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## Articles

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### Testing the Water: Unemployed Youth and the 'Enterprise Culture' in Newfoundland<sup>1</sup>

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#### **Introduction**

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the notion of an 'enterprise culture' has emerged as a central theme in the political thought and practice of governments in several societies. The growth of this 'enterprise culture' is couched primarily in the rediscovery of the language of economic liberalism, with its invocation of the efficiency of markets, the sovereignty of individuals and the non-interventionist state.<sup>2</sup>

While the concept of an 'enterprise culture' is not easily defined,<sup>3</sup> as it has been known to have a series of meanings, the idea has nevertheless come to represent a 'new economics' where individual initiative, risk taking ability, independence, problem solving and a high belief in the control of one's own destiny are highly regarded values, particularly during a period of turbulent economic restructuring. In Britain, for example, where the enterprise movement has been vigorously supported by conservative governments, recent years have witnessed a growth of schemes, courses, agencies and publications, all specializing in the promotion of the 'enterprise culture,' where the purpose is to stimulate business growth and economic prosperity.<sup>4</sup> It is believed that enterprise will play a major role in the restructuring of the economy and the expansion of markets.

The growth of the enterprise movement in Britain is closely connected with the decline of manufacturing and heavy industry. Within policy circles where the 'enterprise culture' is being promoted, a major cause of economic malaise is believed to be the educational system. Some commentators suggest that in the very recent past workers were exposed to an educational

system where industry and entrepreneurs were seen as "vulgar."<sup>5</sup> A liberal-humanist form of education is thought to have inculcated cultural values that were hostile to entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial ideas. Thus, to facilitate economic growth, what is presumably required of the educational system is that it adopt a more industry-linked and applied perspective that equips its participants with entrepreneurial values which encompass such attributes as flexibility, innovation, risk taking and the value of hard work. Young people, in particular, will be required to be self-reliant if they are to survive within a context of globalization and international competition.

Particularly in depressed regions characterized by deindustrialization and high unemployment, attempts have been made to promote the values associated with enterprise. In Britain, unemployed youth have been specifically targeted as a group who, perhaps more than any other segment of society, are found lacking the attitudes appropriate to enterprise. The aim of the "the new vocationalism," according to those who promote it, is to lessen unemployment by making youth more employable (more skilled and flexible workers), to encourage young people to start their own businesses and create their own jobs, and, generally, to promote self-reliance, self-help and individualism. Simultaneously, young people are being urged to understand the lesson of hard times.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, youth must be prepared for a world where, because of public spending cuts, the state is taking less responsibility for providing jobs, services and support.

### **Youth and the Enterprise Culture in Canada**

There is also good evidence to suggest that enterprise-oriented cultural values are informing employment policies in Canada, where a sluggish rate of economic recovery and high levels of unemployment mean that large numbers of young Canadians are experiencing difficulties making the transition from school to work.<sup>7</sup> Large numbers of unemployed youth present formidable problems for Canadian public policy. Pressured by significant levels of unemployment and public debt, labour market policy directives are increasingly subject to fiscal constraints. Within this general context of public spending cuts, the prevailing tendency has been to rely upon supply-side remedies to address the unemployment problem. To facilitate these changes, a federal government portfolio of Human Resources and Labour has been created and has been given the power to revamp welfare programs, unemployment insurance, post-secondary education, pensions and other income-security programs. According to Bernard Valcourt, who was the Tory minister of this new portfolio, "Now we have what it takes to rid the system of the dependency-creating framework that is in place." Valcourt has often complained in the past that the safety net of social programs has become a "fishing net" that "gets a hold of people and never lets them go."<sup>8</sup>

In short, and in common with advocates of the 'enterprise culture,' unemployment persists because workers are felt to lack the skills, experience and attitudes required in an increasingly competitive labour market. High levels of unemployment are considered the direct result of a growing unmet demand for skilled workers, and youth, in terms of their human capital, are seen to lack the proper educational credentials, and thus fail to meet the needs of an expanding knowledge-based economy.

