tation, Institut de la statistique. Québec : Institut de la statistique du Québec, octobre 2000.
Comité aviseur-femmes en matière de développement de la main-d'œuvre. «Le travail des Québécoises. État de la situation à l'aube du deuxième millénaire.» Québec, février 1997.
Forrester, Viviane. *L'horreur économique*. Paris: Fayard, 1996.
Institut statistique du Québec, 1996.
Institut Statistique du Québec, 2000.
Presse canadienne. 3 mai 2001.
«Rapport Stevens.» Ottawa : Imprimeur de Roi, 1937.
«Statistiques de l'OCDE.» 1999.
Statistiques Canada. «Enquête sur la population active, 2001.»
Statistiques Canada. «*Le Quotidien*.» 8 septembre 2000.
Statistiques Canada. « Portrait statistique des femmes au Canada, 1985. » 1985.
UNIFEM. «Enquête sur la population active, 2001.» Canada: Statistiques Canada. 19 décembre 1999.
Union européenne, Fonds européen de développement régional et Fonds de cohésion (FEDR-FC), 2001. 1999.

SPENCER DE CORNEILLE

Sick

I try : to sing; to talk, to
love
Everytime I fail: I don't
get back up
I slither away: and cut my
self up
Until the wounds have
diseased my
Skin
Which demolishes all of
the sin I am
In

Spencer De Corneille is a 14-year-old with a unique sense of style.

KRISTJANA GUNNARS

The Suit

Kristiania, Knut Hamsun wrote, that strange city no one escapes from
until it has left its mark on him...

Perhaps even I have become one of the walking wounded...

The man he wrote about found no food and found no words and found no
shelter, not for mind or body or soul...

sleeping out in the rain on the damp ground, chewing slivers of wood....

These days not so strange a city any more, it still has its winding roads,
irregular addresses, houses hither and yon on hills, painted white, painted
red, white, red, white, red...

and the concrete inner core, the pacemaker heart—

I think I have been thrown against the hard edges of this town,

where I had the bizarre notion that I should get a suit! some unknown
material resembling taffeta and wool, jacket and slacks, nothing else on...

I would never wear anything else, day and night, I would wear
this navy black, pin-striped, feminine take on the male suit, male suit,

male suit, my only outfit!

I would be like Hamsun's hungry writer at the bottom of everything
in life. Who has lost himself and then the key to himself....

Who had only one suit to wear and even that he pawned away.

I would end up like that, inheriting even here the wretched of the earth,
and then go off to sea. But so classy. So very classy...

Kristjana Gunnars is the author of several books of poetry and prose. A new book of poetry, Silence of the Country, *was published in the spring of 2002.*

Atlantic Canadian Coastal Communities A Feminist Critique,

BY LINDA CHRISTIANSEN-RUFFMAN

Cet article met l'accent sur les changements dans les politiques sur les pêcheries qui favorisent les prises en haute mer au lieu de la pêche traditionnelle dont dépendaient les communautés. L'auteure examine les implications de ces politiques qui ont accompagné la crise des pêcheries dans les années 90 sur la vie des femmes et des communautés, spécialement en Nouvelle-Ecosse et elle compare ces implications dans le contexte de la mondialisation et des ententes commerciales.

Many Atlantic Canadian coastal communities were created and survived because of the fisheries trade. While initially, in Newfoundland, some settlements were established against British government orders, over time government policies for Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces of Canada came to support these coastal communities.[1] Over hundreds of years, fishing families who worked the inshore, or artisanal, fisheries were sustained by social and economic policies, as well as community practices. My focus in this paper is the subsequent change in fisheries policy that not only favoured the corporate offshore fishery but also made it almost impossible for fishing to remain as a way of life in Atlantic Canada. Also under the threat of extinction is the more ecologically sustainable inshore fishery as well as the communities that have depended upon it.

I learned these patterns while working in organizations with women in coastal communities and conducting participatory action research using participant observation, secondary sources, interviews and focus groups.[2] Through this research with feminist eyes, I examine the implications of these changed policies of the 1990s for the lives of women and their communities in the context of globalization and trade agreements. The paper concludes with an argument for a feminist "revaluation" and revisioning.

