of a change programme rests ultimately upon its acceptance or non-acceptance by the individuals concerned. However, one of the most striking features of change situations, noted both by researchers and change agents, is the very frequent inadequacy of logical exposition and the lure of economic advantage in bringing about acceptance. Tradition is often the determining factor.

The relevance of tradition to the Lake Winnipeg Icelandic fishermen is not completely clear. Observers of other groups of fishermen have commented upon a characteristic tradition-orientation and we have pointed out indications of a similar orientation among our respondents. However, though a degree of traditionalism and resistance to change was apparent, it was by no means absolute. In the past the Lake Winnipeg fishermen have readily adopted inno-

³G. Foster, Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1962, pp.2-3.

vations that have been clearly demonstrated as advantageous. For example, when the adoption of nylon nets was proposed in favor of cotton nets, the fishermen as a group soon adopted the nylon.⁴ The worth of the nylon nets was clearly apparent.⁵

In effect, then, the fishermen cannot be neatly deposited at one pole of a traditional-modern continuum. Utilizing Everett Rogers' criteria of the modern and traditional ideal types we note that the fishermen's position can only be approximated.⁶

⁴Specifically, nylon nets were stronger, and more important, did not have to be spread to dry after every use.

⁵Another excellent example of the adoption of a new technique by the Lake Winnipeg fishermen concerns the ice auger. This device was actually invented by and is now produced by a fisherman (he no longer fishes). The ice auger revolutionized winter fishing. In combination with another innovation with which it is used, the snowmobile, the ice auger rendered winter fishing much less rigorous.

⁶Obviously Rogers' typology is intended to apply to social systems in a broader sense than an occupational group as we are concerned with. Yet the fishermen do represent a subsystem and the characteristics cited by Rogers should bear some relevance. Therefore, disregarding the tinge of urban middle-class bias that pervades the typology we have attempted to apply Rogers' traditional-modern criteria to the fishermen.

The first characteristic of a traditional social system offered by Rogers is that of a "less developed or complex technology."⁷ It is apparent that in their occupational capacity the fishermen as a group do represent a stage of technological development that is lagging behind that of other modern industries. Many of the fishermen employ very simple equipment and derive only a subsistence income from the Lake. However, whether in fact this degree of development is so retarded as to qualify as non-modern or traditional is doubtful. Technological improvements are called for but the industry is not utterly undeveloped technologically. Moreover, in their social existence outside of the occupational sphere it is clear that the fishermen share in the technology of the broader social system.

Secondly, Rogers suggests that a traditional social system is characterized by a low level of literacy and education.⁸ As our data revealed, educational achievement among the fishermen was low. We do not possess empirical evidence of the literacy rate. Indications gained in the field would at least indicate that illiteracy in the absolute sense was not prevalent. Moreover, although the educational level was low, education appeared to be

⁷Rogers, op.cit., p. 61.

⁸Ibid., p. 61.

highly valued. Many of the respondents explained the scarcity and ineffectiveness of leadership and the failure of the Fishermen's Federation by reference to a lack of educated fishermen.

Rogers also suggests that in a traditional social system "most individuals are localites rather than cosmopolites."⁹ Localism appeared to characterize the social relationships of the fishermen. Social relationships, with the exception of those of the more cosmopolite individuals pointed out previously, appeared to be focused within the occupational group. However, communication via the mass media is a continual means of contact with the broader social system, preventing the complete isolation and localism of the fishermen. Moreover, their leadership appeared to consist of cosmopolites. The fishermen are thus not impervious to "outside" contacts and influences.

Also characteristic of traditional social norms is a "Lack of economic rationality."

Primary group relationships such as friendliness and hospitality are highly valued as ends in themselves rather than as means to ends.¹⁰

Experience in the field would attest to the prevalence of strong primary group attachments and an emphasis upon hospitality among

⁹Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 61.

the fishermen. However, this emphasis would not appear to indicate the non-existence of economic rationality, for a "double standard" appears to exist. Although the fishermen appear to approximate the "gemeinschaft" type of community life when ashore, frequently extending aid to one another, self interest would seem to prevail insofar as the actual earning of a livelihood. As remarked previously, one man's job is often another's unemployment. Within the limitations of their knowledge, the most effective means of achieving their economic ends would seem to be employed by the fishermen.

Lastly, Rogers suggests that in a traditional social system the members are restricted in the number of roles which they assume. Although the social interaction of a large number of the fishermen is restricted to their occupational peer group, in large part the fishermen apparently fill a number of social roles. Restricting ourselves to the occupational sphere, the number of part-time fishermen indicates that many fishermen have diversified their economic activities and perform roles other than that of a fisherman. Only insofar as a failure to empathize do the fishermen appear to satisfy this traditional criterion. Characteristic of members of a traditional social system is a

Lack of ability to empathize or see oneself in others' roles, particularly of roles of outsiders to the system.¹¹

¹¹Ibid., p. 11.

The respondents displayed an inability to project themselves into the positions of the commercial fish companies and the government. When asked about company and government problems very few respondents were able to suggest any. The consensus was that the companies faced no problems. However, this failure to empathize cannot be taken as indicative of a general inability. The taint of emotional vested interest would seem an adequate reason for disqualification.

Apparently, then, there is an ambivalence along the continuum of traditionalism to modernity. The fishermen as a group appear to be characterized by aspects of both a traditional- and a modern-orientation. However, we would suggest that the modern-orientation prevails. Two factors previously discussed would lead us to this opinion: the value placed upon individualism; and the value upon education.

The fishermen's occupation is difficult. It is always uncertain and it is particularly so on Lake Winnipeg today. Moreover, it is generally low in prestige.¹² Because of the nature of

¹²The fishermen are poorly educated and their occupation is not highly regarded. Looking at fishermen in Canada generally we note that in Blishen's scale of occupational prestige fishermen place fifth from the bottom, only above "boot-

their task and because of the low esteem in which they are held by those ashore, the fishermen develop a strong in-group feeling, dominated by a fierce pride in the way of life which is traditionally theirs. Change, therefore, could tend to be reluctant and slow were this aspect to prevail.¹³

Paradoxically, however, the fact that a sense of individualism is a part of this traditionalism serves as a counterbalance to any retarding effects. With individualism treasured an innovator is not at odds with the group, and may even be admired.