Moreover, the unemployment problem is seen to be associated with personal deficiencies or with broader failures of the educational system. For example, concern over the difficult school-to-work transitions facing youth in Canada (particularly high school drop-outs) has led to the publication of documents such as the 1990 Ontario Premier's Council report, *People and Skills in the New Global Economy*, and the final report of the Economic Council of Canada, *A Lot to Learn: Education and Training in Canada*, (1992) which contend that a re-orientation of education must play a key role in reducing levels of unemployment.<sup>9</sup>

### **Unemployed Youth and the 'Enterprise Culture' in Newfoundland**

While supply-side initiatives against unemployment are receiving considerable attention in Canada generally, in the province of Newfoundland where forty percent of the labour force aged 15-24 are unemployed,<sup>10</sup> the 'enterprise culture' is clearly being endorsed as a solution to solve the province's economic ills. Representatives — particularly from business groups — argue that a dependency culture exists in Newfoundland, where young people have supposedly grown accustomed to government support instead of "goal fulfilment."<sup>11</sup> Hence, an 'attitude problem' is seen to impede economic progress and is a major cause of the province's unemployment. According to the recent Newfoundland Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment:

People have become too dependent on government and, when things go wrong, they look to government to solve their problems. They blame government for their personal troubles . . . It is mainly through the self-help efforts of thousands of Newfoundlanders in hundreds of communities that new initiatives can be taken and new jobs be created.<sup>12</sup>

The notion that the path out of unemployment for 'Generation X' in Newfoundland is a self-help entrepreneurial one has also been promoted by certain members of the press. For instance, Mark King, a St. John's journalist, supports business proposals that give entrepreneurship a larger role in the training of unemployed youth. He argues that "our educational system is currently gutterized by a left-liberal frame of thought" and that

because of this it is "failing our young people because it does not adequately prepare them for the real world."<sup>13</sup>

There is also no shortage of commentary in Newfoundland society which links youth unemployment to ostensibly lavish state support. Many statements have appeared in the St. John's press in recent years voicing the belief that the income support system has undermined the work ethic and caused unemployment. Complaints that "welfare has become a way of life" and that "young people are getting too much and going nowhere" have become commonplace.<sup>14</sup> Because it is not particularly painful to be out of work in Newfoundland, there is little incentive for people to get a job. These comments from businessperson Harry Steele exemplify this conception of the malaise among Newfoundland youth:

The province needs vigorous young people who are willing to become entrepreneurs and young people who want employment year-round . . . Newfoundland's schools and universities must provide better training because the province can only make economic progress if there are people with the right attitude. At the present time we don't have that type of workforce.<sup>15</sup>

Consequently, there is mounting pressure for the unemployed to become more involved in determining their own futures and to place less reliance upon state support. Thus, it is the attitudes and outlooks held by young people in areas of high unemployment that impede their successful movement into the work world as either employers or employees. Pessimism, low expectations, failure to internalize proper work values and lack of interest in risk and enterprise are all considered to contribute to high levels of unemployment.

Within this context of a 'culture of poverty,' a great many schemes have been put forth to teach entrepreneurial and other presumably much-needed life skills to unemployed young people. Groups like the YM/YWCA, for example, have taken the lead in this with financial assistance provided by the federal government through the Canada Job Strategy. These "job generation" programs attempt to alter young people's attitudes by persuading them that they can be employers rather than employees.<sup>16</sup>

In northern Newfoundland, where unemployment tends to be the highest in the province, various programs (e.g., "Enterprising Youth," "Youth Maximization Initiative" and "Youth Ventures") have recently been established to put unemployed youth to work. A soon-to-be-opened Economic Development Centre in St. Anthony (the largest community in the region with a population of 3,000), funded by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC), will provide unemployed youth and other prospective entrepreneurs access to computer data bases and other sources of business information.

Recent youth enterprise ideas finding support have included a hot dog cart, a fruit and vegetable stand, a laundry service, ice cream carts and a mini-golf course. Start up loans for such ventures are available from the Federal Business Development Bank (FBDB).