> Many Nova Scotian women, who had managed the family fishing business and developed expertise in doing the paper-work, were heavily impacted by these rapid regulatory changes.

The 1990s Fisheries Crisis in Atlantic Canada

In July 1992, dwindling fish stocks led the Canadian government to declare a two year moratorium on harvesting Atlantic Canada's most important commercial fish stock: northern cod (2J3KL), named for the coordinates on the map marking where it is caught. On December 20, 1993 almost all major Canadian cod fisheries were closed.

The crisis directly affected 40,000 people, touched many others indirectly, and threatened to shut down over a thousand small fishing communities (Neis) in what MacDonald says was the "largest mass layoff in Canadian history" (13). The earlier warnings from local fishers during the 1970s and 1980s that the catches were down and that the cod was much smaller had been ignored. The powerful voices were not the inshore fishers but were the large fish companies with offshore fleets which had been established with government support in the 1980s.[3]

Large companies were helped by government to weather this crisis by being given quota to exploit fish that were considered "underutilized species." They were also allowed, in fact, to continue to sell the cod that they caught while fishing for these other species. These large companies have made record profits since the "crisis," with the lucrative and less labour intensive crab and shrimp fisheries replacing cod as the main basis for a now more diversified fish trade.

When the moratorium forced inshore fish harvesters off the water, some did retrain for non-fishing jobs and left their fishing communities. Many others decided to fight for their right to fishing as a way of life. They have resisted the government's fishery plans such as professionalization, individual transferable quotas (ITQs) and quota distributions which they see as unfair and inequitable, benefitting corporations and some families at the expense of others, and creating divisions within communities (see DesRoches). As a Nova Scotian activist remarked in an interview, "Government policies have driven us over the edge. There is nothing we can do. We have fought, and it falls on deaf ears."

Small-scale fishers now must con-

and the Fisheries Trade
Revaluation and Revisioning

tend with what they see as constantly changing and numerous new government fishing regulations, which require more paperwork, like log books, and which discount the expertise of experienced fishing lives. They understand that this new set of policies—which also includes downloading of government supports (such as the privatisation of wharves) and the imposition of user fees (such as the responsibility to pay for fish monitors)—is designed to push small family enterprises out of the industry. New licensing and safety requirements literally cost more than the small fisher can absorb. One Nova Scotian woman pointed out how "even the boat subsidies hurt the smaller boats by driving prices up—a $15,000 boat went to a $30,000 boat."

Women, Communities and the Cashin Report

Many Nova Scotian women, who had managed the family fishing business and developed expertise in doing the paper-work, were heavily impacted by these rapid regulatory changes. Women were being effectively "de-skilled"—from this work which was not even recognized as work. As they tried to keep up with the changes, women's "work" stress increased (sometimes to clinical depression), their self-confidence decreased, and their hope was sometimes broken by the profound unfairness which they saw and experienced—and for which they had no names.

While large fishing companies have been prospering, fishing communities have been dying as families move away and as fishplants and shops close. The government's fisheries policies have been making people sick, devastating their communities and ways of life. In many families, as Ariella Pahlke, Stella Lord and Linda Christiansen-Ruffman point out,

> Fishermen are stressed because they can't work. Women experience the stress of having the men at home "underfoot" and having to look after them as well as the children, all on a diminished budget. (5-6)

"Fishermen are stressed because they can't work. Women experience the stress of having the men at home "underfoot" and having to look after them as well as the children, all on a diminished budget."

One Nova Scotian woman reported that she could not leave her husband alone for fear he would walk off the end of the wharf and commit suicide. Meanwhile governments cut urgently needed community services as part of cutbacks in social policies and programs in Canada.

Women have been excluded from decision-making about their futures. When the government-appointed Task Force on the fisheries crisis, only men were included. As Vicky Silk has written, "[W]omen's homes and communities were forced onto the bargaining table by exclusively male unions, government and corporate policy-makers" (7). The 1993 Cashin Task Force Report, "Charting a New Course: Toward the Fishery of the Future," extends the corporate agenda by focusing on fish only as an economic commodity, not as food or livelihoods for local communities. Its solution for the future replaces a vision of "fishing as a way of life" in favour of a professionalized, high-tech fishery.