Similarly, the value upon education would tend to promote a general amenability to change when instituted by way of an educational programme. It would tend to compensate for the "conserva-

blacks", male and female "fish canners, curers and packers", and "hunters and trappers". (B. R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale", in B. R. Blishen et. al., Canadian Society, Toronto, The Macmillan Company; New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, p. 484. First published in The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 24: pp. 521-531, 1958.)

¹³Commenting upon the New England fisheries Whyte noted: "...modern fresh and frozen fish business is the mixed product of stubborn traditional practices and persistent innovations introduced irregularly over the last sixty years." (D. Whyte, The New England Fishing Industry, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 8.)

tism" inherent in the occupation.¹⁴ Essentially, then, we would suggest that in broad terms the Icelandic fishermen are quite flexible and are not inherently opposed to change in the industry. Any difficulties encountered in a change programme likely would be of a more particular nature.

The Initiation of Change

At risk of remarking upon the obvious, it must be noted that before any programme of change can be initiated the individuals concerned must be made aware of the improvements being promoted.

¹⁴Undoubtedly there will be a variation in conformity to the norms. Some fishermen may be tradition-oriented and others modern-oriented. It is important that those individuals conforming to the Icelandic subculture's value upon education be singled out. We have suggested that these would be the cosmopolite fishermen. Those fishermen resistant to change likely will be the individuals with the lowest incomes, the least education, and the most dependent upon the industry with few social contacts outside of fishing. To such individuals fishing as it presently exists is probably psychologically secure despite its economic inadequacies. Tunstall observes: "On a trawler if you do your work you always know where you are with the other men. The actual facts change, but the things they say, the language they use, and the roles their particular jobs force them into remain the same. This accounts for the fact that some men find, despite the extremely long hours, a curious sense of relaxation on a trawler. There is never an unexpected psychological challenge." (J. Tunstall, The Fisherman, London, Macgibbon and Kee, 1962, p. 133.)

If fishermen are unaware of new techniques, they obviously cannot adopt them. Here previous remarks upon the inadequacy of the means of communication between the fishermen and the government become pertinent. If the only source of information available to fishermen is a bulletin which appears irregularly it is unlikely that they will be adequately informed. To paraphrase a respondent's assessment of the situation:

The only useful information that we get from the government are the noon-hour weather reports on the radio.

Occasional and fleeting contacts with the Fishermen's Representative are not sufficient to compensate for the deficiency. In such a situation gossip with its entailing distortions is left to fill the communication vacuum. Improved communication between the government and the fishermen would appear to be a necessary first step in any change programme.

In the immediately previous chapter it was remarked that in respect to the new mechanical and organizational devices that the government is attempting to introduce to the fisheries, in particular the trapnets, the fishermen appear to be at an "awareness stage" in the adoption process.¹⁵

¹⁵The adoption process consists of five stages: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption. For an explanation

At the awareness stage the individual is exposed to the innovation but lacks complete information about it. The individual is aware of the innovation, but is not yet motivated to seek further information.¹⁶

Observers have generally agreed that at this preliminary stage impersonal information sources such as provided by the mass media are the most effective. Cosmopolite information sources, that is, information deriving from outside the given social system, are most important. By the "evaluation stage"¹⁷ personal information sources become more important. That is, localite information sources should be emphasized.

A generalization supported by many studies is that impersonal information sources are most important at the awareness stage, and personal sources are the most important at the evaluation stage in the adoption process.¹⁸

Hence, in the present stage of the industry, the awareness, publications such as Fishing should be utilized and expanded

of each see: Rogers, op. cit., pp. 81-86. Although we believe the awareness stage to prevail among the fishermen generally, given individuals may be at different points of progress through the five stages. We suggest that some individuals, notably two of the Gimli leaders, have attained at least the "trial stage". However, we do not think that any individual among the fishermen has actually adopted trapnets.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 81-82.

¹⁷"At the evaluation stage the individual mentally applies the innovation to his present and anticipated future situation, and then decides whether or not to try it. A sort of 'mental trial' occurs at the evaluation stage." (Ibid., p. 83.)

¹⁸Ibid., p. 99.

upon. The media of newspapers, radio, and television would also be employed.

Having completed this stage of the programme, and hopefully having stimulated not only an awareness but also an interest in the proposed change, the emphasis should shift to personal means of communication. Personal communication is generally more effective at this stage for a number of reasons. First, it allows for an exchange of information that provides opportunity for the communicator to expand and elaborate the point he is attempting to make. Second, in addition to communicating ideas personal communicators will likely also influence actions in a manner that the mass media could not. This will be especially so if the communicator is known and respected.¹⁹ Lastly, it is more difficult to avoid personal communication than it is to avoid more impersonal information sources.²⁰

It is during this stage of development that an intensive programme of instruction in new skills for those remaining in fishing and those training for other occupations should be begun. Necessarily the instruction will to some extent be formal, but an

¹⁹As we shall point out, the influential fishermen's actions would be important at this stage.

²⁰Ibid., p. 101.

informal dimension allowing for the involvement of the fishermen should be included. Opportunity should be provided for the fishermen to present their views in discussion with their fellows and with the change agents. Their opinion should be requested. As the evaluation stage merges with the trial stage, the supervised trials of new techniques by the fishermen should be permitted.

Since those who most need technical information make little effort to obtain it, the implication seems to be (if it is assumed that these operators should be reached) that experimentation with more personal, less formal teaching methods would be desirable. Methods that secure the ego-involvement of the operator most directly will be the most successful....²¹

At every stage of the educational programme, and especially at the evaluation stage, it must be emphasized for the fishermen that it is not solely the long-range goals that are being considered to the exclusion of short range effects. The projected economic advantages for changes in the industry may be of little appeal to those fishermen who will be displaced. To these fishermen the immediate disruptive effects upon their lives are the concern.

