

HEAR ME SPEAK: ITALIAN AND PORTUGUESE WOMEN FACING FISHERIES MANAGEMENT

Madeleine Hall-Arber
*Center for Marine Social Sciences
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Sea Grant College Program*

Abstract: Declines in the principal groundfish stocks of New England led to the development of Amendment 5 to the New England Fishery Management Council's Multispecies Management Plan. Implemented about a year and a half ago, Amendment 5 incorporated a phased-in series of increasingly strict management measures. Recently, however, the management council took a proposed Amendment 7 to public hearing, a series of extremely strict measures intending not only to halt over-fishing, but to begin stock rebuilding.

Two of the major groundfish ports in the northeast are Gloucester, dominated by first- and second-generation Italians, and New Bedford whose groundfish fleet is predominantly Portuguese. The women of the two ports face the same potential impacts associated with the current crisis in the fisheries. Loss of incomes, vessels and homes has already begun. When the public hearings for Amendment 7 were held, many Gloucester women attended and a number testified. In contrast, there were no Portuguese women at the hearing in New Bedford.

In Gloucester, the women have transformed an organization that began as a campaign to promote cooking of underutilized species of fish into an active lobbying force, collaborative problem-solving agency and proactive civic group. No similar organization has arisen in New Bedford. This article postulates that, contrary to public opinion, ethnicity does not explain the differences in the activities of the women of these two ports, offers some alternative reasons and suggests why these are significant for fisheries management.

Résumé: Le déclin des principaux stocks de poissons de bas-fonds de Nouvelle Angleterre a conduit au développement par Conseil de gestion des pêcheries de l'Amendement 5 portant sur le plan de gestion des multi-espèces. Mis en application il y a un an et demi, l'Amendement 5 comprend

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une série de strictes mesures, introduites progressivement. Toutefois, le Conseil de gestion a envisagé récemment une audience publique de l'Amendement 7 qui propose une nouvelle série de mesures extrêmement sévères pour arrêter la surpêche mais aussi pour reconstituer les stocks de poissons.

Gloucester et New Bedford sont deux des principaux de pêche des poissons de bas-fonds du nord-est des États-Unis. Le premier est dominé par des Italiens de première et deuxième génération, et le second a une flotte de vaisseaux de pêche principalement portugaise. Les femmes de ces deux ports doivent faire face aux mêmes impacts potentiels associés à la crise qui affecte les pêcheries: baisse des revenus, perte des vaisseaux et des maisons. Lorsque l'audience publique a eu lieu à Gloucester, des femmes étaient présentes et un certain nombre d'entre elles ont témoigné. Par contre, à New Bedford, il n'y avait aucune femme portugaise à l'audience publique.

À Gloucester, les femmes ont transformé une organisation, qui avait débuté comme une campagne de promotion pour la cuisine des espèces de poissons peu employés, en une force active de lobbying, et une agence de collaboration pour trouver des solutions aux problèmes actuels et en un groupe civique dynamique. À New Bedford, aucun groupe similaire ne s'est formé. Cet article postule que, contrairement à l'opinion publique, l'ethnicité n'explique pas les différences entre les activités de ces deux groupes de femmes; il offre des raisons alternatives et suggère pourquoi ces dernières sont importantes pour la gestion des pêcheries.

Introduction

Members of fishing communities often refer to fishing as "a way of life" (Gatewood and McCay 1988:126; McGoodwin 1990:24). Indeed, many attributes are common to the industry wherever in the world it is found. Conversations with otter trawl fishermen¹ in New Bedford and Gloucester, Massachusetts, in the 1990s echo conversations held in the 1980s with *pirogue* fishers of Guet N'dar, Senegal, which, in turn, echoed conversations with Portuguese-American fishermen in Provincetown, Massachusetts, in the 1970s (Hall-Arber 1975, 1988). One of the attributes that often surprises those who know little about the industry is how important the role of women frequently is to this stereotypical male occupation. While it is true that women who fish commercially are rather rare, documentation of women's shore-side activities reveal that their tasks are commonly essential to the functioning and continuity of the industry (Binkley 1995; Danowski 1980; Gladwin 1980; Hall-Arber 1988; McGoodwin 1990; Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988; Thompson 1985. See also Fields 1996 for a study of Alaskan women who fish).

This article considers the roles of women of fishing families in two important ports in Massachusetts: New Bedford and Gloucester. Commencing with a public hearing on proposed changes to the New England Fishery Management Council's Multispecies Management Plan which controls fishing for

groundfish (e.g., cod, haddock and yellowtail flounder), similarities and contrasts between the activities of women of the two ports are examined with the goal of identifying how a community gains and retains its voice.

Can differences in ethnicity explain the contrasts between the women of Gloucester and New Bedford in the levels and types of participation in their communities? This article suggests that ethnicity is only one factor among a host of other reasons that the voice of Gloucester in the fish management process is often female while it is rarely so in New Bedford. Other factors to be considered include: economic characteristics of the two cities; individual leadership and status of organizations; and attachment to community as a territorial unit.

Though social scientists have long grappled with the concept of community, the search for an appropriate definition has lately become relevant to fisheries management with the currency of "co-management" ideas. In early works, community was characterized as a rural font of social order and virtue contrasting with the disorder of modern cities. Redfield (1956), who observed that there was an urban-rural continuum, described the "little community" as "distinctive," "small," "homogeneous" (i.e., slow-changing) and "self-sufficient." Community implied face-to-face contact, a similar social organization and structure, similar values and world view. While early studies of fishing communities, such as those by Faris (1966), Firth (1946), Forman (1970) and Nemeč (1972), tended to focus on small, peasant or isolated communities with congruence of geography and occupation, and a significant homogeneity, more recent work has sought to define communities of fishers in less circumscribed settings. Nadel-Klein and Davis (1988:41), for example, suggest that "fishing groups enmeshed in complex stratified societies may be usefully regarded as occupational communities."

In a way which recalls some of the earlier definitions, Dyer, Gill and Picou (1992) define a "population of individuals living within a bounded area whose primary cultural existence is based on the utilization of renewable natural resources" as a "natural resource community." Smith and Hanna (1993) also find that proximity in a community "as a territorial unit" is significant in "differentiating behaviors within a fishery," despite the availability of various electronic media that would allow the formation of alternative groupings such as those based on occupational position or status, independent of geography.

In fisheries, arguments can be made for either geographic communities or occupational communities, which can be further delineated according to species sought or gear utilized. How community is or should be defined may become critical to the success or failure of fisheries management as policy shifts toward the incorporation of community through co-management of fisheries resources. Pinkerton (1996) suggests, "it is organized interests with a legitimate stake in the sustainable management of the resource who are likely to be recognized as having a right to participate in some fashion in management

decisions and in co-managing bodies.” This article raises the question of whether or not some fishing communities may need help organizing some of the unorganized interests in order to assure that all appropriate stakeholders are represented or involved in the co-management process.