Cashin and others defined the problem as over-capacity which they equated with too many people and boats, not with flawed management strategies or inappropriate technology. Part of the professionalization solution was to ease individuals out of the fishery through programs in which fishers had to give up their future right to participate in the fisheries in exchange for job retraining.[4] Women were not included in conceptions of professionals, either as paid or unpaid employees. In fact, the "professionalization" of the fishery—in both its policies and its rhetoric—might be considered as a mechanism for new forms of discrimination against women.[5] For example, in The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) compensation package which followed the government's moratorium, many women did not qualify—because their work was not recognized as work, because their work was not recognized as sufficiently at "arm's length" from their employer (their husband), and because their

paid work (e.g., baiting trawl) was considered too marginal. This initial failure to qualify for support continues to prevent women's entitlement to training programs and perpetuates their unrecognized unpaid work and associated lack of self-worth—in both their families and their communities.

The professionalization of the fisheries probably failed to include women partly because of women's lack of participation in policy planning and partly because men had envisioned the future professionalized fishery for men, without women; for some men, professionalizing roles of "fishermen" was a way of stopping women's increased participation in the fisheries (both as fish harvesters and fish processors). Ideologically, the patriarchal construction of this male "profession" negated women's traditional work as shore managers, fish processors, and bookkeepers of family businesses. The taken-for-granted male entitlement to this industry, and the utter absence of women and women's interests from consideration, was apparent when a New Brunswick fisheries leader exclaimed:

> And then, there are some people who think that women—women!—should sit at the decisions-making table. Well, if this is the case, we might as well invite the Martians to have a seat as well. (Nova Scotia Women's FishNet FactSheet 1E)

In fact, the Cashin Report on the Fisheries paid more attention to female cod than to female persons. Its one mention of women was that middle-aged women would be hardest hit by the crisis. The Report, like government policies, however, assumed women would "cope" and support their families—without needed social development resources and against policies that destroyed their health, their livelihood, and their hope. It is hard to know whether the local men involved in producing this report realized that their professionalized policies were designed to "sink" their communities. However, Nalini Nayak, a fishery organizer from India who worked with some of these men at international conferences, indicates that at least one of them, Michael Belliveau, Executive Secretary of the Maritime Fisherman's Union, came to recognize, though not fully understand, women's initial participation in struggles for coastal communities, their unexplained (in his eyes) disappearance, and their potential "to come up with strategies to tackle the growing withdrawal of the State, and thus defend the rights of the coastal communities" (Nayak 48).

"And then, there are some people who think that women—women!—should sit at the decisions-making table. Well, if this is the case, we might as well invite the Martians to have a seat as well."

Global Similarities

The fisheries crisis in Atlantic Canada is not unique. The disappearance of fish and restructuring of the fishery—increasing corporatization, privatisation, and economic fundamentalism—has parallels elsewhere. Governments in many parts of the world are increasing fisheries regulations against the interests of local, inshore fishing families. Women and men fishworkers in India, for example, are organizing demonstrations to support the local, community-based artisanal fishery and to protest the draggers and high technology solutions that Canada wants to send to their offshore. (See, for example, Stibbe and Moss on South Africa's Kalk Bay and publications *Samudra* and *Yemaya*, published by the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers, for descriptions from many parts of the world.) Farming and forestry communities have many parallels, from restructuring to the loss of the family farm to environmental degradation.

Whether the contemporary agenda of economic restructuring is called neo-conservative, neo-liberal, and/or neo-reform, it shares some characteristics in countries of both the south and the north. It measures all worth and all values by the economic "bottom line" and treats trade as the one and only priority. Growth in international trade is sought even at the expense of local populations. Policies designed to this end include: privatization of formerly public goods and services; deregulation of national economies, reduction of wages, decreases in job security, continued reliance on technology to solve environmental problems, tax policies favouring corporations; and a priority to commodification of common resources, intellectual property, and life itself (what Shiva calls biopiracy and plundering). This set of anti-citizen and anti-community policies is increasingly being propagated and legitimized by International Financial Institutions and the World Trade Organization, and brokered by governments.[5] Throughout the world, the resulting restructuring has undermined or eliminated policies designed for social development, be they food subsidies, public benefits for education, health or public information. Like structural adjustment programs of the South, the fisheries packages of Atlantic Canada have the largest negative impact on women and children.