²¹J. Copp, Personal and Social Factors Associated with the Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices among Cattlemen, Manhattan, Technical Bulletin No. 83, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, September, 1956, p. 3.

'How' is as important as 'why' and 'how' -- the short-term change -- may be wasteful and harmful, even if 'why' -- the long term adjustment -- is economic and beneficial.²²

Therefore the change agent must be careful to minimize disruptive effects. For example, the marginal fishermen must be considered. The income loss to be incurred by the marginal fisherman if fishing is given up might well be vital. Moreover, the 'how' and the 'why' of the change should be clearly demonstrated; that is, 'how' and 'why' the pertinent decisions were reached. Decisions must not appear to be the fickle and mysterious products of outside interests.

It must be pointed out that the economic feasibility of change need not in itself win the support of the fishermen. What to the change agents may appear obvious economic advantages may not appear so clearly advantageous to the fishermen. Foster recites a parable in illustration:

Once upon a time a monkey and a fish were caught up in a great flood. The monkey, agile and experienced, had the good fortune to scramble up a tree to safety. As he looked down into the raging waters, he saw a fish struggling against the swift current. Filled with a humanitarian desire to help his less fortunate fellow, he reached down and scooped the fish from the water. To the monkey's surprise, the fish was not very grateful for this aid.²³

²²Why Labor Leaves the Land, Geneva, International Labor Office, 1960, p. 2.

²³Foster, op.cit., p. 1.

Often a change agent, arriving from a middle-class urban background, ethnocentrically assumes that his perceptions of the desirable will coincide with those of the persons he seeks to aid.

A specific instance of this nature arises from the factor of "increased responsibility." Encountered at times in the interview situations was what appeared to be a reluctance to accept economic improvements. Many fishermen feared a loss of independence. Currently, although their earnings may be slight, many fishermen prized highly their freedom to work or not work, fish or not fish, as the urge moved them. More money could mean more responsibilities. Greater expectations would have to be maintained, with the leisurely work distribution, now characteristic of fishing for some individuals, destroyed. Possibly more relatives would have to be supported.

An American fisheries expert once told me of an experience in Peru. The Peruvian developmental unit to which he was advisor was interested in modernizing coastal fishing techniques by motorizing launches, increasing the size of nets, and establishing a low-interest credit system. A promising young fisherman living in a north coast port was offered such aid. Rather to the surprise of members of the team he did not jump at the chance, but asked time to think it over. The next morning he declined. When asked his reason he replied that it would simply mean that he would have more relatives to take care of; it was doubtful that he would be any better

off, for he would have greatly increased responsibilities.²⁴

However, though non-economic considerations in the direct sense may greatly influence some fishermen, in large part the lure of economic gain will likely prove decisive.

Sooner or later the economic pull seems certain to outweigh other factors.²⁵

Required is the clear demonstration of economic gains to be derived from proposed changes. Conspicuous demonstrations of the merit of new techniques should be arranged from the interest through to the trial stage. On the other hand, those fishermen who will be displaced from the industry must be satisfied that their needs will be taken care of, not by means of welfare, but by retraining for alternative employment, alternative employment that actually exists.

Even allowing for an exodus of fishermen from the industry, the generally low level of incomes in the industry may retard the ability of the fishermen to invest in improvements. If

²⁴Ibid., p. 92. Again we wish to draw attention to the usefulness of a value study of the fishermen. Particularly of aid insofar as the point above would be information as to the nature of the familial relationships of the fishermen. Conceivably they display peculiar characteristics in view of the periods of time for which many fishermen are absent from home. Is the family pattern that of the extended, and is it patriarchal, or, because of the nature of the fisherman's occupation, matriarchal?

²⁵Ibid., p. 151.

the particular innovation being promoted requires substantial capital outlay on the part of the fishermen its incorporation will necessarily remain limited. The solution would be the provision of long-term, low-interest government loans, or subsidies. Responsible fishermen leaders and organization could aid in the distribution of such loans.

Availability of credit for operating capital and government subsidies are associated causally with the adoption of innovations....²⁶

The Influentials and Change

Vital to the promotion of change will be the functions assumed by the fishermen influentials. Three factors appear most relevant.

Most basically, it is important that the influentials act to overcome the divisions within the group of fishermen. The influentials must increase their actual attempts at leadership and attempt to achieve, as they thus far have failed, a unity among the fishermen so that they may more nearly act and speak as a group. They should intensify their activities within the Fishermen's Federation, the logical organ of opinion for the fishermen.

Secondly, the influentials will likely play an important

²⁶M. Heckel and M. White, "Diffusion as it Relates to the Adoption of Farm Practices", unpublished paper, Cornell University, 1960, p. 5.

role as communicators during the evaluation stage. At this stage field operations predominate and the influential fishermen may serve as very effective examples. If, as we have hypothesized, the influential fishermen are also the innovators, and if the promoted innovations are discerned by the influentials as desirable, then the influentials can effectively participate in promoting the given change. The influentials can both endorse the new techniques and demonstrate their employment.

Lastly, if improved fishermen's organization is being promoted, involving fishermen's producer and marketing cooperatives, the influentials likely would provide the necessary leadership and managerial skills to render such organizations viable.

It is obvious that the influentials will be generally important men in a change situation, especially if they chose to take advantage of their prestige. Their youth, better education, higher incomes, and general cosmopolite features indicate that they are the potential core of the "new" fishing industry of Lake Winnipeg.

CHAPTER X

SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

From the foregoing discussion three broad areas of further inquiry can be suggested. The first concerns an investigation into the values of the people involved, the second leadership and innovation, and the third occupational characteristics of fishermen.

Value Studies

Throughout the thesis we have referred to the values of the Icelandic Canadians. However, we have done so only on a tentative basis. Confirmation and elaboration are required.