Resource Management and Fishing Communities

“One of the central difficulties in the use of natural resources is the design of management systems that are effective, equitable, and efficient” (Hanna 1995). The worldwide declines in fisheries stocks over the last three decades, documented by McGoodwin (1990), indicate a general failure of fish management policy according to Acheson and Wilson (1996).

However, the work of Acheson and Wilson (1996), Dyer and McGoodwin (1994), Ostrom (1990) and Pinkerton (1989) suggest that more effective models of management, which would be less expensive to enforce, could be derived from traditional management techniques. None of these researchers suggest that traditional management systems are always or inevitably well designed for modern fisheries management (McGoodwin 1990), but all suggest that traditional management and knowledge should be incorporated where feasible and appropriate. For example, the successful management of the Lofoten fishery of Norway has been attributed to the incorporation of fishers’ “practical and local knowledge of the fishery,” so that the regulatory system is sufficiently sensitive to variations in the fishery (Jentoft and Kristoffersen 1989).

Co-management is being explored as a way to incorporate traditional forms of management with the more usual “top-down” or “command and control” management by government agencies that usually characterizes management of fisheries in the U.S. (Townsend and Pooley 1995). Co-management means that the stakeholders in a resource are part of a system of shared decision-making and joint administration with government (Berkes, George and Preston 1991; Pinkerton 1989).

The advantages of co-management over top-down management include the diminution of management costs, in part by stakeholders providing non-technical knowledge (lowering information costs) and by increasing management legitimacy, thereby making compliance more likely (decreasing monitoring and enforcement costs) (Hanna 1995). The participation of government with the local stakeholders ensures the protection of national or other interests such as habitat protection or biodiversity that go beyond the usual concerns of the local stakeholders (Townsend and Pooley 1995).

In the case of fisheries, the stakeholders include local communities as well as harvesters and processors. In coastal communities that host fishing fleets, the local economies frequently rely not only on the landing and marketing of the catch, but on the economic activity of an assortment of supporting businesses such as fuel and ice providers, chandleries, marine railways, pro-

cessors, truckers, etc. These communities have a long-term interest in maintaining the fishing industry.

The importance of recognizing the appropriate boundaries of a community must not be underestimated. In her research on natural resources that have been effectively managed by community groups, Ostrom (1990) points out that success is more likely if the groups can trust one another, communicate regularly, form binding agreements and arrange for monitoring and enforcing mechanisms.

This article considers the similarities and differences in a selection of the "organized interests" of Gloucester and New Bedford and offers explanations for the differences. Finally, implications of the differences for fisheries management are suggested.

Methodology

Forty-eight formal interviews in 1992, often conducted via the telephone, and generally of 60- to 90-minutes' duration, formed the baseline data for my ongoing research on the social impacts of changes in fisheries management. While an effort was made to select a random sample from the National Marine Fisheries Service's database of groundfish permit holders from Gloucester and New Bedford, the difficulty inherent in contacting fishermen who spend most of their time at sea meant that the selection of interviewees became opportunistic. In addition, because the permits are held by vessel owners, the sample is heavily biased toward these vessel owners and their spouses. Even so, because the majority of vessel owners actively fish as captains on their own vessels and fished in the past as crew members, their perspective often reflects the workers' as well as employers' points of view.

These initial interviews were open-ended, providing an opportunity for the fishermen, including both captain-owners and some crew members, their spouses and/or representatives, to cover a wide range of topics. Since then, attendance at New England Fishery Management Council meetings, Groundfish Committee meetings, public hearings, fisheries fora, Fish Expo and other special events has offered innumerable opportunities for follow-up interviews with attending fishermen, their spouses and/or representatives. In addition, I have participated in small-group discussions and focus group interviews in both locations.

A report on the first year of research results was widely circulated in the fishing communities for comment. Portions of the report were incorporated in the Social Impact Assessment component of the New England Fishery Management Council's Environmental Impact Assessment, required for submission of their Amendment 5 to the Multispecies Fisheries Management Plan (Hall-Arber 1993a).

This article is based on a re-examination of the data collected for the social impact assessment in order to more fully explore the roles of women associated with the fishing industry of New Bedford and Gloucester. Consequently,

neither formal nor informal interviews were planned so as to reach an equal number of male and female interviewees. Fewer women from New Bedford have contributed to the research than would be ideal. The data from Gloucester reflects a more even gender distribution.

The Fishery

The major species of groundfish (also referred to as the multispecies) caught in the northeast region of the U.S. include cod, haddock, yellowtail flounder, pollock, redfish, winter flounder (blackback), American plaice (dab), witch flounder (gray sole), white hake and windowpane flounder. Perhaps nowhere else is the diversity and productivity greater than in the Georges Bank region where 100 species of fish live and the "rate of fish production is among the highest in the world" (Brown 1987:47).

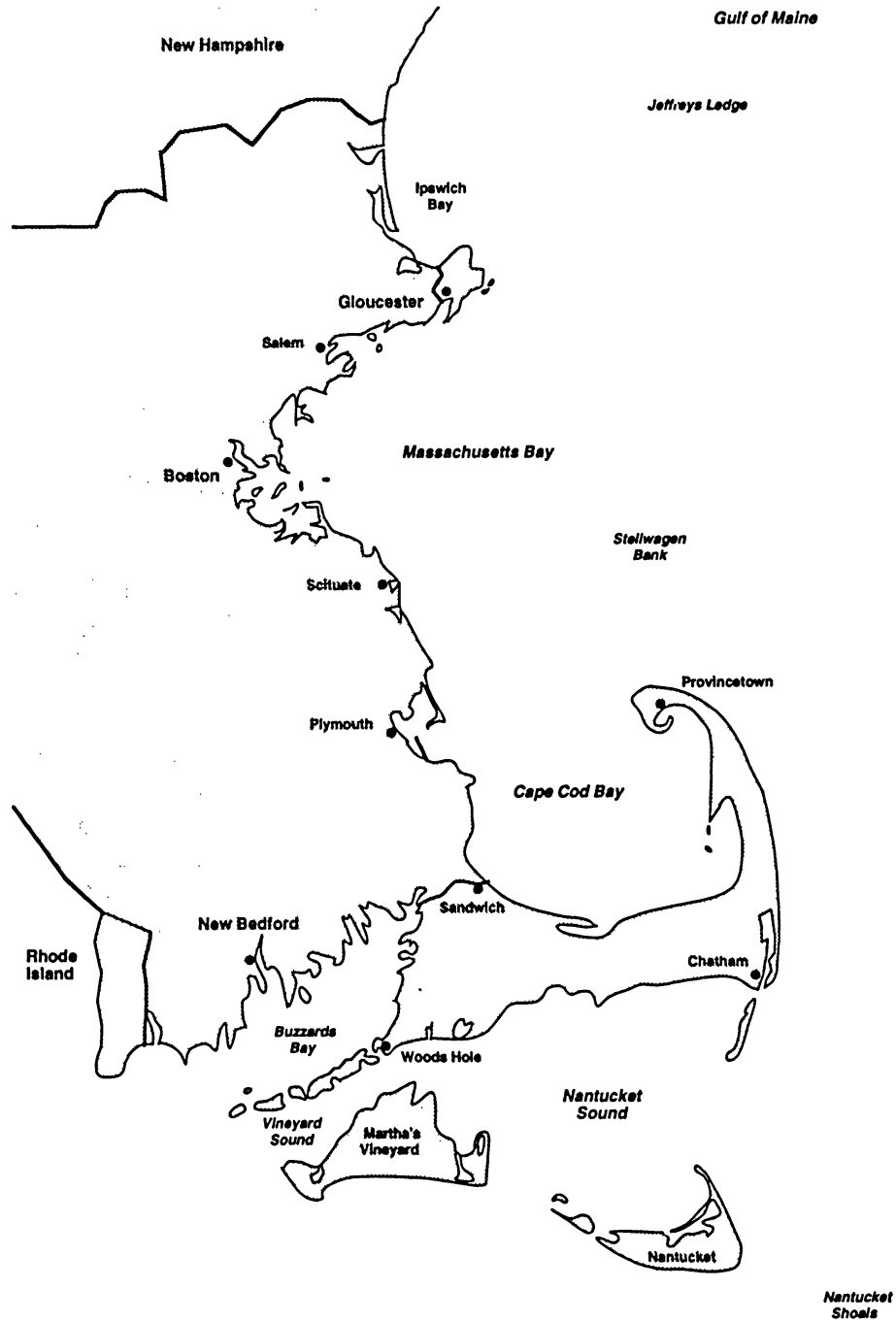
Draggers (otter trawlers) from New Bedford and Gloucester typically steam 18 to 24 hours to reach groundfishing areas on Georges Bank where they fish for 7 to 14 days before returning to port. In 1992, New Bedford was the home port for 144 draggers (most over 75 feet long). Gloucester had considerably fewer large trawlers with 32 draggers over 75 feet, 14 in the mid-range of 50-75 feet, and 25 day boats.