To help prepare people to become "their own bosses," several youth (as well as other adults in the area who are out of work due to the northern cod moratorium) have enrolled in "life skills" courses. These courses are designed to teach the value of enterprise and to build self-esteem and confidence. Students in such programs are also taught, among other techniques, skills in communication and decision making, and are helped to establish a self-awareness relevant to the pursuit of business activities.<sup>17</sup> According to the president of the St. Barbe Development Association, young people "have to get more involved in determining their futures and wean themselves from a reliance on government" if they are going to survive in the region.<sup>18</sup>

The impact of this youth 'enterprise culture' has become quite evident in the pages of the local press. For instance, when a group of high school students from the northern peninsula returned home from a student exchange program in New Brunswick, the teacher who accompanied them remarked that when they travelled to New Brunswick, they "couldn't believe the job opportunities that was [sic] available" and that "we have to realize here in northern Newfoundland that starting youth business is the way to go."<sup>19</sup> The program co-coordinator who accompanied the New Brunswick students to Newfoundland commented on the 'enterprise culture' by remarking that, "We're gearing them [New Brunswick students] towards workforce entry, while you here in Newfoundland seem to be concentrating on self-employment."<sup>20</sup> No doubt these sentiments were raised because part of the New Brunswick contingent's trip to the northern peninsula involved attending an "enterprise seminar" that included presentations by representatives of ACOA, Enterprise Newfoundland and the Woman's Enterprise Bureau.

Besides anecdotal evidence, little is known about how receptive unemployed youth are, or will be, to adopting the faith of the 'enterprise culture'. Unemployed youth have only recently been exposed to programs mandated to instill entrepreneurial attitudes while reducing government dependency. Consequently, these current developments raise some important yet unresolved issues. To what extent have unemployed youth become dependent upon state support and how accurately can they be described as living in a dependency culture? Has unemployment become accepted and come to be regarded as 'normal' in communities where jobless youth are clustered? Given the possibility of living on 'lavish' state support, do unemployed youth demonstrate a particularly low level of employment commitment? Has the work ethic been eroded by high unemployment? Closely related to these

questions is concern about current strategies for weaning unemployed youth away from state dependence. More specifically, while research has been done in Britain to evaluate government attempts to introduce enterprise values among unemployed youth,<sup>21</sup> very little information is to be found in Canada on the question of how receptive unemployed youth might be to adopting the faith of an 'enterprise culture'. Do young people possess anti-business attitudes? Are they hostile to the idea of self-employment? Do unemployed youth require and benefit from "life skills" education and related forms of counselling intended to put them on the road to self-sufficiency and employment?

This research attempts to empirically evaluate and respond to these questions, and in so doing, will attempt to assess the more general idea that unemployment is the result of cultural deficiency and anti-business/anti-entrepreneurial attitudes. By this line of reasoning, the unemployment problem is essentially an attitude and/or skills shortage problem calling for individual transformation.

Data for this study will be drawn from a Canadian community in northern Newfoundland, a region of high unemployment. It will represent one of the first detailed empirical studies of the cultural and economic responses of young adults to the virtual collapse of secure employment. This research will also analyze the practices and attitudes of the unemployed youth at whom enterprise policies have been aimed.

## **Method and Research Setting**

St. Anthony and several smaller communities are located on the tip of the great northern peninsula of Newfoundland. The region is distinguished by its rugged terrain, sparse vegetation and long, cold winters. It is also characterized by many indicators of economic marginality. Incomes are well below both the provincial and national averages, unemployment is high, the labour market is weak, and levels of formal education are low.<sup>22</sup> In this region close to one-half of all those between the ages of 15-24 are officially unemployed.<sup>23</sup>

The ethnographic work for this study included two periods of field work: the first took place in early December, 1990 and concluded at the end of January, 1991, and the second was completed during August, 1991. Besides the ethnographic component to the study (which essentially entailed 'hanging out' with a group of unemployed youth), structured and unstructured interviews were also conducted with unemployed youths.<sup>24</sup> Finally, a self-administered survey instrument was filled out by the members of a sample (n = 105) which was drawn using snowball and quota techniques.<sup>25</sup>

**Table 1**  
Sample Characteristics

Variable		N	%
Gender:	Female	55	52.4
	Male	50	47.6
Age:	16-18	11	10.5
	19-21	52	49.5
	22-24	18	17.1
	25-27	18	17.1
	28-29	06	5.7
Education:	High school graduate	47	47
	Did not complete high school	53	53
1990 Income:	Under \$5,000	50	47.6
	\$5,001-9,999	30	28.6
	\$10,000-14,999	7	6.7
	\$15,000-19,999	5	4.8
	\$20,000-24,999	3	2.9
Marital Status:	Married	11	10.5
	Common Law	14	13.3
	Single with steady	36	34.3
	Single no steady	37	35.2
	Separated/divorced	4	3.8
Where Living?	With parents	59	58.4
	On own	4	4.0
	With partner	21	21.0
	Sharing	17	17.0
Length of Time Unemployed:	< one month	10	11.0
	1-3 months	18	21.0
	4-6 months	11	12.0
	7-12 months	27	30.0
	Over 12 months	23	26.0

## Results and Discussion

Survey data reveal that the sample (see Table 1) included an equal mix of young men and young women. The mean age of the sample was slightly over the age of twenty, and fifty percent of respondents had completed high school. Young people in this peripheral region reported annual incomes of \$6,200, which is well below both national and provincial averages.<sup>26</sup> Members of the sample had been unemployed for an average of seven months.