In the first instance a study of the Icelandic Canadians as an ethnic group would be of aid. Specifically it would be of interest to learn whether education is as highly esteemed as we have suggested, and, if it is, to what extent does this value pervade the ethnic group.

A particular value study of the Icelandic Canadian fishermen would be of interest to determine whether the values of the Icelandic subculture extend to the fishermen as a subgroup. Such a study would reveal any divergences in the values of the Icelandic Canadians and the fishermen, possibly suggesting charac-

teristics peculiar to the occupational group. A thorough value study of the fishermen would be valuable in the promotion of socio-technological change. Research to determine the extent of a modern-versus a tradition-orientation would be both useful and interesting. In a thorough value study the family system of the fishermen would necessarily be studied to determine the relevance of the family to the activities and attitudes of the fishermen.

A value, social, and attitudinal study of the non-Icelandic Canadian fishermen of Lake Winnipeg is necessary. The present study dealt with only one element of the total population of fishermen, while change will effect all fishermen. Therefore the deficiencies in knowledge must be remedied before large-scale promotion of change is undertaken. Specifically, the Indian-Metis fishermen of the Lake must be considered. A large number of these peoples fish the Lake and although their cash gain from fishing may be slight in absolute terms, its relative importance to them may be great. Thus, their degree of involvement in the industry must be assessed and considered in any change situation.

Influentials and Innovators

A comparison of the characteristics of the fishermen influentials with the characteristics of innovators as recorded in

the literature indicated that possibly the innovators and leaders among the fishermen are the same individuals. This assumption should be investigated to ascertain its validity.

Specifically we suggest a hypothesis: "If an occupational group is distinct from the community of which it is a part, then within the occupational group innovators and influentials will be the same individuals." Within an occupational group that is a minority of the total working population and which is distinctively unique and separate from the community, there conceivably is no question of a sanction upon innovators. Economic success will be emphasized and the leader, to qualify as leader, must continually pursue economic primacy, or, specifically, higher income. The adoption of innovations, that is, more efficient and large-scale means of production, would provide the means to this economic success.

Related to the above hypothesis is a second. The second hypothesis may be found to be valid in conjunction with, or as an alternative to the first. "If an occupational group distinct from the community of which it is a part is of generally low prestige, then innovators will be encouraged by members of the occupational group." This hypothesis simply suggests that if an occupational group is lacking in prestige in the social system in which it is found, then any opportunity to improve that prestige will be

favorably received. An innovation could conceivably improve the socio-economic position of the entire occupational group. It would be a function of innovators to test the given innovation for the group. The innovator would likely be an individual of influence, possessing the confidence of the group.

Occupational Characteristics

We have suggested a number of possible similarities between the Lake Winnipeg fishermen and the fishermen of Hull, England, the New England Coast and the Canadian East Coast. Extensive research to determine the nature of the members of the fishing occupation and the extent to which they are distinct from and integrated into, the social systems in which they are found could be fruitful. Conceivably social and personality features common to fishermen extend beyond the given social systems.

Despite the unique, almost romantic appeal of his occupation, the fisherman has attracted remarkably little attention. Perhaps the neglect is simply a reflection of the preoccupation of the social scientist with the complexities of the modern industrialized state.

Industrial sociologists have so far confined their attention to the more "basic" industries, notably coal-mining and steel, and fishing has remained sociologically unexplored.¹

¹G. Horobin, "Community and Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry", British Journal of Sociology 8: p. 347, 1957.

The industrial bias is apparent. Coal and steel are fundamental necessities of the modern industrialized society; fishing is not.

This inattention is regrettable. The fisherman is to be found the world over. The possibility of universal values and attitudes peculiar to one occupational group despite a variance in particular social systems with which they are affiliated is certainly a matter of considerable interest and worthy of exploration.

At first sight the fisherman appears to be a "marginal man", neither wholly integrated nor wholly independent of the social system with which he is affiliated. Moreover, in large part his occupation remains unmechanized. The fishing industry appears to be technologically retarded, an industry out of step with the rest of modern society. It thereby provides a peculiar link between primitive societies and complex industrialized social systems. The former has been the major focus of the work of anthropologists, and the latter of sociologists, generally to the exclusion of one another. The fishing industry and its occupants offer a unique point of convergence for the two disciplines.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The following bibliography represents only a portion of the many works available. The reader is referred to three sources of further reference.

Firstly, in the area of leadership investigation, the reader is referred to the extensive review of the literature and the bibliography contained in Bell et.al., Public Leadership.

Secondly, in the area of innovation and diffusion research, the reader would wish to consult Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, a recent and comprehensive attempt at a synthesis of the pertinent research and theory.

Lastly, in the broader area of social change, a recent and valuable work drawing upon the material of many disciplines is that of Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change.

Insofar as further materials on the Icelanders in Manitoba, and on fishermen as an occupational group, we are unable to suggest further readings. Little work has thus far been reported in either of these two areas of interest.

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APPENDIX A
Interview Schedules

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE A

(PRETEST)

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS IN AN AGRICULTURAL
FISHING COMMUNITY IN MANITOBA.

June, 1963.

INTRODUCTION TO INTERVIEW

This interview is an important and necessary step in a study of the fishermen of Lake Winnipeg, their problems and their social setting. The study itself is being carried out by Professor Len Siemens, project leader, and his assistant, Dennis Forcese, from the University of Manitoba.

All answers which you give us will be held in the strictest confidence. No names will be published.

We thank you very much for your time and patience, without which, of course, this study would be impossible.