In Gloucester, the majority of the vessels are owner-operated; in New Bedford about 50 percent are owner-operated. Crews ideally number six, but in both ports most large vessels are working "short-handed" with four men in order to cut costs and increase the percentage share of those working.

Though Gloucester boats land cod, haddock and pollock most of the year, whiting is actively fished in the summer. Pelagic species such as herring, mackerel and menhaden, once an important part of the Gloucester catch but abandoned for the more lucrative groundfish, are increasingly being sought as effort on the groundfish is cut by regulation.

Yellowtail and other flounders formerly dominated the catch of the New Bedford groundfish boats. As in Gloucester, New Bedford groundfish boats are being forced to diversify their catch. Sea scallops have been a major source of revenue for the port of New Bedford, landed as a by-catch for the groundfish boats and as targeted species for scallopers. In 1992, 115 large scallopers (over 103 feet) used New Bedford as a home port. New Bedford's fishing industry has had to face cutbacks in both scalloping and groundfish—for the former beginning in 1982 when the Fishery Management Plan for Atlantic Sea Scallops was approved and implemented, and in 1977 for groundfish when the first groundfish plan was implemented, but more severely since 1994 for scallops and 1995 for groundfish. Scallopers, in fact, face restrictions due to both management plans. Since they catch groundfish as a by-catch, scallopers are closed out of areas where the sea scallops are assessed as abundant, but the groundfish stocks are faltering.

Figure 1
Eastern Massachusetts and Its Fisheries



Source: This map was created by Clifford Goudey. Map is in public domain.

Management Structure

When the U.S. federal government passed the *Fisheries Conservation and Management Act* of 1976, commonly referred to as the FCMA or the *Magnuson Act* (for its principal sponsor) or, as it was re-authorized, the MFCMA, U.S. sovereignty was extended from the traditional 12 miles to 200 miles. At the same time, eight regional fisheries management councils were established and given responsibility for “conservation and management measures [to] prevent overfishing while achieving optimum yield from each fishery on a continuing basis.” The Secretary of Commerce reviews the management plans, which are intended to balance ecological, economic and socio-cultural considerations, to insure consistency with national standards and other laws and to suggest amendments and promulgate regulations. Enforcement is the joint responsibility of National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) and the U.S. Coast Guard.

The New England Fishery Management Council consists of the heads of the Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut marine fisheries departments, the regional director of NMFS and 11 at-large members appointed by the Secretary of Commerce from nominees submitted by the state governors. All the regional councils have professional staff members who work with their councils and NMFS scientists to help design the management plans. The councils have independent scientific and industry advisory committees that are supposed to contribute to the development of the plans and to review proposed alternatives.

At one level, the New England Fishery Management Council could be considered to be a co-management system since users of the resource theoretically have opportunities to affect the decisions made either as council members, industry advisors or as commentators at public hearings. In practice, both the veto power of the national government over management plans and an *ad hoc* rather than systematic approach to incorporating views of industry advisors supports a perception of “top down management.”

Regulating Groundfishing

The New England Fishery Management Council's (the Council's) first groundfish management plan was implemented in 1977 with quotas on cod, haddock and yellowtail flounder. Widespread mislabelling, misreporting, a lack of enforcement, increasing numbers of vessels fishing for groundfish leading to long closures and other serious flaws led the Council to “eliminate quotas when it adopted the Interim Groundfish Fisheries Management Plan in 1982” (NEFMC 1993).

In 1984, the International Court of Justice established the boundary line between U.S. and Canadian waters, placing the productive northeast peak of Georges Bank on the Canadian side of the line (*ibid.*). The large U.S. vessels

accustomed to fishing haddock in that area were forced to fish in other parts of Georges Bank, increasing the fishing pressure on other groundfish stocks.

Two years later, in 1986, the Northeast Multispecies Fishery Management Plan (Multispecies FMP) was implemented. Among other regulations, minimum sizes were set or increased for witch flounder, American plaice, winter flounder, pollock, yellowtail flounder, cod and haddock. Over the next several years, Amendments 1 through 4 made relatively minor adjustments to the Multispecies FMP, though Amendment 4 noted that the next amendment would necessarily include rebuilding strategies for the principal stocks of groundfish that were overfished (NEFMC 1993).

Amendment 5

In May 1994, the hotly contested, greatly feared Amendment 5 to the Multispecies FMP was implemented. Using a wide variety of direct and indirect controls on fishing, Amendment 5 proposed to reduce fishing effort by 50 percent over the next five years (1994-99). Three months later, NMFS' Northeast Fisheries Science Center issued a Special Advisory Report in conjunction with the plenary session of the 18th Stock Assessment Workshop, informing all concerned parties that stock assessments revealed that Georges Bank cod was on the verge of collapse, joining yellowtail flounder and haddock on the list of species on the road to commercial extinction.

Emergency Action and Amendment 7

While people in the industry knew that landings of fish were down, most fishermen believed that the conservation measures being gradually introduced under Amendment 5 would be sufficient to conserve and rebuild the stocks. It was with great shock, therefore, that fishermen heard the scientists say in August 1994 that the stocks were so seriously depleted that without draconian measures there would be no way for the stocks to recover. Emergency action was taken by NMFS to close large portions of Georges Bank to all fishing. And so began a hasty effort on the part of the New England Council to develop Amendment 7, a plan to conserve and rebuild the stocks.