Logic of System

Current trade policies and economic

structures aggravate poverty, inequality among and between nations, structural unemployment, environmental degradation, and social disintegration. Even the World Bank now agrees that changes are needed to mitigate the damage that contemporary policies are creating by exacerbating inequalities and by harming women (see, for example, King and Mason). The anti-life consequences are partly the result of the logic of capitalism, built on exploitation of human labour, the creation of both consumption and scarcity, and the requirement for exponential growth and ever more wealth for owners. The economic fundamentalism of contemporary free trade rulings along with decontextualized individualism is both intensifying this logic and changing it. In assuming *everything* may be reduced to monetary value, it recognises no alternative means of valuation. In this currency, mothering and life itself have no value. Indeed, current hierarchies of economic valuation often reward those activities most harmful to the world and fail to reward those activities most important for social betterment. This pattern holds within sectors (e.g., weapons traders value the most destructive and illegal goods) and between sectors (e.g., violence industry versus fishing industry). This logic of capitalism and free trade assumes that non-monetized activity is, literally, worthless as are all other values our democracy used to cherish. This logic destroys human efforts to create safe and viable communities.

The logic of trade appropriates and distorts other concepts and ideals for its own interests. For example, under the Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) of the World Trade Organization, the word "non-discrimination" no longer refers to disadvantaged or marginalized peoples. Instead, TRIMS promotes non-discrimination against foreign investors. The consequences are that local investors can no longer compete with transnational corporations, for there is no level playing field against corporate power. As the word discrimination takes on a solely economic connotation, it wipes the agenda clear of structurally marginalized groups such as women and racialized minorities.

One indicator of the vicious nature of the new neo-liberal free trade capitalism is that it is devouring democracy itself. The formerly high standards of the public service, with their goal of designing programs for the public good, have been replaced by public relations operations for politicians, full of double-speak and counter-speak. Public policy documents profess objectives contrary to the actual consequences of proposed policies. The public is denied information by the corporate media. Free trade rules such as TRIMS and articles such as Chapter 11 of NAFTA take away governmental powers to act in the interests of citizens, and perhaps it is not surprising that governmental rhetoric has replaced the concept of citizen with that of "consumers" or "clients." The "freedom" which citizens used to associate with democracy has become the freedom of capitalists to make profit and to move capital, goods, and services around the world without interference. It is one of the current contradictions that in an attempt to silence opposition, politicians are saying that they do not wish to hear from "special interest groups" while at the same time they meet freely and frequently with the business community, the special interest group for which and with which their policies are designed.

The "freedom" which citizens used to associate with democracy has become the freedom of capitalists to make profit and to move capital, goods, and services around the world without interference.

The fishery crisis occurred after 15 years of a scientific management policy, designed "to control fishery resource use on an ecological basis" (Policy for Canada's Commercial Fishers cited in Rogers 39). Even with Canadian resources, the policy did not work. The unpredicted stock collapse indicates clearly that neither the regulatory means nor the science have worked to protect the codfish stocks or the local communities that have depended upon them. Regulations ostensibly established for fair competition, such as fishing seasons and "individual transferable quotas," provided conditions that increased inequality,[6] favoured specialized fleet sectors and created over-fishing. Science, management, economics, and technology[7]—with their abstracted and implicitly insatiable values—successfully sustained large-scale exploitation of the fishery resource while failing to preserve the inshore fishery and the communities which depend on it.[8]