I.D.# _____

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

Interviewer _____ Date _____

Section A

1. Would you tell me, first, your national (i.e., ethnic) origin?

Icelandic _____ 1
Polish _____ 2
Ukrainian _____ 3
United Kingdom _____ 4
Other _____ 5
(specify)
N.A. / D.K. _____ 6

2. And how old are you? _____ up to 21 _____ 1

22-34 _____ 2
35-49 _____ 3
50-64 _____ 4
65-74 _____ 5
75-up _____ 6
N.A. / D.K. _____ 7

2A. Are you presently married, or were you in the past?

married	_____	1
divorced	_____	2
separated	_____	3
widowed	_____	4
single	_____	5
NA	_____	6

3. Would you tell me what grade of formal schooling you completed?

none	_____	1
1 - 4	_____	2
5 - 8	_____	3
9 - 10	_____	4
11 - 12	_____	5
over 12	_____	6
D.K. / N.A.	_____	7

4. Outside of formal schooling, have you ever taken any other kinds of courses like welding, motors, book-keeping etc.? _____

5. Would you mind indicating your current memberships, and your position in them? (IF MEMBER, CIRCLE COLUMN 1, and COLUMN 2 IF OFFICER)

Fishermen's Association	_____	1...1
Chamber of Commerce	_____	2...2
_____	_____	3...3
_____	_____	4...4
_____	_____	5...5
_____	_____	6...6
_____	_____	7...7
_____	_____	8...8
_____	_____	9...9
D.K. / N.A.	_____	10...10

6. What about church membership?

Lutheran	_____	1
Unitarian	_____	2
Roman Catholic	_____	3
Greek Catholic	_____	4
Anglican	_____	5
United	_____	6
Other	_____	7
None	_____	8
N.A.	_____	9

7. Would you mind letting me know what your total income, from all sources, was, in 1962, after operating expenses?

0- 1,000	_____	1
1,000 - 2,000	_____	2
2,000 - 3,000	_____	3
3,000 - 4,000	_____	4
4,000 - 5,000	_____	5
5,000 - 6,000	_____	6
6,000 - 7,000	_____	7
D.K.	_____	8
N.A.	_____	9

8. What proportion of this income would you estimate came from fishing?

100 %	_____	1
90% - 99%	_____	2
80% - 89%	_____	3
70% - 79%	_____	4
50% - 69%	_____	5

8. continued...

30% - 49%	_____	6
10% - 29%	_____	7
under 19%	_____	8
D.K.	_____	9
N.A.	_____	10

9. IF NOT 100%:

What other kinds of work did you do?

(Indicate first and second most important.)

farmer	_____	1...1
mink rancher	_____	2...2
trapper	_____	3...3
laborer	_____	4...4
(specify other)	_____	5...5
	_____	6...6
	_____	7...7
N.A.	_____	8...8

SECTION B

1. Do you think you would be willing to leave fishing if you were offered a good job in some other occupation? Yes _____ 1

Yes, maybe _____ 2

Uncertain _____ 3

No _____ 4

D.K. / N.A. _____ 5

2. IF "YES" OR "MAYBE":

What other occupation would you consider?

1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

D.K. _____

3. What do you think is the most serious problem that fishermen on Lake Winnipeg face today?

4. Are there any other important problems?

5. Suppose a committee of fishermen was to be formed to study and solve these problems, would you mind suggesting five Lake Winnipeg fishermen to represent you.

6. What do you think is the most serious problem that the fishing companies on Lake Winnipeg face today?

7. What do you think is the most serious problem that the government faces regarding Lake Winnipeg fishing? _____

If you do not mind, I'd like to ask you a couple of simple YES or NO type questions:

8. Do you read the bulletin for commercial fishermen called 'Fishing'?

- Yes, often _____ 1
- Yes, sometimes _____ 2
- Yes, rarely _____ 3
- No _____ 4
- D.K / N.A. _____ 5

9. Did you happen to read the COMEF Report of Manitoba's fishing industry in the June issue of 'Fishing'? Yes _____ 1

Yes, mostly _____ 2

Yes, "a bit" - "I think so" _____ 3

No, but I heard of it _____ 4

No _____ 5

D.K / N.A. _____ 6

10. IF ANY "YES":

Do you agree generally with what the report said?

Yes _____ 1

Yes, mostly _____ 2

10. continued...
- | | | |
|-------------|-------|---|
| Yes, partly | _____ | 3 |
| No, largely | _____ | 4 |
| No | _____ | 5 |
| D.K. / N.A. | _____ | 6 |
11. Do you get much useful information about fishing from Government sources?
- | | | |
|-------------|-------|---|
| Yes, much | _____ | 1 |
| Yes, some | _____ | 2 |
| Yes, little | _____ | 3 |
| No | _____ | 4 |
| D.K. / N.A. | _____ | 5 |
12. Who do you think has the most influence on Lake Winnipeg: The fishermen, the companies, or the Government?
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|---|
| Fishermen | _____ | 1 |
| Companies | _____ | 2 |
| Government | _____ | 3 |
| Fishermen and Companies | _____ | 4 |
| Fishermen and Government | _____ | 5 |
| Companies and Government | _____ | 6 |
| D.K. | _____ | 7 |
| N.A. | _____ | 8 |
13. Which would you say is next most influential?
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|---|
| Fishermen | _____ | 1 |
| Companies | _____ | 2 |
| Government | _____ | 3 |
| Fishermen and Companies | _____ | 4 |
| Fishermen and Government | _____ | 5 |
| Companies and Government | _____ | 6 |
| D.K. | _____ | 7 |
| N.A. | _____ | 8 |

14. Should one agency or organization be in charge of all fish marketing on Lake Winnipeg?
- | | | |
|------------|-------|---|
| Yes | _____ | 1 |
| Yes, maybe | _____ | 2 |
| Uncertain | _____ | 3 |
| No | _____ | 4 |
| D.K. | _____ | 5 |
| N.A. | _____ | 6 |
15. Which type of marketing organization would you prefer?
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|---|
| Government | _____ | 1 |
| A single Lake Winnipeg Cooperative | _____ | 2 |
| Several local Cooperatives | _____ | 3 |
| Several Companies as at present | _____ | 4 |
| Just a few companies (3 or 4) | _____ | 5 |
| A single company | _____ | 6 |
| D.K. | _____ | 7 |
| N.A. | _____ | 8 |
16. Would you yourself actively support the marketing set-up you suggested?
- | | | |
|------------|-------|---|
| Yes | _____ | 1 |
| Yes, maybe | _____ | 2 |
| Uncertain | _____ | 3 |
| No | _____ | 4 |
| D.K. | _____ | 5 |
| N.A. | _____ | 6 |
-
-

SECTION C

1. In your opinion, who among the Lake Winnipeg fishermen are the important and influential persons in what goes on in fishing?
(GET SEVERAL NAMES - ASK: "ANYONE ELSE?").