The Cities: Gloucester and New Bedford

New Bedford and Gloucester share a long devotion to the fishing industry, though in New Bedford the industry commenced with whaling and now has a large scalloping component, while Gloucester began as and has remained a groundfish fishery.

The groundfish fishery in New Bedford today is dominated by Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans while Sicilians and Italian-Americans are most prominent in Gloucester's groundfish fishery. In the 1970s and early 1980s, New Bedford had a significant Norwegian population involved principally in

the scallop industry, but by 1996 only a few Norwegian captain-owners remain. "Most of us have educated our children out of the fishing industry and will sell our boats when we're ready to retire," one Norwegian owner of a scallop vessel and a groundfish boat explained to me.

Economic Conditions

New Bedford is a larger city than Gloucester and, at least at one time, was more diversified. *Moody's 1990 Municipal Credit Report* describes New Bedford as a primarily residential community with "a large local fishing industry and a significant manufacturing component [that] adds diversity to the economic base." Since 1990, however, Polaroid, which was considered by *Moody's* as a major employer and taxpayer, has closed its plant. Once an important site for the textile industry, New Bedford has innumerable shuttered factories that lend a depressed and forbidding air to several areas in the city. The downturn in the fishing industry simply compounds difficulties for the city's already faltering economy. In addition to the loss of employment in the harvesting sector, employment in processing of fresh groundfish has also declined.

It is said that 40 percent of Gloucester's economy is based on fishing when all the support industries are considered such as fuel companies, ice companies, trucking firms, dealers and processing plants (Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce n.d.). However, many of these companies have been developing alternative products or sources of income as the local fishing industry diminishes. Processing plants, for example, import more fish than formerly in order to keep their lines working and ice companies have been bagging more ice for the restaurant and tourist trade.

In the last decade Gloucester has made an effort to diversify. A 45-minute drive and easy rail commute to Boston allows the city to serve as a bedroom community, but citizen activists and small-business owners have been encouraging alternative developments. For example, an industrial park was constructed to attract light manufacturing businesses, and the city is supporting efforts to further develop the tourist industry. Nevertheless, the city is anxious to retain its image as a fishing community.

Incomes and Education

The city of New Bedford as a whole is poorer than Gloucester, and educational attainment is lower. The 38 646 households comprising New Bedford's fishing and non-fishing population had a median income of \$22 647 according to the 1990 U.S. Census. In contrast, the 11 550 households in Gloucester had a median income of \$32 690. Although it is notoriously difficult to extract income information from individuals in the fishing community, informants agree that before Amendment 5 was implemented, skippers made anywhere between \$60 000 and \$100 000 and deckhands could make \$30 000 to

\$50 000 in New Bedford (reflecting the high prices of scallops and yellowtail flounder, the two most important species landed).² Gloucester fishermen's incomes were said to be a bit more modest, ranging from \$15 000 for non-highliner crews to \$55 000 for captains of off-shore vessels. In general, though, despite the hardships and long hours of fishing, the men could count on making a "good living." It is noteworthy that their incomes placed the New Bedford fishing families in a significantly higher income bracket relative to the median of the general population than did the incomes of the Gloucester fishing families.

The 1990 Census noted that of the 64 554 people in New Bedford over the age of 25 years, 49.7 percent were at least high school graduates and 9.7 percent were at least college graduates. In Gloucester, 75 percent of the population over 25 years old had at least graduated from high school and 20.4 percent had at least graduated from college. Fishermen in both Gloucester and New Bedford, particularly if they are immigrants, tend to have ended their formal education at 14 to 16 years old.

The Women and Their Organizations

The women of both New Bedford and Gloucester work in various aspects of the fishing industry—in office jobs, as bookkeepers in the settlement houses, for example, or in the processing plants. Others own their own businesses or work as teachers, nurses, secretaries, etc.

One man noted that while the women of Gloucester work outside their homes in a variety of jobs, they also tend to be very involved in their family businesses. Like wives in fishing communities around the world, Gloucester women historically have been the keepers of their family fishing vessel's (financial) books, keeping track of the quantity and values of the catch and paying crew as well as bills for fuel, ice, food, etc. (Cole 1988; Hall-Arber 1975; see also the literature review in Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988). In contrast, in New Bedford, financial service companies known as settlement houses have long been used by the majority of the fleet for their bookkeeping, paying the crew and the bills. Several of the settlement houses are owned and operated by women who are from Portuguese fishing families, but the services rendered are compensated for as a business rather than regarded as a family responsibility.

Gloucester

Gloucester Fishermen's Wives Association was founded by a Gloucester-born daughter of Sicilian immigrants. Having learned English in school, Lena Novello took an active role as intermediary for her fishing captain, boat-owner father at an early age, translating for him during bank-loan negotiations and equipment purchases and handling money for the crew. Married at 21 to a

fisherman, Lena provided shore-side services for her husband's boat as well as raising six children and maintaining her household (Clark 1988).

One of the first projects that the Gloucester Fishermen's Wives Association undertook was to support the passage of the *Magnuson Act* in 1976 (Clark 1988:264) that stopped foreign vessels from freely fishing within 200 miles of our coast. At the same time, they offered support for the industry by encouraging the public to buy more domestic fresh fish, including underutilized seafood. Cooking demonstrations and sampling activities as well as the production of an accompanying cookbook were the primary foci of the organization. Later, as threats to the industry arose, such as the proposed lease/sale of portions of Georges Bank for oil drilling, the association continued to speak out at public hearings on behalf of the industry.

With over 125 members, the association continues in its activist role, seeking ways to better serve the fishing industry. In an effort to bring together city residents and other businesses as well as participants in all aspects of the fishing industry, in 1994 GFWA organized Vision 2020, a year-long process involving a series of brainstorming sessions focussed on the city's future. When the Department of Labor and the National Marine Fisheries Service needed an outreach person for their newly created, jointly funded, Fishing Family Assistance Center, Angela San Filippo, the president of GFWA was hired.

Sefatia Romeo, another very active member of the Gloucester Fishermen's Wives Association, took on the task of surveying the Gloucester fishermen to determine their numbers and their needs. When too few people returned the distributed survey, Sefatia called or visited the fishing families to discuss the importance of the survey and encourage them to respond. Partly as a result of that survey, a health-care initiative was proposed. Furthermore, these efforts led to the organization of a regional fishermen's association and eventually to a \$2 million grant from the Department of Commerce to pilot a health-care program for the fishing industry.

Discontented with the fractured fishing industry in the region, an industry that tends to divide according to gear types, ethnicity, vessel size, fishing styles and any other differentiating factor, and recognizing that only a unified industry could hope to influence management of fisheries, GFWA approached the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston for help (see Hall-Arber 1993a and 1993b for a discussion of blame and divisiveness in the region's industry). GFWA's projects manager, David Bergeron, who was at the time also on the staff of St. Ann's Church in Gloucester, suggested that the group request a meeting with Bernard Cardinal Law, their bishop, when he came to Gloucester to perform the Blessing of the Fleet in 1994 (Gloucester is part of the Archdiocese of Boston). The meeting was arranged and GFWA presented their concerns and aspirations vis-à-vis the fishing industry in Massachusetts.

