There is no other land, there is no other life but this: An investigation into the impact of gender on social capital and resilience in four rural, island communities of British Columbia.

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the relationship between gender, social capital and resilience in the context of four of British Columbia’s rural, island communities. Each community’s unique circumstances provide a distinctive context in which to study the interaction between these three concepts. This study utilizes quantitative data from several sources, including Statistics Canada, BC Stats, and a mail out survey conducted by the Resilient Communities Project (RCP). This study also utilizes qualitative data from several sources, including two sets of interviews conducted by the RCP, interviews carried out in the Haida First Nation community of Old Massett, and participant observation. The results of these case studies confirm the necessity of taking context into consideration in any study of the impact and influence of social capital.

Within this specific context, social networks operate very differently than in an urban setting. The small size of these rural communities means that the entire community functions as one social network, and residents have ties of differing strengths within this network. The strength of their ties determines their access to valuable resources within the network, as access to these resources is only given to those who are known to be both accountable and trustworthy. Through visible and repeated social interaction in formal and informal groups, residents built strong ties to one another. These ties allow for processes of generalized reciprocity to take place, wherein residents give to others with no expectation of receiving back from that specific other, knowing that at some point in the future should they need help, it will be available. This process relies entirely on the trust built up through repeated interactions and the sanctions imposed on those who break this trust, and contributes greatly to community cohesion and resilience.

Women have a particular role within these communities. Unlike studies that find that women are disadvantaged in terms of their social networks, the results of this study find that women have parlayed their higher levels of involvement in the social life of the community and the informal economy into beneficial social networks based on trust and reciprocity. In addition, their higher levels of education put them at the forefront of the new service economy with lower levels of unemployment and equal likelihood of self-employment, all of which contribute not only to individual resilience, but community resilience as well.
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To my Haida family, for taking me in and showing me what this all means in real life in a way books and journal articles and research studies never could. If it rings true, it’s because of you! Howa.

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Many thanks to all of you. This achievement is not mine alone.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the many men and women of BC’s rural, coastal communities whose commitment to lifestyle and community were the inspiration for this study. So many amazing people took the time to sit down and talk to me about life in their small, rural communities, and tell stories of how they are facing the ongoing economic crisis with the help of friends, family and other community members. They welcomed me into their homes and their communities and opened up about the difficulties they face, and the uncertainty of a future in a rapidly changing economy. They met me in coffee shops and restaurants, living rooms and offices, on front porches and in backyards, often uncertain of what to expect, yet willing to take a chance and wanting to help a researcher understand their lives and their steadfast commitment to a way of life they love. Some talked for hours, long after the official interviews were over, about their lives and their families, and what was so important to them that they were willing to give up almost anything to sustain it. All had something to contribute; from hilarious quotes to profound wisdom to evocative anecdotes. To each of them I say thank you for your generosity, your honesty, and your insight. Both I and this study are the richer for it.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

There’s something happening here, what it is ain’t exactly clear…¹

Interviewee: I wanted to talk about the strength of the women in a small town. I think it’s phenomenal here. There are so many diverse skills amongst the women, and they’re all just so bent on making—carving their life.

...I was thinking about the independence of the women that come up here to live. And if you aren’t of an independent nature, you’re going to need someone to take care of you...

Interviewer: There’s a lot of single women up here.

Interviewee: And they’re very strong.

Interviewer: Now would you say that this kind of environment attracts the strong, independent women? Or that they get here and become strong, independent women?

Interviewee: I think you have be to part way there. You’ve got to have a little bit of an adventuresome spirit, otherwise I don’t think you’re going to get here, and if something happens...

...I do think that you only stay here if you’ve got that...that drive, that spirit, that willingness to forge your own life. You have to.

Interviewer: So you really feel that the women of this community make a significant contribution to its functioning. And that there are specific kinds of women that make a go of it here.

Interviewee: Yes, they’re independent, a lot of autonomy, caring, good work ethics. Like, yes, just really, really good qualities in those people.

...I’m not sure what it is. It’s just that we a have a really high percentage of very, very strong people. And maybe that’s partly what is attractive about a small town is that you can be more autonomous and independent. It’s more tolerated (QUE Interview, 004, Female).

¹ For What It’s Worth, Buffalo Springfield, 1966
These words were spoken by a self-described “strong, independent” woman, who arrived with her husband in a small, resource-based town over a decade ago. She did not know a soul in the community. The marriage broke down, but she stayed on, and forged a life for herself centered around food, friends and a steadfast dedication to a community and a lifestyle she loves. At the end of the interview, she initiated the above conversation, because she felt it was important for me to understand the importance and contribution of women to the community.

Her words were the impetus for reviving a thesis that I had previously abandoned. The original idea for the thesis was born out of a series of papers looking at the role of gender in the operation of social capital and networks in rural communities (an overview of the contribution of these publications will be included in Chapter 1). I had planned to explore this relationship in the context of the Resilient Communities Project, a multi-year, three-stage project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). The overall focus of this project was on the relationship between social capital and economic resilience in the coastal, rural, resource-based communities of British Columbia, but my specific interest was to investigate the role of gender in this relationship.

In Phase I of the project, with the assistance of B.C. Statistics, we collected data on all economic and social indicators available for the past twenty years, for each community on the coast. Through this process, we identified 131 coastal communities with a population of over 50 and less than 30,000, including 75 First Nation reserves, 28 unincorporated and 28 incorporated communities.