Before we examine young people's views related to the growth of the 'enterprise culture,' it is important that we set the record straight about the

notion that unemployed youth have an attitude problem (i.e., low level of employment commitment) and that they are pessimistic and negative about the future.

Judging by the large number of references addressing the issue which have appeared in the Newfoundland press in recent years, there is good reason to believe that many people do feel that mass unemployment has affected the work ethic of Newfoundlanders. Research by Overton, for example, has shown that members from a variety of interest groups in Newfoundland believe that youth unemployment and the unemployment insurance system have played major roles in undermining the work ethic of Newfoundlanders. The deterioration of the work ethic is regarded as a prime cause of the province's economic ills and is in turn believed to result from the entrenchment of welfare dependency. From this perspective, there is a perceived danger that the experience of unemployment during the formative years is associated with subsequent long-term unemployment.

Based on ethnographic and survey research, unemployment is not considered 'normal,' nor is it 'accepted' in communities on the tip of the great northern peninsula. Seventy-nine percent of youth surveyed supported the statement that "having almost any job is better than being unemployed." Moreover, 85 percent reported that they "could not get enough out of life without a job" (Table 2).

**Table 2**  
Employment Commitments (percentages)

Statements	Percent of Sample				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Having almost any job is better than being unemployed	57	22	13	6	1
I could easily get enough out of life without a job	1	2	13	35	50
If you haven't got a job, life is pointless and a waste of time	18	19	17	31	15
A person must have a job to feel a full member of society	18	38	15	19	9

(n=103)

Additionally, respondents were asked whether they would "work at a full-time job that paid minimum wage" or "choose not to work and collect the same money on unemployment insurance." In response to this question,



77 percent indicated that they would rather work full-time at a minimum wage job than make the same money on unemployment insurance (UI).

Interestingly, when these and other similar questions were used to create an employment commitment index, the 'work ethic' of unemployed youth from northern Newfoundland was higher than an identical measure obtained from a study of unemployed youth in Scotland.<sup>27</sup> Ethnographic work in the community corroborated these findings.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, despite massive levels of youth unemployment, young people appear to remain committed to employment; there is no indication that unemployment has dissipated the so-called work ethic among this group of economically marginalized youth. To be sure, young people had little choice but to exchange their labour for a wage. It was well recognized that without paid work it is virtually impossible to enjoy a reasonable standard of living.

Closely related to the sample's low incomes (reported in Table 1) are levels of state support in the form of unemployment insurance. Although it is a commonly held belief that the unemployed 'have it easy' while collecting UI benefits and that the Canadian income support system is responsible for persistently high jobless rates, my research suggests otherwise. In fact, 29 percent of young people who participated in the study were neither employed nor collecting unemployment insurance benefits. For those who were receiving benefits, the majority fell into the category where bi-weekly incomes were within the \$300 to \$400 range. It must be pointed out, however, that for many youths this lack of state dependency was cushioned to some degree by their living arrangements. As shown earlier (in Table 1), 58 percent of the sample reported that they lived with their parents. Furthermore, the 1990 incomes of those who were living at home were, on average, 20 percent lower than the annual incomes of respondents who were not living at home.

Before concluding this section, it is important to recognize that even though the unemployed experience many problems associated with unemployment — such as boredom and being short on cash — most of the sample was relatively optimistic that their labour market status would improve in the future. More specifically, 77 percent indicated that they were "very confident" that they would have a full-time job within the next year, and 90 percent expected that their unemployment would not last for "a long period of time."