While being named to the College of Cardinals does not confer greater authority on a bishop, it is considered a high honour, offers the prelate greater access to the Pope and, as a result, the Cardinal has considerable political power (Bergeron 1996). Though New Bedford is not officially under the Boston Archdiocese, GFWA believed that the esteem accorded the Cardinal would entice fishermen from New Bedford to participate in any meeting he called. So, with the help of the Cardinal and his staff, a series of meetings with fishermen from New Bedford, Gloucester and Cape Cod, often held around the table in the residence of—and mediated by—Cardinal Law, led to the eventual formation of a new, non-sectarian organization called the Massachusetts Fishermen's Partnership. One of the immediate goals of the partnership is to develop an affordable health-insurance plan for the fishing industry.³

In addition, the president of GFWA is a member of the Gloucester Fisheries Commission (the Commission), a town board established in 1956 by Gloucester's City Council comprised of "the mayor, three City Council members and five persons actively connected with production, processing or employment phases of the industry." The Commission is sworn to "investigate, advocate, and recommend measures for the promotion, preservation, and protection of the Gloucester fishing industry." Finally, GFWA is on St. Peter's Fiesta Committee which sponsors and organizes the festival during which the Blessing of the Fleet is held. The Committee is a private, non-profit, grass-roots organization that began as a neighbourhood religious association when fishing families lived primarily in the Fort area of Gloucester. Originally, the neighbours cooked food to share and gathered to say the rosary together. Later, families started making shrines, which eventually became more elaborate and were paraded around. In time, the celebration, while retaining its religious character, drew in non-fishing family participants so the Committee includes owners of local businesses unrelated to fishing. In addition to St. Peter's Fiesta, GFWA can be relied on to help organize any of the several waterfront festivals Gloucester holds in spring, summer and fall.

New Bedford

There is no organization comparable to GFWA among the women of New Bedford. The only existing wives' organization, the Offshore Mariners Wives' Association (founded in 1989), limits its work to organizing the annual Blessing of the Fleet. Even for that task, only a handful of women participate.

The Blessing of the Fleet is a tradition in many ports around the world where fishing families are Roman Catholic. Traditionally, in New Bedford, most vessels were annually hauled out of the water, painted and repaired shortly before the Blessing. The morning of the Blessing they were then decorated with lights, papier-mâché and/or streamers. At the Blessing, the decorated boats lined up and steamed one by one in front of a platform where

a bishop or priest stood with holy water which was sprinkled in the direction of the vessel. In the 1996 Blessing of the Fleet in New Bedford, fewer than 10 commercial fishing boats out of more than 200 participated in the parade.

Prior to 1969 there was an active organization of fishermen's wives in New Bedford. In fact, representatives of the New Bedford Fishermen's Wives Association were consulted when the GFWA was being initiated (Clark 1988). To date I have not located anyone who participated in that group. At least two women interviewed noted that "there used to be a wives' organization, but everyone drifted away." One man commented that "there was always some difficulty because crew members' wives were not comfortable with captain's wives." While the women still active in the group did not confirm that this was the underlying cause of the group's inactivity, it does reflect a perception of a conflict of values often inherent in the social structure associated with the fishing industry (Hall-Arber 1975; Husing 1980). The reality of the hierarchical structure of captain, mate/engineer and crew is often at odds with the egalitarian value of fishermen being independent, "their own boss," free to skip a trip or jump sites (i.e., change vessels) if they so desire and free to attempt to buy their own vessel. That the women tried to work together in an organization reflects the ideal of egalitarianism, but the reality of working with the spouse of one's husband's captain may have inhibited some of the crew members' wives.

In New Bedford, there are two patron saint feasts elaborately celebrated by Portuguese-American immigrants and their descendants from the Azores and Madeira. Though neither are specifically associated with fishing, unlike St. Peter's Fiesta in Gloucester, what is of interest to this article is the overt separation of men's and women's roles, with women's participation not publicly recognized for many years. From its founding in 1915 until 1952, only men were allowed to be Committee members for the Madeirans' Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, though women were actively engaged in designing floral decorations, ceremonial clothes and native costumes as well as working in the retail stands during the *feira* (Cabral 1989:38). The women's auxiliary was formed in 1952 and sent representatives to Committee meetings, but still had no voting role. Until 1972, the women marched behind the men in the parade. The Festa de Senhor da Pedra, organized by the people of Sao Miguel, Azores, has remained smaller scale and has a more religious emphasis than the Madeiran feast, but shares a similar pattern of emphasizing the men's role in decision-making in organizing the feast.

Public Reaction to Amendment 7

Both the New Bedford and Gloucester fleets will be hard hit by Amendment 7. Gloucester landed \$11.7 million worth of cod, haddock and yellowtail flounder in 1993 and has 322 vessels permitted for multispecies, more than any other port (NEFMC 1993). New Bedford landed \$19.6 million worth of cod,

haddock and yellowtail flounder in 1993 and had 302 multispecies permits (or 341 if New Bedford and adjacent Fairhaven are combined) (ibid.).

In their rush to complete Amendment 7, the Council failed to convene a meeting of their groundfish industry advisors to discuss the ideas being proposed. With the Council trying to avoid the delays inherent in listening to or discussing multiple or divergent views, neither the Groundfish subcommittee meetings, nor full Council meetings allowed much opportunity for commentary from the public. Consequently, the series of public hearings on Amendment 7 was the main opportunity for input from the average industry participant. Nevertheless, the Amendment 7 hearings were, on the whole, sparsely attended.

Several fishing industry participants commented that it was neither apathy nor good fishing that kept people from attending, rather “people have given up on the process.” While other social scientists have noted that fishermen’s attendance at public meetings is often poor because they are out fishing when meetings are held and because many are not comfortable with English or with the formal setting of most hearings, these fishing industry participants indicated that both the history of the management plan development and their interaction with the Council and NMFS has led vessel owners, captains and crew to believe that their views will be scorned by both the “suits”⁴ and the scientists (Clark 1988).

Public Hearing in New Bedford

The New Bedford public hearing on Amendment 7, held in a large room at the Seaport Inn, Fairhaven, Massachusetts (just across a bridge from New Bedford), was attended by about 125 people, though the number fluctuated greatly as attendees drifted in and out over the course of the morning. The majority were news media, politicians, Council members and staff, academics, NMFS staff and members of the various environmental groups who have taken an interest in the status of the fish stocks on behalf of “all the people.” In addition, there were several representatives of the Gloucester fishing industry in attendance, demonstrating a unity with the New Bedford fishing industry.