The situation in the Atlantic fishery shows the inter-relatedness of what is in fact a multi-layered crisis: a fish crisis, an environmental crisis, a community crisis, an economic crisis, a crisis of our development paradigms and science, and a crisis of governance. But the crisis has not been met by a multifaceted response. Consistent with the neo-liberal globalization agenda, the response has been an economic fundamentalist one which sees the solution in restructuring, "professionalising," corporatizing, and privatizing economic relationships. This agenda is likely, in the long run, to worsen the fish crisis, the environmental crisis, the community crisis, the crisis of our paradigms and our governance. It raises questions: Why should we continue to reward those large off-

shore fish harvesters whose methods have been most environmentally destructive? Is healthy food for people or corporate profit a more important basis on which to build our futures? Why did we not adopt policies which would have promoted sustainable livelihoods and sustainable communities? What right does the government have to take the "(inshore) fishing way of life" away and to render fishing communities an "endangered species"? Should we continue to believe in technological, commercially-driven solutions—ones which are causing harm in the ocean ecosystem?[9] Should we not seek real alternatives that recognize the importance both of fish swimming freely in an ocean eco-system and of the fishing communities whose livelihood depends on these fish?

Feminist Revaluation and Revisioning

The fisheries crisis in Atlantic Canada could have been an important opportunity for genuine reconstruction and innovation. Women have seen the need for planning by, for and with the local communities and have identified policy distortions of the current system: on sea, on land and at the United Nations.[10] Women fishers and policy-makers have potential to fashion an environmentally and economically sustainable, community-based fishery because women are more likely than men to focus on fishing as a way of life and on processing as well as harvesting.[11] Women's more wholistic concerns and feminists more wholistic analysis take the needs of life—family members, community and environment—as their starting point.

This transformative feminist thinking opens up the alternative of societies centered around caring rather than greed and oriented to social development rather than exchange. If participatory, women-centred, environmentally-friendly sustainable social development were to become the core around which a new society were built, a fundamental and radical revaluing of all institutions would be necessary. Social and economic resources would have to be reallocated, the economy transformed to serve societal interests, and a transparent, accountable civil society would have to be created, based on collective as well as individual human rights. This would involve revaluing, recognizing, and rewarding the significant work and responsibilities of women worldwide.

The process of revaluing is not easy because rewards in society increasingly favour illicit trade and destructive technologies rather than socially valuable goods and services. Canada, as one of the more privileged countries, might take some leadership in this process of transformation and work with women's groups to develop alternative ways in which to value activities of women. For example, socially useful work such as a national childcare program would create jobs for many women at the same time as it supports labour force participation. Feminist organizations in Newfoundland have called for a social infrastructure program. Turning the economy around to focus on social development would involve restructuring in a way that helps rather than hinders women's participation at all levels and stages of societies and their decision-making processes. The above examples suggest beginnings.

Ultimately, what I am proposing involves profound changes in the very concept of the economy and wealth itself. The new concept would pertain to human potential and relationships rather than commodification and colonization. It would reject reductionism and unilinearity and assumptions of insatiability, and it would embrace the multifaceted, people-centred, and relational reality of women's community work. It would challenge the ideals of exponential growth, revalue economic assumptions, and revise economic institutions, perhaps in ways suggested by Margrit Kennedy's proposal of interest and inflation free money. It might build on women's gift-giving practices and human relationships, rejecting the unequal exchanges of the current so-called level playing field, and challenging the very idea of exchange itself in terms proposed by Genevieve Vaughan. If we think about it this way, these feminist conceptions are not so utopian but simply build on values and ethics that are still currencies among the majority of peoples and communities of the world. As Maria Mies suggests, feminists need to recognize that our economy is like an iceberg with only ten percent visible to our policy-makers and people in general. Feminists need to decolonize the iceberg economy, to understand and to build on the whole, prioritizing women's hidden life-sustaining work and concerns.

Some parts of this paper were published earlier as "Canada, Social Development and the Debt Crisis: A Feminist Revaluing and Reconstruction in Development: Journal of the Society for International Development in 1995 and republished in a Halifax document prepared for the 1995 People's Summit, the "P7," held as an alternative to the G7 in Halifax. I want to thank Angela Miles for her encouragement to rework this paper and for her helpful editorial comments. I also want to thank Monnah Green, Sraboni Maitra, and Nasheeba Selim for their proofreading help.