Given these findings, the existence of the "Newfoundland Disease," at least for young people living on the great northern peninsula, is highly doubtful. These results suggest that, while struggling with adversity, unemployed youth do not have an "attitude problem" about work; and while they are most definitely concerned, they are not particularly negative and pessimistic about their futures. Additionally, given the low levels of state

support they are provided, young people in this study are not making a decent livelihood through participation in what has been described as a "benefits culture."

Considering the fact that young people's attitudes about work are not why they are unemployed, are there any data indicating that young people hold anti-business attitudes, and that *these* sentiments can, moreover be held responsible, even in part, for the existing high levels of unemployment? It is to this and other related questions that we now turn.

Based on survey data there is no evidence to suggest that unemployed youth hold anti-business sentiments. When respondents were asked, for example, what reasons they felt were responsible for their unemployment, a mere 8 percent felt that "employers were against young people" and that these attitudes prevented them from securing employment. In fact, the two most favoured explanations given for unemployment were a "dying fishery" and a "lack of jobs in the area."

Perhaps most importantly, the vast majority of unemployed youth did *not* frown upon the idea of self-employment. In fact, 86 percent reported either that they would "love to" be self-employed, or that, if provided the opportunity, it would certainly be "OK" to be self-employed. Just over 70 percent held opinions that it is "important" or "very important" for a good job to involve "being one's own boss."

Participants were also quite receptive to the idea of increasing their educational credentials: 70 percent (including high school drop-outs) expressed interest in going back to school. Moreover, 65 percent had already done so by enrolling in a variety of educational programs (which included such programs as "Life Skills," "Enterprising Youth," "Youth Maximization Initiative" and "Youth Ventures"). While many of these young people had taken courses at the local trade school/community college in St. Anthony (72%), others (28%) had travelled to St. John's or other communities in Newfoundland to improve their educational credentials.

Thus, far from being 'work shy,' or holding anti-business attitudes, most unemployed youth from the great northern peninsula of Newfoundland expressed an interest in becoming self-employed, along with a willingness to augment their 'human capital' through educational programs (of which many were designed to teach young people what it takes to administer a business enterprise). These results, then, certainly do not support the idea that unemployed youth hold attitudes which interfere with employment.

This is not to suggest, however, that young people were uncritical of enterprise-initiated programs. Participants in federally-sponsored skills training programs (most of which were contracted out to private 'educational businesses' such as "Westviking College" and "Norpen") were somewhat sceptical about the perceived ability of such courses to provide

much-needed employment opportunities. For example, of respondents who had taken—or were currently enrolled in—federally funded skills programs, fewer than half (48 percent) reported that such programs were “useful” for increasing their employment chances.

A recent example of such critical commentary can be seen in the words of one young man who was taking a three-week course in “Life Skills.” According to a feature in the local press, the student suggested that the course was “not any benefit when it comes to getting another job” and, that it turned out to be, in fact, “more like some type of group therapy.” The student added, “I’m disappointed with the program and it’s a waste of money to offer this type of course.”<sup>29</sup>

While such critical comments might appear to indicate that unemployed youth hold ‘negative’ or ‘bad’ attitudes about enterprise, these critical sentiments developed only when youth recognized that the courses in which they were enrolled did not live up to their expectations; they were not attitudes directed against the idea of self-employment per se, but were aimed at specific existing programs promoting the ‘enterprise culture.’ Furthermore, for many youth, involvement in the learning of such life skills and enterprise values had failed to translate into decent employment opportunities. While unemployed youth were interested in enterprise-oriented skills and knowledge because these might result in a job, at the time when my respondents were interviewed, all were a long way from reaping the benefits of the ‘enterprise culture.’ Their lives were ones in which poverty remained all too real and nearby, and their interest in self-employment simply a *practical* solution to personal unemployment.

It is important to recognize within this context that young people were being both ‘pushed’ and ‘pulled’ into programs designed to train them for ‘independence’ and ‘self-sufficiency’. For most participants in these programs, the ‘push’ came from the weakness of the local labour market. Furthermore, apart from “Life Skills” and other CEIC-funded programs, post-secondary and many other vocational programs were unavailable in the region.