2. Of those you mentioned whom would you rank

FIRST _____
SECOND _____
THIRD _____
FOURTH _____
FIFTH _____

3. Who from among the fishing companies?

4. Would you rank these persons as you did in the other question:

FIRST _____
SECOND _____
THIRD _____
FOURTH _____
FIFTH _____

5. What about the Government people?

6. Again, would you please rate these people in order of influence?

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

7. What other people in the Lake Winnipeg communities are generally quite influential among fishermen?

8. How would you rate these persons?

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

9. Finally of all the persons whom you have named from among fishermen, company, Government and community people, which five would you rank as the most influential?

FIRST _____ SECOND _____

THIRD _____ FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

NOTE: COMPARE QUESTIONS 5B and 1C - IF NOT IDENTICAL, Ask. -----

10. As a last question, could you tell us why the persons you nominated to the fishermen's committee differ from those you considered influential?

- Thank you very much for your help -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE A

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS IN AN AGRICULTURAL
FISHING AREA IN MANITOBA.

INTRODUCTION TO INTERVIEW

This interview is an important and necessary step in a study of the fishermen of Lake Winnipeg, their problems and their social setting. The study itself is being carried out by Professor Len Siemens, project leader, and his assistant, Dennis Forcese, from the University of Manitoba.

All answers which you give us will be held in the strictest confidence. No names will be published.

We thank you very much for your time and patience, without which, of course, this study would be impossible.

I. D. # _____

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

Interviewer _____ Date _____

SECTION A

1. Would you tell me, first, the national (i.e. ethnic) origin of your father?

Icelandic _____	1
Polish _____	2
Ukrainian _____	3
English _____	4
Scotch _____	5
Other _____	6
(specify)	
N.A. / D.K. _____	7

2. And how old are you? _____

Up to 21 _____	1
22 - 34 _____	2
35 - 49 _____	3
50 - 64 _____	4
65 - 74 _____	5
75 - up _____	6
N.A. / D.K. _____	7

3. Are you presently married, or were you in the past?

- married _____ 1
- divorced _____ 2
- Separated _____ 3
- widowed _____ 4
- single _____ 5
- NA _____ 6

4. Would you tell me what grade of formal schooling you completed?

- none _____ 1
- 1 - 4 _____ 2
- 5 - 8 _____ 3
- 9 - 10 _____ 4
- 11 - 12 _____ 5
- over 12 _____ 6
- D.K. / N.A. _____ 7

5. Outside of formal schooling, have you ever taken any other kinds of courses like welding, motors, book-keeping etc.?

No _____

6. Would you mind indicating your current membership, and your position in them, i.e., the groups or associations to which you belong, and whether or not you are simply a member or an officer? (IF MEMBER, CIRCLE COLUMN 1, and COLUMN 2 IF OFFICER).

- Fishermen's Association _____ 1.....1
- Chamber of Commerce _____ 2.....2
- School Board _____ 3.....3
- Local Co-op _____ 4.....4
- _____ 5.....5
- _____ 6.....6
- _____ 7.....7
- _____ 8.....8
- D.K. / N.A. _____ 9.....9
- None _____ 10.....10

7. What about church membership?

- Lutheran _____ 1
- Unitarian _____ 2
- Roman Catholic _____ 3
- Greek Catholic _____ 4
- Anglican _____ 5
- United _____ 6
- Other _____ 7
- None _____ 8
- N.A. _____ 9

SUGGESTED MEMBERSHIPS

Chamber of Commerce
Fisherman's Federation
Canadian Legion
Kinsman Club
Old Timers' Association
Credit Union
Farmer's Union
Manitoba Pool Elevators
Co-op Creamery
Retarded Children's Association
Cancer Society
Community Club
Square Dancing Club
Curling Club(s)
Hockey Club(s)
Skating Club(s)
Baseball Club(s)
Football Club(s)
Soccer Club(s)
Physical Fitness Summer School
Church Organization(s)

8. Would you mind letting me know what your total income, from all sources, was, in 1962, after operating expenses?

- 0 - 1,000 _____ 1
- 1,000 - 2,000 _____ 2
- 2,000 - 3,000 _____ 3
- 3,000 - 4,000 _____ 4
- 4,000 - 5,000 _____ 5
- 5,000 - 6,000 _____ 6
- 6,000 - 7,000 _____ 7
- D.K. _____ 8
- N. A . _____ 9

9. What proportion of this income would you estimate came from fishing?

- 100% _____ 1
- 90% - 99% _____ 2
- 80% - 89% _____ 3
- 70% - 79% _____ 4
- 50% - 69 % _____ 5
- 30% - 49% _____ 6
- 10% - 29% _____ 7
- under 10% _____ 8
- D.K. _____ 9
- N.A. _____ 10

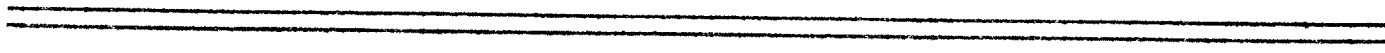
10. IF NOT 100%:

What other kinds of work did you do?

(INDICATE FIRST AND SECOND MOST IMPORTANT.)

Farmer _____	1.....1
Mink Rancher _____	2.....2
TRAPPER _____	3.....3
LABORER _____	4.....4
_____	5.....5
_____	6.....6
_____	7.....7
N.A. _____	8.....8

(specify other)



S E C T I O N B

1. Do you think you would be willing to leave fishing if you were offered a good job in some other occupation?

- Yes _____ 1
- Yes, maybe _____ 2
- No _____ 3
- D.K. / N.A. _____ 4

2. If "Yes" OR "Maybe":

What else would you like to do?