Linda Christiansen-Ruffman is Professor of Sociology at Saint Mary's University where she also teaches Women's Studies, Atlantic Canada Studies, and International Development Studies. With the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW), she was one of the founders of Women's FishNet. She is also active in the Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA), and the International Sociological Association, which she has represented at the United Nations.

[1]Newfoundland was a colony of Great

Britain until it became part of Canada in 1949. The Maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island together with the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador constitute Atlantic Canada. For information on fishing settlements in Newfoundland, see *Newfoundland and the Salt Fisheries: A Digital Exhibition* (http://collections.ic.gc.ca/fisheries).

[2]This paper has benefited greatly from my research conducted in coastal communities of Labrador Straits in the 1970s and in Nova Scotia since 1994 in collaboration with the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women in Nova Scotia, Nova Scotia Women's FishNet, Atlantic Women's FishNet and numerous participatory researchers in coastal communities. Some quotes and examples in this article from "Nova Scotian women" come from research sponsored by the above organizations in which I have participated; we thank Status of Women Canada, Health Canada and the Maritime Centre of Excellence for Women's Health for funding. I am indebted to the inspiring and intelligent women whom I now have the pleasure of knowing and who have taught me so much. For example, see Mary DesRoches for an exceptionally astute description of the situation in Nova Scotian inshore fishing communities and organizations during this period of crisis.

My understanding of the situation in Atlantic Canada has also benefited from discussions with women living in other parts of the world. Most particularly I thank the members of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), a network of feminist researchers from the economic south (see DAWN). Their insights on structural adjustment policies in the economic south helped me to see parallels in the restructuring policies in the fisheries and corporate globalisation. I also thank them and other members of Women's Caucuses at the United Nations, where during planning for the conferences of the 1990s on Environment (1992), Human Rights (1993), Population and Development (1994), Social Development (1995), Women (1995) and Human Settlements (1996), we gradually recognized the powerful harm of the neo-liberal trade agenda. Now we have several international networks (e.g., Gender and Trade; Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice) focused on this topic (http://www.genderandtrade.net which includes *International Gender and Trade Network Monthly Bulletin*).

[3]In the 1980s the government's Kirby Report assessed the future of the Atlantic Fisheries in optimistic terms, building on the idea of fish being a renewable resource (with an overtone of the indestructibility of nature) and, as Kurlansky also argues, "Much of the report was devoted to finding new markets for all the fish that was going to be caught by the new Canadian groundfishing fleet.... That the government was not listening to the inshore fishermen is an understatement" (184).

[4]Rather than taking a community approach these policies stressed individual solutions. Complaints came that retraining programs created overcapacity in certain occupations such as welders for men and hairdressers for women—jobs that local economies could not absorb. Job strategies also encouraged outmigration, leaving communities deprived of youthful energy. Many complaints related to qualifying criteria for compensation programs; governments applied rigid, bureaucratic and supposedly objective standards that violated community knowledge and understandings. At the same time, the international market system was showing youth that drugs and drug trafficking were more attractive and lucrative than fish.

[5]Support for this gendered interpretation turned up in an obituary by Nalini Nayak, an Indian member of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), for Michael Belliveau, who was Executive Secretary of the Maritime Fisherman's Union. She writes:

> While we worked on ICSF's Women and Fisheries Programme, Mike did not get involved—which made me angry. I later realized that he had been attentive to all the discussions and analyses, but could not fit it into his analysis of the evolving fishery....
>
> Although we did not arrive at any amicable and clear conclusion, Mike's insights threw enormous light on the process of marginalization of women through the "professionalization" of the fishery. (48)

This quote highlights the dominance of an exclusively male conception of the newly symbolized professional status of "fisherman" by indicating the impossibility of this male participant even imagining women in the future fishery. It acknowledges that women were marginalized and excluded through "professionalization" of the fishery and gives us a glimpse at patriarchal mechanisms at work.