There was a ‘pull’ associated with the idea of entrepreneurship. Many youth participants in the enterprise programs had low annual incomes and had experienced previous bouts of prolonged unemployment. Clearly, given these young people’s ages, employment histories and financial backgrounds, in their past they had been denied the chance to gain personal pride, self-control and a sense of achievement in their working lives. Thus, self-employment was likely to seem an attractive option compared to continued unemployment. In addition to this, youths who were participating in one of the Life Skills Programs, “Youth Maximization Initiative,” were

collecting a CEIC allowance. The bi-weekly sum of \$258 certainly provided an important incentive for involvement in this program.<sup>30</sup>

Although many millions of dollars have been spent to convert Newfoundlanders to an 'enterprise culture' by way of programs meant, as MacDonald and Coffield put it within a British context,<sup>31</sup> to "jolt the young unemployed from 'dependence' to 'enterprise'," realistically this project is likely to fail to incorporate these young people politically. While unemployed youth are certainly 'pro-employment', and appear to have the 'right attitudes' (because of the discipline of unemployment), they simply do not see enterprise courses as significantly enhancing their employment prospects. Maintaining these positive attitudes and pursuing the limited realistic options young people felt were available to them were perceived as the most sensible means of improving their situations. Involvement in enterprise schemes was simply a personal attempt to improve one's chances, a 'preference' born more of necessity than choice.

Clearly, those included in the sample were not adopting the views about the 'enterprise culture' being extolled by the Newfoundland Economic Recovery Commission, for example. Most were entering the 'enterprise culture' (through enrollment in various government-sponsored programs) because it was one of a very few available options. They were not particularly attracted to the *values* that self-employment was supposed to represent. While young people were receptive to the idea of self-employment, they were sceptical about the value of programs associated with the promotion of the 'enterprise culture.'

## **Conclusion**

The results of this study clearly demonstrate that a gap exists between the official rhetoric of enterprise, as promoted by government ministries and other advocates, and the attitudes and practices of young people toward whom these policies have been aimed. Although many commentators have suggested that young people, particularly those unemployed, have lost the work ethic, become dependent upon state support, and hold anti-business/entrepreneurial attitudes, the results of this research suggest otherwise. There is no evidence that young people have adopted any sort of value system which is responsible for their unemployment. Since accusations of poor motivation are false, it would appear that even the high level of employment commitment for which there is evidence is insufficient to surmount the obstacles presented by lack of opportunity and resources.

In this analysis, I have provided substantial evidence that current concerns with the educational system, unemployment insurance, and the development of a 'dependency culture' are, as Overton suggests, "convenient scapegoats for industry, politicians and other who want to draw attention

away from the government's retreat from responsibility for the problem of unemployment".<sup>32</sup> Placing blame upon the unemployed for the current economic malaise not only denies responsibility for government job creation but serves as an excuse for welfare-state cutbacks.

Promoting the values of the 'enterprise culture' during a period when efforts are simultaneously being made to reduce state support for the unemployed may also be related to the provincial government's deep commitment to the principle of privatization. In the midst of a financial and ecological crisis (the demise of northern cod stocks), the Liberal government of Clyde Wells is increasingly calling upon the private sector to stimulate economic growth. In fact, efforts are currently being made by the government to privatize its largest commercial enterprise, the Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro Corporation. Certainly, 'enterprise values' such as individual drive, risk-taking, independence, problem solving and a strong belief in the personal control of one's own destiny are highly regarded at a time when the private sector is viewed as *the* engine of economic growth.

Although more research is needed to better understand the relationship between the 'enterprise culture' and the state's role in economic development, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that the enterprise movement presently serves as an ideological backdrop to justify both cutbacks in state support for the unemployed and the tendency toward the privatization of public services. Additionally, scholars who have evaluated British enterprise schemes conclude that long hours, low pay, insecurity, isolation and loneliness, mental stress and financial worries were all a normal part of running risky businesses.<sup>33</sup> The fact that many managed to stay afloat was largely due to the low expectations and stoical attitudes of young entrepreneurs. Of the numerous young people who closed down their businesses in the UK, many emphasized the stress, lack of money and business and the disheartening nature of their experiences as the reasons for doing so.<sup>34</sup>

In sum, this paper strongly suggests that the enterprise movement in Newfoundland and young people's participation in enterprise training programs does not signify the recent acceptance of a previously absent 'culture of enterprise,' but the presence of a pragmatic culture of survival. Unfortunately, given the negative experiences of many young people participating in enterprise programs in the UK and the general crisis of the economy in Newfoundland and Canada as a whole, the future for young Newfoundland mini-entrepreneurs would appear to be rather gloomy.