- 1st choice _____
- 2nd choice _____
- Anything else? _____
- D.K. _____

3. What do you think is the most serious problem that fishermen on Lake Winnipeg face today?

4. Are there any other important problems?

No _____ D.K. _____

5. Suppose a committee of fishermen was to be formed to study and solve these problems, would you mind suggesting five Lake Winnipeg fishermen you feel would best represent you. These men can be from anywhere on the Lake.

6. What do you think is the most serious problem that the fishing companies on Lake Winnipeg face today? _____

None _____

D.K. _____

7. What do you think is the most serious problem that the government faces regarding Lake Winnipeg fishing?

None _____

D.K. _____

Now, I'd like to ask you a couple of simple YES or NO type questions:

8. Do you read the bulletin for commercial fishermen called 'Fishing'?

Yes, often _____ 1

Yes, sometimes _____ 2

Yes, rarely _____ 3

No _____ 4

D.K. / N.A. _____ 5

(IF ANY 'YES' TO ABOVE, A S K:)

9. Did you happen to read the COMEF Report on Manitoba's fishing industry in the June issue of 'Fishing'?

Yes _____ 1

Yes, mostly _____ 2

Yes, "a bit" - "I think so" _____ 3

No _____ 4

N.A. _____ 5

10. (IF "NO" TO ABOVE, ASK:)

Have you heard of the COMEF Report on Manitoba's fishing industry, that is, the report of the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future?

Yes _____ 1
No _____ 2
N.A. _____ 3

11. IF ANY "YES":

Do you agree generally with what the report said?

Yes _____ 1
Yes, mostly _____ 2
Yes, partly _____ 3
No, largely _____ 4
No _____ 5
D.K. _____ 6
N. A. _____ 7

12. Do you get much useful information about fishing from Government sources?

Yes, much _____ 1
Yes, some _____ 2
Yes, little _____ 3
No _____ 4
D.K. / N. A. _____ 5

13. Who do you think has the most influence on Lake Winnipeg; i.e. the most to say: fishermen, the companies, or the Government?

- Fishermen _____ 1
- Companies _____ 2
- Government _____ 3
- Fishermen and Companies _____ 4
- Fishermen and Government _____ 5
- Companies and Government _____ 6
- D.K. _____ 7
- N.A. _____ 8

14. Which would you say is next most influential?

- Fishermen _____ 1
- Companies _____ 2
- Government _____ 3
- Fishermen and Companies _____ 4
- Fishermen and Government _____ 5
- Companies and Government _____ 6
- D.K. _____ 7
- N.A. _____ 8

15. Which of the following fish marketing agencies or set-ups would you prefer on Lake Winnipeg?

- Several Companies as at present _____ 1
- Just a few companies (3 or 4) _____ 2
- A single company _____ 3
- A single Lake Winnipeg Cooperative _____ 4
- Several local Cooperatives _____ 5
- Government _____ 6
- D.K. _____ 7
- N.A. _____ 8

16. Would you yourself actively support the marketing set-up you suggested?

- Yes _____ 1
 - Yes, maybe _____ 2
 - Uncertain _____ 3
 - No _____ 4
 - D. K. _____ 5
 - N.A. _____ 6
-
-

SECTION C

1. In your opinion, who among the Lake Winnipeg fishermen are the important and influential persons in what goes on in fishing; i.e. the fishermen who get things done - who are the leaders.

(INSIST UPON REPLY - GET SEVERAL NAMES - ASK: "ANYONE ELSE?")

D. K. _____

2. Of those you mentioned whom would you rank

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

All the same _____

D.K. _____

3. Who from among the fishing companies are the influential persons, or leaders?

All the same _____

D.K. _____

4. Would you rank these persons as you did in the other question :

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

All the same _____

D.K. _____

5. What about the Government people? Who are most influential?

All the same _____

D. K. _____

6. Again, would you please rate these people in order of influence?

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

All the same _____

D.K. _____

7. What other people in the Lake Winnipeg communities have quite a bit of influence with fishermen?

All the same _____

D.K. _____

8. How would you rate these persons?

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

All the same _____

D.K. _____

- Thank you very much for your help -

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE B
COMPANIES AND GOVERNMENT

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS IN AN AGRICULTURAL
FISHING AREA IN MANITOBA

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

Interviewer _____

Section A

1. Would you please tell me, first, your national (i.e., ethnic) origin?

Icelandic 1

Ukrainian 2

Polish 3

German 4

United Kingdom 5

Italian 6

(specify) Other.....

..... 7

NA/DK 8

2. Would you tell me what grade of formal schooling you completed?

None 1

1 - 4 2

5 - 8 3

9 - 10 4

11 5

12 6

University without degree 7

_____ University degree 8

_____ University degrees 9

DK/NA 10

3. Outside of formal schooling, have you ever taken any other kinds of courses, like welding, motors, book-keeping, etc.?

Section B

1. What do you think are the most serious problems that the fishing companies face on Lake Winnipeg today? _____

2. What are the most serious problems that the fishermen on Lake Winnipeg face today? _____

3. What about the Government's problems?

I'd like to ask you a couple of simple YES or NO type questions:

4. Have you read the COMEF Report, as it relates to the fishing industry? Yes 1
Yes, mostly 2
Yes, "a bit"-I think so .. 3
No, but I heard of it 4
No 5
DK/NA 6

5. IF ANY "YES":

Do you agree generally with what the Report said?