Here and there, perched on the padded folding chairs were small groups of Portuguese fishermen, vessel crews usually sitting together. Notably absent were the women of the Portuguese portion of the fishing community. The only two women present who might be said to represent the fishing community of the New Bedford-Fairhaven fleet were Norwegian-American, one the owner of a scallop boat, the other an owner of a scallop boat and a dragger. Neither of the women are members of the Offshore Mariners’ Wives Association. There is only one Portuguese-American woman who owns off-shore vessels. She inherited them from her father.

There was little drama in the hearing, little emotion expressed. The hearing seemed fairly perfunctory. A Council staff member reviewed the high points

of the Plan in a brief (25-minute) summary. Comments from local politicians and major industry representatives were then heard and recorded. Although there is one major fishing organization with a female president in New Bedford, it was Howard Nickerson, the 80-year-old executive director of that organization, who commented on the Plan. The wives' association did not make any public comment. The Norwegian women warned that New Bedford and Gloucester would be the biggest losers with the new amendment, since it targets "the species we historically catch, and we have nothing else to turn to—unlike those farther to the south or north." Both argued that Amendment 5 was working and the fishermen should be allowed to continue making a living, which they did not think would be possible under Amendment 7.

Public Hearing in Gloucester

The most notable contrast between the New Bedford hearing and the hearing held a few days earlier in Gloucester, Massachusetts, was the active participation of the wives of the Italian portion of the Gloucester fishing industry. The Gloucester hearing at Sadler Function Hall was attended by about 150 Italian, Italian-American and non-Italian fishermen, their wives or significant others and a few children, along with the usual others—the news media, politicians, Council members and staff, NMFS staff, academics and environmentalists. Emotions were much more evident. Several speakers apologized for their less-than-perfect English. The president of the wives' association and several other women addressed the Council panel.

Many of the speakers in Gloucester noted that, though they had originally opposed Amendment 5, they were willing to work with it. Many also commented that they were not saying that Amendment 5 should remain unchanged, that they were willing to accept modification for stock rebuilding, but that Amendment 7 was too drastic a change and would lead to financial disaster. The spectre was raised of lost homes, lost college tuition, a lost way of life and concomitant breakdowns in families, leading to concerns about health.

Comparing and Contrasting the Roles of Women

Perhaps it was the contiguity in time of the two hearings, the similarity of format, the same mix of scientists, environmentalists and other observers and the familiar tone of the politicians' remarks that sharpened the perceived contrast between New Bedford and Gloucester, but the lack of Portuguese women's participation in New Bedford's public hearing suggested that there are systemic differences in the roles of women in the two fishing communities.

The most obvious difference between the two groups is ethnicity. In individual interviews, both men and women in Gloucester and New Bedford agreed that there were major differences in the roles of women in the two communities. What was striking was that differences attributed to ethnicity were

almost always the first explanations offered. In her study of Italian-Americans in California, Di Leonardo (1984) debunks the assumption of homogeneous ethnic culture, pointing out the infinite variety within ethnic groups due to such differences as class, age, origin, occupation, etc., a point with which Lamphere (1987:xv) agrees, based on her study of Portuguese and other ethnic groups in Rhode Island. Furthermore, as studies of ethnicity have pointed out, allegiance to a particular ethnic group is often situationally selected by individuals. Simmel (1955) notes that individuals in the modern world are entangled in a “web of group affiliations,” each making varied demands for commitment. Class, gender, religion, regional identity all play a role, affecting individual’s choices in various situations.

Nevertheless, while people may be aware of such differences, ethnicity remains a powerful symbol for individuals who use it to categorize and explain what they regard as the positive attributes of their own group and the negative attributes of others. In addition, ideals or norms and real behaviour are often confounded in discussions of differences between people. For the purposes of this article, the characteristics attributed to each of the ethnic groups that colour the perceptions of outsiders or are offered as explanations by members of the group will be discussed below.

Sicilians in Gloucester

When Angela San Filippo, president of the Gloucester Fishermen’s Wives Association since 1978, first started publicly speaking out on issues concerning the fishing industry, she was criticized by many in the community, but particularly by the men. Gambino (1974) explains that the ideal of womanliness (*la Serietà*) for Italians is for a woman to be the core of the family and the cohesive force that binds the family together. Reportedly, in Sicily, achievement of the ideal was believed easier if the “core of the family” remained at home.

In fact, regardless of the ideals—or ethnic stereotypes—attributed by numerous authors to southern Italians, in reality there were women who were active in the public domain in Sicily (Banfield 1958; Cornelisen 1969; Gans 1962). For example, in the 1950s Angela’s grandmother was one of the few people in her Sicilian village who was literate. Angela remembers fishermen asking her grandmother to read regulations to them, write letters or travel to other villages with messages from the residents of her fishing community.

Angela recognized the importance of her efforts to speak on behalf of the industry and was not intimidated by the disapproval of some in her community. Instead, in public meetings she occasionally described her grandmother’s role, telling, for example, of the time as a little girl she went with her grandmother to meet with the Coast Guard on behalf of a fisherman. The stories of her grandmother remind those who emigrated from her village in Sicily of the acceptability of women’s leadership in public domain activity and indicate to

others that there was legitimate precedent for activism. Eventually, the fishermen began to realize that it was valuable to have a voice in fisheries management and they recognized their own lack of time and inclination to participate in meetings, so that, albeit with mixed feelings, they have grown to appreciate the role of Angela and the other wives. In addition to taking the time and having the inclination to speak for the Gloucester industry, Angela is literate in English, a skill not widely shared among Sicilian-speaking fishermen. Given the proliferation of written materials necessary to understand regulatory change and its impacts on the fisheries, her skill is particularly valuable.

In talking about their own ethnic background and how norms have changed over time, the Gloucester women indicate that changes in the Gloucester fishing community's attitudes toward the "proper role" of women have kept pace with the media-inspired image of middle-class communities in the United States and "the historic movement of increasing numbers of American women into the labour force [during the 1970s]" (Di Leonardo 1984; Lamphere 1987:15). For example, it is considered acceptable to work outside the home, pursue advanced education, become involved in politics, allow daughters to date, drive, etc. Thus the women, while proud of their Sicilian heritage, are quick to note that, unlike some other ethnic groups, they are as progressive as the majority of American women. In reality, of course, lack of child care and expenses constrain the pursuit of both work and advanced education, particularly now that fishing incomes are diminishing.

Portuguese in New Bedford

Based on their vacation visits, the Portuguese women of New Bedford claim that change has not been widespread in Portugal and the Azores. New Bedford women believe that the Portuguese and Azorean women still live in a very restrictive, closed, patriarchal society that also lacks a tradition of political participation. While Judy Ramos, a Portuguese-American married to a Portuguese-born New Bedford fisherman, is active in the public sphere in her role as vessel owner and president of the Offshore Mariners Association, most of the Portuguese-born women are not.