[6]Secret meetings of economic elites, brokered deals by international governments in rapidly called meetings, and the "fast-tracking" of these deals domestically, have allowed for policies in which people and communities really no longer matter. As Mariama Williams points out: "Trade liberalisation has become an ever-expanding perspective and end in itself. It is therefore not qualified or conditioned by anything outside itself, not even by a development reality" (1). Moreover, in practice, trade liberalisation is implemented politically and is dependent upon current international interests. As C. Rammanohar Reddy writes to conclude his analysis of negotiations on fisheries subsidies at the WTO:

> Such are the negotiating processes at the WTO that the final outcome depends so much on each country's economic

> strength and how it can set one issue off against another, play one country against another, and build cross-sectional alliances. The legitimacy of the proposals, and the rights and wrongs do not, ultimately, matter. It is these processes that will determine the final result, both in fisheries subsidies and tariffs on fish and fish products. (37)

[7]For example, in Nova Scotia offshore company owned trawlers caught eastern shore quotas before the ice left local harbours (Bannister).

[8]Dragger technology, which had been ctiticized by local fishers when it was introduced in the 1890's, was growing increasingly destructive. Offshore trawlers, and then stern trawlers, equipped with sonar fish finders, freezers, processing equipment, and fish meal conversion units enabled fleets to explout the seemingly inexhaustible northern cod fisheries.

[9]As Raymond Rogers wrote "management frameworks could not control the expansionist dynamics of the modern logic of resource development. The regulation of resource development ... was an expensive, extremely complicated and futile attempt to control the short-term economic perspectives of return on investment and inflation accounting that promoted the depletion of the fish stocks." (5). And some experts are also blaming cold water and/or chemical pollution of the oceans.

[10]On March 20, 2001 the Board of Ecology Action Centre (EAC), with legal help from the Sierra Legal Defence Fund, agreed to proceed with a juridical review of what the EAC considers to be "illegal and unsustainable fishing practices." EAC is challenging the technology of dragging or trawling which it claims to be illegal under Canada's Fisheries Act because this technology destroys fish habitat and has not been subject to an environmental assessment by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans as required by the Act. At the time of writing this article, a decision on this case had not been made (Ecology Action Centre Board of Directors and telephone interviews).

[11]At the United Nations, women's caucuses discussed proposed treaties on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks and the FAO draft of Conduct for Responsible Fishing, criticizing their focus solely on environmental and market forces and the poverty of the solutions being proposed; the failed scientific and management systems and policies (e.g., maximum sustainable yield) of the 1970s had created the crisis and were no model for the world's fisheries. Women were critical of policies that ignored social development and the interests of coastal communities. They proposed solutions such as: in future, fish harvesting and processing should be accomplished in ways that sustain small coastal communities and contribute to their local socio-economic development.

[12]Women have traditionally processed (or made) the fish—using methods of drying, salting, pickling and freezing/packing fish fillets. When I was doing research in Labrador Straits' communities in the late 1970s, women and men were trying to increase the value of their fish trade by developing small fish plants in the local communities.

References

Bannister, Ralph "Orthodoxy and the Theory of Fishery Management: The Policy and Practice of Fishery Management Theory, Past and Present." Unpublished M. A. thesis in Atlantic Canada Studies, Saint Mary's University, 1989.

Cashin, Richard *Charting A New Course: Toward the Fishery of the Future; Report of the Task Force on Incomes and Adjustments in the Atlantic Fishery.* Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans, November, 1993.

Christiansen-Ruffman, Linda. "Wealth Re-examined: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women's Development Projects in Canada and the Third World," Working paper #140, *Women in International Development Publication Series,* East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1987.

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). *DAWN Informs* website: www.dawn.org.fj.

DesRoches, Mary L. Kenneally. "Resisting the Corporate Restructuring of the Inshore Atlantic Fisheries: Mobilization for a Coastal Community-Oriented Alternative." Unpublished MA Thesis in Sociology, Acadia University, 1996.

Ecology Action Centre Board of Directors. "Fish Habitat Legal Challenge." *Between the Issues* 11 (3) (Fall 2001): 8-9.

Kennedy, Margrit. *Interest and Inflation Free Money: Creating an Exchange Medium That Works for Everybody and Protects the Earth.* Okemos, MI: Seva International, 1995.