- Yes 1
Yes, mostly 2
Yes, partly 3
No, largely 4
No 5
DK/NA 6

6. Who do you think has the most influence on Lake Winnipeg: the fishermen, the companies, or the government?

- Fishermen 1
Companies 2
Government 3
Fishermen and Companies 4
Fishermen and Government 5
Companies and Government 6
DK 7
NA 8
N. As. 9

7. Which would you say is the next most influential?

Fishermen	1
Companies	2
Government	3
Fishermen and Companies	4
Fishermen and Government	5
Companies and Government	6
D.K.	7
N.A.	8

8. Which of the following marketing agencies or set-ups would you prefer for Lake Winnipeg?

Government	1
A single Lake Winnipeg Cooperative.	2
Several local Cooperatives	3
Companies as at present	4
Just a few companies (3 or 4)	5
One private company	6
D.K.	7
N.A.	8

SECTION C

1. In your opinion, who among the Lake Winnipeg fishermen are the important and influential persons in what goes on in fishing?
(GET SEVERAL NAMES -- ASK: "ANYONE ELSE").

D.K. _____

2. Of those you mentioned whom would you rank

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

D.K. _____

3. Who from among the fishing companies?

D.K. _____

4. Would you rank these persons as you did in the other question:

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

D.K. _____

5. What about the Government people?

D.K. _____

6. Again, would you please rate these people in order of influence?

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

D.K. _____

7. What other people in the Lake Winnipeg communities are generally quite influential among fishermen?

D.K. _____

8. How would you rate these persons?

FIRST _____

SECOND _____

THIRD _____

FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

D.K. _____

9. Finally, of all the persons whom you have named from among fishermen, company, Government and community people, which five would you rank as the most influential in the fishing industry?

FIRST _____ SECOND _____

THIRD _____ FOURTH _____

FIFTH _____

D.K. _____

- Thank you very much for your help -

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

APPENDIX B

Company and Government Data

TABLE VII
 Dominant Characteristics of Company
 and Government Respondents

	<u>Company</u> No.	<u>Government</u> No.
Total Number	13	4
Icelandic	6	2
Grade 1-4 education	1	0
Grade 5-8 education	3	1
Grade 9-10 education	3	0
Grade 11-12 education	6	1
University	0	2
Companies as power on the Lake	0	2
Government as power on the Lake	13	1
Fishermen as power on the Lake	0	1
Present marketing system preferred	3	0
A marketing system of de- creased number of companies	7	1
One company marketing system	0	1
Fishermen's cooperative marketing system	3	2

APPENDIX C
A Field Note

A FIELD NOTE

During the interview period in the field we were fortunate to have been received cordially by the fishermen. Probably instrumental in this was our identification with the University of Manitoba. Because the University is a neutral institution respected by the fishermen we emphasized our ties with the University and avoided as much as possible our association with the government. When introducing ourselves to respondents we stated that we were from the University. However, on the other hand, we retained the advantage of still being able to draw upon government aid. Important in this regard were the initial contacts among the fishermen provided us by the Fishermen's Representative. He familiarized us with the sample area and introduced us to a number of fishermen.

We approached 115 fishermen for interviews and were only refused twice. Upon introducing ourselves we stated that we were interested in the problems of the fishermen and in leadership among the fishermen, promising that all responses would be held in confidence. Very rarely was any additional explanation required. Not only were the interviews willingly permitted, but frequently the response extended beyond that strictly called for. Often the fishermen would freely elaborate upon their answers to our questions, providing many

sidelights and additional insights into the fishing industry.

We always welcomed and encouraged such additional comment.

Although we cannot be perfectly certain, we remain satisfied that the fishermen were honest in their responses. At times we did encounter reticence and sometimes a respondent preferred not to reply to a given question. But never did we detect what could be interpreted as a conscious and deliberate attempt at deception. Rather, the respondents were almost universally candid. Noteworthy in this regard were the leadership suggestions. Many times a respondent would refer to an individual whose actions he disliked but to whom he nonetheless attributed leadership ability.

Generally the fishermen displayed interest, friendliness, and generosity. We were frequently invited into homes for conversations, refreshments, and meals. We were provided frequent occasion to remark upon the hospitality of the fishermen who aided and made more pleasant every aspect of our contact with the fishing industry.

APPENDIX D

A Newspaper Report

A NEWSPAPER REPORT

On April 23, 1964, sometime after this thesis had been completed and submitted, the following report appeared in The Winnipeg Tribune:

A consolidation of Manitoba's fishing industry and a totally new concept for the marketing of fish products is being planned for the province.

The program, expected to be implemented within the next five years at an estimated cost of over \$5 million in private investment, follows a regrouping of the major fish companies in Manitoba.

The reorganization of the companies was announced Wednesday. Negotiations to purchase seven of the eight large fish producers are now underway.

The unna med purchaser — a syndicate of Winnipeg businessmen — has obtained options on the purchase over the next five years of Booth Fisheries, British Columbia Packers, Canadian Fisheries, Selkirk Fisheries, Northern Lakes Fisheries. An option on Manitoba Fisheries is also expected to be signed within the next few days.

The only major fish producer remaining outside the proposed regrouping is Keystone Fisheries where negotiation is still underway....

It has been learned that the proposed setup of the fishing industry in Manitoba will follow the co-op principle of fish production....

The plan will see a drive for expansion of local consumer markets as well as increased exports. Lake Winnipeg, now the largest single resource area, hasn't a single processing plant along its shores at the present time.

Under the plan, processing plants for semi-preparation of fish products will likely be

set up. The resultant production at points near fishery operations is expected to reduce prices of fish products to local consumers.

Provincial government officials refused to comment on the proposed industrial shakeup.

Because the reorganization follows the recommendations of the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future, government endorsement of the new setup is certain.

The committee pointed out that the fishing industry in Manitoba is ailing seriously because of lack of rationalization of the marketing setup. It suggested that a consolidation of the fishing firms be undertaken.

A proposed marketing board for the inland fisheries is now under study. The regional board to be established for the prairie provinces is expected to operate in harmony with the new industrial complex in Manitoba.

While the COMEF report pointed out that 70 percent of the fishermen now employed would be better off out of the business, the reorganization program is aimed at absorbing this excess labor.

This will come about by better utilization of fish products, more efficient operation of the fishery and expansion of present markets.