In describing Sao Miguel, anthropologist Cabral (1989:37) noted, "Although women are advancing in the commercial sector, Azorean men still encourage their wives and daughters to remain within the traditional domestic sphere." Other research in an unnamed northeastern U.S. community emphasized the "cultural values of hard work, close family ties, respect for authority and protection of females" among Portuguese immigrants (Becker 1990). The implication, of course, is that norms and traditions of at least some communities in Portugal have emigrated with the people and may, with rare exceptions, keep women out of the public sphere. Nonetheless, Lamphere's (1987) work among Portuguese female immigrants and Di Leonardo's (1984)

work among Italian-American female immigrants, as well as more general studies of ethnicity, suggest that stated norms and values gloss over the varieties of choices and behaviours in ethnic communities and thus lack explanatory power.

Furthermore, it is clear that the Portuguese women of New Bedford's fishing community are not housebound. In fact, one informant said that it was precisely because so many wives of fishermen work outside the home and fishery now, due to the precarious financial position of most of the fishing families, that the New Bedford fishermen's wives' organization is active only for the Blessing of the Fleet, rather than as broadly active as the Gloucester group. However, because the most active participants in GFWA also hold jobs outside their home, this reason is not sufficient explanation.

While the cultural values associated with Portuguese ethnic affiliation were most often offered by non-Portuguese as the explanation for the Portuguese women's lack of public participation in the management process, one Portuguese woman offered an alternative explanation. This daughter and wife of New Bedford fishermen explained that everyone is so terribly discouraged that they see no point in participation because, when they have spoken in the past, it made no difference in the design of the Fishery Management Plans. Her complaint had nothing to do with ethnicity, but voiced feelings common to both men and women in New Bedford and Gloucester.

This widespread perception of the fishing industry's lack of impact on management plans is not shared by many managers or scientists of NMFS. However, they do recognize that for too many years there has been a failure to explain the science and the management so that it is comprehensible to fishermen. In one conversation, a NMFS administrator mentioned that when the New Bedford groundfish fleet switched over to the Portuguese and Portuguese-Americans, he was not able to maintain informal contact with the fleet, so whatever informal exchange of information had occurred in the past ceased. Some managers also acknowledge that because the fishermen's information is generally presented anecdotally, it is not usually regarded as contributing to science, but more often is attributed to the promotion of self-interest.

Commitment to their Community in the United States

Another difference between the women of Gloucester and the women of New Bedford that correlates with ethnic affiliation is the strength of commitment to a future in the U.S. Return migration to Portugal is considered an option by many of the New Bedford fishing families while the Sicilian families reject the idea of leaving Gloucester or the U.S.

In general, the Portuguese fishing families in New Bedford seem to have maintained stronger ties with their relatives in Portugal than have the Italians of Gloucester with their relatives in Sicily. Reportedly, many people have

bought apartments or have kept ownership in homes in Portugal, and take annual vacations there to visit relatives.⁵

One woman sadly said that when (notice that it was not “if”) they lose their boat and home here in New Bedford, at least they will have somewhere in the world to go. She said that some people will hang on here just until their children finish school, then will move to Portugal. She admitted that it would be very difficult for her personally because on her trips to Portugal she observed that the women there adhere to a much stricter, traditional code of behaviour than do women here. (Though married to a Portuguese fisherman, she was born in New Bedford and it may be that she is unable to recognize changes that have occurred in Portugal.)

Despite the expressed fatalistic resignation to the potential for repatriation to Portugal, in this particular case, six months after the conversation, the woman had opened her own business in New Bedford, a store with no connection to the fishing industry. It may be that the other women who have opened businesses or work elsewhere do so in part to forestall a return to Portugal.

The Italian women interviewed do not regard a return to Italy (or, more accurately, Sicily) as an option. Their children and their lives are focussed in the U.S. One woman spoke of the pain of leaving her natal village in Sicily and said that she could not possibly inflict that pain on her children. As part of an active organization, the women of Gloucester are determined to find ways to survive here. Women who can barely speak English are taking retraining courses to try to find occupations that allow them to supplement their family's income from fishing. Children are being encouraged to stay in school with the goal of finding employment outside the fishing industry.

What other factors contribute to differences between women's roles in Gloucester and New Bedford? There seems to be a difference in organizational capacity due to economic characteristics of the two cities.

The Cities' Contrasting Images

The image of Gloucester in the public eye is inextricably linked to the image of the “old salt” peering through the mist, hanging on to the wheel of his schooner, an image enhanced by statue, story and song. New Bedford's historical image is associated with whaling. Perhaps the ascendancy of marine mammal protection and whale watching has left a less than positive image of the city in the public eye?

Even without lingering image problems associated with whaling, New Bedford suffers from a long history of loss: ships lost in the Civil War and the boom and bust of the textile industry are particularly striking memories. Remnants of lost manufacturing litter the landscape with boarded-up buildings. Now, dilapidated and half-sunken fishing vessels tied to ill-kept piers lend credence to an impression of New Bedford as a depressed area.

Furthermore, New Bedford is a larger city with attendant urban ills of poverty, health and drug problems, and an educational system struggling to cope with the needs of a culturally diverse society. Because of the pervasive poverty in New Bedford and the generally low level of formal education among the whole population, there is fierce competition for unskilled and low-skilled jobs.

Gloucester gives the impression of a city with more optimism about the future than does New Bedford. While Gloucester fishermen place in the lower ranks of formal educational achievement (among all Gloucester residents) and are thus less competitive for alternative jobs, their children are increasingly successful in school.

Gloucester's optimism is also directed toward the fishing industry itself. In New Bedford, the latest effort to revitalize the economy is revolving around a proposed casino. In Gloucester, the efforts are more diversified, for instance, focussing on adding value to seafood, through better handling techniques and development of marketable products for mackerel, herring, dogfish (or Cape Shark) and other "underutilized" species (Hall-Arber 1996). This perceived optimism may contribute to the ability of the community to organize around the fishing industry since the goals are viewed as still obtainable.

Filling a Niche

While the mayors of both cities express support for the fishing industry at public hearings, the state-level congressional representatives from Gloucester are particularly active in initiating and/or supporting legislation that benefits the industry. This may be due in some part to the activism of the GFWA which keeps the politicians aware of their fishing constituency.

Both cities have several organizations that support the fishing industry, but since the mid-1970s it is the wives' association in Gloucester that has taken the organizational lead in that city. Because of Gloucester's geographic proximity to Danvers where the majority of Council meetings are held, GFWA will often encourage fishermen who are laying over between trips to attend, sometimes calling them 30 minutes or so before the subject of interest is to be considered. The attendance of the fishermen at these meetings, where GFWA usually testifies, reinforces the sense that GFWA is properly representing their views. New Bedford is at a disadvantage in that it is at least a two-and-a-half-hour drive to Council meetings, too far for a fisherman to work on his boat a bit in the morning and then jump in his car so he can go to the meeting.⁶

The organization of the women of Gloucester has grown gradually over time, but has become much more active in the last few years, filling an existing vacuum. The need of the industry in general and the dragger fleet in particular for representation had grown. There was no organization of off-shore dragger fishermen poised to fulfill that need. In addition to representing fishermen at

meetings, GFWA has undertaken various projects to draw attention to the industry, improve its returns and diversify its efforts.