#### NOTES

1. Many thanks to Scott Davies, Julian Tanner, Luc Theriault, Gillian Walker and anonymous CRSP reviewers for their useful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Funding for the project was provided by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

2. R. Keat and N. Abercrombie, eds., *Enterprise Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991).
3. See D. Morris, "Freeing the Spirit of Enterprise: The Genesis and Development of the Concept of Enterprise Culture," in Keat and Abercrombie, *ibid.*
4. R. Macdonald and F. Coffield, *Risky Business: Youth and the Enterprise Culture* (London: Falmer Press, 1991).
5. Morris, 1991.
6. J. Overton, "A Critical Look at the Problem of Youth Unemployment in Newfoundland," in *From the Margin to the Centre*, Janet Burns, Gail Pool and Chris McCormick, eds. (Saint John: University of New Brunswick, 1991).
7. See D. Ashton and G. Lowe, eds., *Making Their Way: Education, Training and the Labour Market in Canada and Britain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).
8. *Globe and Mail*, June 26, 1992.
9. See J. Gaskell, "Introduction," in *Transitions: Schooling and Employment in Canada*, P. Anisef and P. Axelrod, eds. (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1993).
10. Statistics Canada, March Labour Force Survey. Supply and Services Canada, 1993.
11. Overton, 1991.
12. *Building on Our Strengths*, Report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (St. John's: Queens Printer, 1986:33).
13. M. King, 1985: cited in Overton, 1991.
14. Overton, 1991.
15. *St. John's, Evening Telegram*, February 6, 1990.
16. Overton, 1991.
17. *Northern Pen*, March 30, 1993.
18. *Northern Pen*, May 4, 1993.
19. *Northern Pen*, May 25, 1993.
20. *Ibid.*
21. See, for example, B. Coles and R. MacDonald, "From new vocationalism to the culture of enterprise", in C. Wallace, C. and M. Cross, eds., *Youth in Transition* (Basingstoke: Falmer Press, 1990) and R. Macdonald and F. Coffield, *Risky Business: Youth and the Enterprise Culture* (London: Falmer Press, 1991).
22. L. Felt and P. Sinclair, "Everyone Does it: Unpaid Work in a Rural Peripheral Region," *Work, Employment and Society* 6 (1), 1992. 43-64.
23. Statistics Canada Population and Dwelling Characteristics—Census Divisions and Subdivisions Profiles (Newfoundland: Part 2, Cat. 94-102: Supply and Services Canada, 1988). It should be noted that research for this study was undertaken before the closure of the northern cod fishery announced by the former Federal Fisheries Minister, John Crosbie, in July, 1992.

24. The study also involved interviews with local development workers, instructors from federally funded skills training programs, high school teachers, social workers, business people, local politicians and other employed adults and youth in the community and surrounding area.
25. See B. O'Grady, "Coming of Age on the Periphery: Youth Unemployment and the Transition to Adulthood in Newfoundland," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Toronto, 1993) for a more detailed discussion of the methodology employed in this project.
26. Using Statistics Canada data, L. Felt and P. Sinclair report that in 1986 the median annual income in Canada stood at \$19,797 for men, and \$12,615 for women ("'I Likes it Here': Perceptions of Life Satisfaction in a Marginal Region," in *From the Centre to the Margin*, J. Burns, G. Pool and C. McCormick, eds., Saint John: University of New Brunswick, 1990). In Newfoundland, during the same year, the median annual income for men was \$13,712, and \$9,876 for women. Thus, the self-reported incomes for youth in this region are considerably low.
27. A. Furlong, "But They Don't Want to Work, Do They? Unemployment and Work Ethics among Young People in Scotland," in D. Raffe, ed., *Education and the Youth Labour Market* (London: Falmer Press, 1988).
28. See O'Grady, 1993.
29. *Northern Pen*, March 30, 1993. This is not to suggest, however, that such efforts were seen by all students as a waste of time and money. In fact, the majority (75%) reported that they would "recommend the course to a friend."
30. According to one of the instructors of the "Youth Maximization Initiative", most youth who were enrolled in the program were attracted because of the CEIC allowance and were not all that interested in learning about life skills and other related issues.
31. Ibid.
32. Overton, 1991, p.33.
33. See Coles and MacDonald, 1991.
34. Ibid. Additional research needs to be done within this context to systematically evaluate the impact of limited programs.