King, Elizabeth and Andrew Mason. *EnGendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice.* Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2001.

Kirby, Michael J. *Canada Task Force on Atlantic Fisheries: Navigating Troubled Waters.* Ottawa: Canada Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1982.

Kurlansky, Mark. *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World.* Toronto: Knopf Canada, 1997.

MacDonald, Michael. "No Light at the End of Tunnel for Devastated Cod Fishery." Halifax: *The Chronicle Herald* May 23, 2002: A13.

Matthew, Sebastian. "Analysis: Trading Gets Fishy—WTO Agenda." *Samudra Report* 30 (December 2001): 37-38.

Mies, Maria. "Decolonizing the Iceberg Economy: New Feminist Concepts for a Sustainable Society." *The Global Feminist Enlightenment: Women and Social Knowledge.* Ed. Linda Christiansen-Ruffman. Montreal and Madrid: International Sociological Association, 1998. 75-90.

Nayak, Nalini. "Farewell, True Friend: Michael Belliveau 1942-2002." *Samudra Report* 31 (March: 2002): 35-37.

Neis, Barbara. "Women, Economic and Political Restructuring, and the Crisis in Atlantic Canada," paper presented to the Atlantic Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists, October, 1994.

Nova Scotia Women's FishNet. *Women's Economic Stability and Well-Being in Nova Scotia Coastal Communities.* Halifax: Nova Scotia Women's FishNet, 2001.

Pahlke, Ariella, Stella Lord and Linda Christiansen-Ruffman. *Women's Health and Wellbeing in Six Nova Scotia Fishing Communities.* Halifax: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women in association with Nova Scotia Women's FishNet, 2001.

Reddy, C. Rammanohar "Analysis: Give Some, Take Some—WTO Negotiations," *Samudra Report* 31 (March 2002): 35-37.

Rogers, Raymond A. "Conservation and Development: The Case Study of Canada's East Coast Fishery." Unpublished M. A. thesis in Environmental Studies, York University, 1991.

Shiva, Vandana. *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge.* Toronto: Between the Lines, 1997.

Shiva, Vandana. *Protect or Plunder? Understanding Intellectual Property Rights.* London: Zed Books, 2001.

Silk, Vicky. "Draggers in Newfoundland Dragging Women through Suffering," *Samudra Report* 9 (February 1994): 3-8.

Stibbe, George and Iain Moss. *A Traditional Way of Life: The Story of the Kalk Bay Fishermen.* Kenwyn, South Africa: G.R. Stibbe, 1998.

Vaughan, Genevieve. *For-Giving: A Feminist Criticism of Exchange.* Austin: Plain View Press, 1977.

Williams, Mariama. *Imbalances, Inequities and the WTO Mantra: DAWN Trade Discussion Paper II on the WTO.* Fiji: Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), 2001.

DORITA KOZAK

La Pelota*

For Pedro

She lies at his feet. La Pelota. He calls everything "she." The snake in the garden. The hawk
in the sun. Our turbo-charged Pontiac. The way others "he" as the generic.

In my own mother tongue, there is no "he" or "she." We are all one pronoun- he, she and
God.

She lies at his feet, her leather curves awaiting his virtuous touch. "You must use the boot like the sleeve of violinist. The waist, like an anaconda, to hold the earth close. The thighs like a horse, to follow her without flagging. The gluteals for the final thrust."

He speaks of her in the tones of a credo. He is instructing, inviting me into their intimacy. But
I feel as his mother must have when she saved her worn stockings for him, watched him roll the tight ball, just hard enough for his small, naked toes. Watched him run out the door not to
return until dark.

He is the eye of the triangle.

The tender transference of love can form in such triangles. I watch him romance the ball, his feet now shod in Italian calf, a week's wages but almost a glove, almost as good as barefoot.
The thousands roaring his name. His chestnut mane like a stallion's. His body coiling and
uncoiling. And she is always in his eye.

*The Ball

Dorita Kozak lives in Kettleby, Ontario. She is working on her first book of poetry and her first novel.