New Bedford fishermen by contrast, perhaps because their relatively higher incomes could financially support professional representation, have several organizations representing captains, owners and crew, as well as a relatively new umbrella organization, the Seafood Coalition. It may be that the women of New Bedford have not organized as intensively as the Gloucester women because they do not see an unfilled niche.

Individual Leadership

Paralleling the “skipper effect” that posits individual capabilities as significant in fishing success, the rise of GFWA as a significant player in the industry might be partly attributed to the effectiveness of its president (Durrenberger 1993; Durrenberger and Palsson 1982, 1986; Palsson 1991; Palsson and Durrenberger 1990; Thorlindsson 1988). While her leadership is often criticized, most people recognize the charismatic qualities and fierce loyalty to the fishing industry of Gloucester that characterize Angela. Despite setbacks in her own family’s involvement in fishing and the constant struggle to help those faced with financial and/or psychological ruin, she remains hopeful that each new project, new collaborative effort or new opportunity to represent the industry will make a positive difference for the whole community.

In New Bedford, the most frequently heard and recognized voice of the fishing community is male. Howard Nickerson, executive director of the Offshore Mariners Association, attends NEFMC meetings, public hearings, meetings with other fishing industry representatives and meetings with politicians to represent the fishing captains and owners of this group. Howard appointed Judy Ramos, groundfish vessel-owner and Portuguese-American, as president of the Offshore Mariners. Judy is a woman with strong views on the industry and its management who serves as confidante to many of the fishermen in the fleet. She has become discouraged by the apparent lack of concern on the part of managers for the likely social impacts of Amendment 7 and has increasingly withdrawn from the public fray.

Other voices of the New Bedford fishing industry are also male and corporate—the directors of the New Bedford Seafood Coalition and the Greater New Bedford Fishing Family Assistance Center, for example. Each has become involved with aspects of helping New Bedford’s groundfish industry cope with change, but no single organization or individual in New Bedford, male or female, has developed the variety of approaches that characterize GFWA’s and Angela’s efforts.

What the individual’s effect is upon the potential for organizing women in the two ports is a matter worthy of further investigation. Since its founding, GFWA has had only two presidents, both of whom have been forward-

thinking, engaged individuals with strong leadership qualities. Although there have been at least two women's fishing industry-related organizations formed in New Bedford, neither has maintained a high-profile, activist agenda. To what degree this may be attributable to leadership should be considered in future research.

Conclusion

Co-management has been suggested by well-respected social scientists as a potential solution to some of the drawbacks attributable to the "top-down" management characteristic of fisheries management in the U.S. One of the strengths of co-management is that local knowledge can be incorporated into the process of management through the participation of groups representing community interests. Furthermore, it is assumed that as co-managers, users are more likely to abide by regulations they helped define than those imposed from outside or "above."

However, what constitutes community, and who represents it, in industrial settings varies. For example, in Gloucester, the voice of the fishing community is often Angela San Filippo's. It is a voice gained through constant use despite constraints associated with ethnicity and appropriate gender roles. The voice of the fishing industry in New Bedford, however, is much less likely to be female.

The defining of a community and its voice may be critical to effective fisheries co-management. The community is likely to include fishermen, their spouses and children, and others in subsidiary or related industries. The community may be defined geographically, by gear or by species, but must be regarded as legitimate by participants in the management process.

Equally important is that the community so defined be represented by those who are identified by the community as legitimate decision-makers on their behalf. As noted earlier, Pinkerton (1996) suggests "it is organized interests with a legitimate stake in the sustainable management of the resource who are likely to be recognized as having a right to participate in some fashion in management decisions and in co-managing bodies."

Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that some who have a legitimate stake in the resource and its management may not be organized for reasons outside of their control. This article points out, for example, that while women are legitimate stakeholders in the fisheries resources, factors that can inhibit their organizing, and thus the recognition of their voice, include: the economic environment of their city, the existence or absence of active fishermen's organizations, strength of commitment to a future in the U.S., ethnicity and individual personalities.

In conclusion, if the new models of management require identification of small-scale units (e.g., communities) appropriate for handling aspects of

fisheries management, as Acheson and Wilson (1996) suggest, systematic ethnographic research should be a high priority, both to identify legitimate, organized interests like the GFWA and to determine if there are other legitimate interests, such as the Portuguese women of New Bedford's fishing industry, who may need help organizing in order to have a voice.

Afterword

A new organization called Shore Support was recently formed in New Bedford. It is explicitly modelled on the Gloucester Fishermen's Wives Association. Debra Shrader, wife of a Portuguese fisherman and Fisheries Outreach Enterprise Agent for The New Bedford Working Capital Network, is the enthusiastic founder. With the help of colleagues from Working Capital and a few bilingual community members, she has just completed interviewing dragger and scallop fishermen and spouses, individually and in focus groups, primarily to determine if self-employment would be a viable option for fishermen. In the relatively short time Shore Support has been in existence, Debra has referred 14 families to social services, attended various fishery management meetings and has begun to make the organization's presence known. She feels that her group will be able to represent the "rank-and-file" fishermen.

Interestingly, the recently released NMFS report on 1996 landings in New Bedford showed an increase in value. Moreover, also within the last year, a development grant of \$400 000 has been obtained in order to further plans to build a world-class aquarium with a theme that focusses on the heritage of whaling and fishing in New Bedford. The aquarium project has taken the place of the casino as an image-enhancing, tourist-attracting and job-creating effort. Efforts to include the Portuguese fishing community in the advisory process for the development are just beginning.

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Notes

1. Both men and women who fish in the northeast region prefer to be known as fishermen so I have retained that term for all who fish in this region. The gender neutral term "fishers" is used for others.
2. Because fishermen rarely offer information about their own financial status, I cannot say for sure that these high incomes are correctly attributable to groundfishermen. Because many of the vessel owners in New Bedford own both a groundfish and a scallop vessel, it is possible that those interviewed took the higher income of their scallop vessel crews and just glossed it as "my fishermen make. . ." In addition, scallop boats also catch groundfish, though their income is higher from the scallops.

3. Caritas Christi, the health system of the Archdiocese of Boston, and the Massachusetts Fishermen's Partnership sponsored a formal survey of the health-care needs of the whole state's fishing industry that has recently been completed. Upon analysis of the data, a health-care plan for industry participants will be designed.
4. Managers, who are almost always dressed more formally than fishermen in the audience during Council meetings, are usually the ones being referred to as "suits." The term is a derisive, though accurate, appellation.
5. Only relatively recently have I begun to include questions about property ownership outside of the U.S. However, when asked, several New Bedford informants noted that "everyone" has at least an apartment in Portugal. The women of Gloucester mention relatives who still live in Sicily, but rarely indicate ownership of property there.
6. Captains and crews of trip boats (i.e., vessels that traditionally took trips of seven to ten days to Georges Bank) in Gloucester are less likely to be able to attend Council meetings than those of day boats. But even when the trip boats are at the dock, because there is always a plethora of preparation or repair activity before the next trip, New Bedford fishermen are at a disadvantage compared with Gloucester fishermen since they would have to lose a whole day for travel and meeting attendance.

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