Phase II of the project dealt directly with the measurement of social capital within B.C.’s coastal communities. We developed a self-administered questionnaire that focused particularly on indicators of social capital that were operationalized in fixed-choice question format. The instrument was divided into seven distinct sections: demographic measures; employment; community identification and commitment; trust; social activities and networks; media use; and health. Each section is composed of an array of items and constructs, some adapted from past studies as well as some measures of our own. We mailed this questionnaire to some 4,800 households in 24 communities,
chosen by random sample, over a period of a year and achieved a response rate of nearly 60 percent. The resulting database represents a unique source of data – a comprehensive snapshot of the coastal communities of B.C. at a specific point in time - and it was this database that I planned to utilize to investigate the relationship between gender, social capital, and factors relating to social and/or economic resilience in rural communities.

That is, until I started looking at the early analyses that were conducted on the quantitative data. The gender differences that I had expected to find did not materialize to the extent I had anticipated, and the explanations for the differences that were found were not immediately evident. I decided the data I needed to support my thesis did not exist and my only option was to abandon this thesis and proceed on a different course.

Then came Phase III of the project involving extensive interviews in six of the communities that formed the sample in Phase II. Whereas the data in Phase II was focused on the structure of social capital formation in each community, the questions asked in the interviews were designed to provide more qualitative in-depth information about the process of social capital utilization. And as I travelled through rural, coastal, B.C., talking to both men and women in resource-based communities, and hearing their stories of adapting to life after the resource boom of the past, and their strategies for maintaining their chosen lifestyle into the future, I began to realize something. Their stories of what had happened in and to their resource communities might be similar, but their responses to these changes, and their ways of constructing their lives in these communities, were quite different. I began to see that the stories that could not be heard and the explanations that were not entirely evident through the quantitative data were contained in the qualitative data. I realized that what I thought did not exist was there after all: I had simply been looking in the wrong place. I had been expecting the quantitative data to provide all the answers, when it could provide only part of the explanation. The other part came from the narratives of the people behind the numbers; the men and the women living in these communities who agreed to be interviewed.

My moment of enlightenment came as I sat in a sunny kitchen in Queen Charlotte City, listening to a very strong woman talk about the other strong women she knew and the difference between the men and the women in her community. I realized that this
was not a unique experience – that I had been hearing similar stories from respondents in different communities. The women talked about the many opportunities available if one was creative, innovative and adaptable. They talked about the importance of community involvement, and the strong networks they had developed as a result. They talked about their commitment to their communities, and to the lifestyle they had made for themselves, which made the idea of leaving unthinkable. The men, on the other hand, seemed more resigned to the economic decline and affected by the loss of and continuing lack of steady employment. Their opinion of their communities seemed to be based on whether or not full-time employment was available. As a result, their forecast for the future seemed less optimistic and the possibility of leaving was a more serious consideration.

As the interviews continued, other differences emerged. When asked to name the leaders of their communities, men tended to name the elected leaders, mayors, town and regional councillors, and corporate business people. Women invariably named other women; small and home-based business owners, social, cultural and informal leaders who were involved in nearly every community function and event, and who worked tirelessly behind the scenes. In the smaller communities, the same names kept coming up over and over, “Mavis” in Queen Charlotte City, “Marg” in Masset and “Hilda” on Quadra Island; one name only, so well-known that a last name was unnecessary. These women were described as “the heart and soul of this community”, the “movers and shakers”, the person with “her finger on the pulse of this town”.

In one interview, I asked the respondent if there were many home-based businesses that had started in her community over the past few years. She mentioned several businesses, mainly craft-based, where the proprietors were using their skills and knowledge to bring back forgotten art forms. In addition, she noted, these business owners were also taking advantage of the global marketplace to promote their businesses through the internet and well-placed outside contacts. I realized that every single name she had mentioned was that of a woman. I mentioned this to her, and she smiled and said “Yes.” However, when I asked her whether there was a reason that it was only women starting and running these businesses, she declined to answer, the look on her face
clearly stating that while there was a very good reason, she did not feel comfortable expressing it.

Perhaps these differences can best be demonstrated through two interviews I conducted in Queen Charlotte City – one with a woman leader, and one with a male leader. The male leader, after over 30 years in Queen Charlotte City, had decided to move away from the Islands. Although he had firmly believed when he first moved to Queen Charlotte City that he would never leave, the decline in the resource industry had resulted in the near collapse of his small business, and he felt his only option was to move away and change careers completely. The job he desired was not available in his small, rural community and so he was moving to a larger urban center in an entirely different country. When I asked him if he was finding it hard to leave after so many years – that he must have strong networks of friends and colleagues built up through his many years of work and community service - he shrugged his shoulders and said yes, but it was “time for a change.” I found his decision confusing: he was only a few years from retirement and his wife had a very lucrative career and was soon to be offered a generous early retirement package. They lived in an amazing house with a stunning ocean view that they had custom built to their own specifications. He had dedicated over 30 years of his life to this community and had an active leadership role for the majority of those years, and yet, he was now ready to pack up that life and leave.

In contrast, the female leader I interviewed was quite emphatic that she would never leave this community. She had also arrived on the Islands with the firm belief that she would never leave, and that resolve had not wavered. When asked why, she said quite frankly, “because my life and my friends are here.” She had also been active in community service for many years, and had worked in the resource industry before, during and after its drastic decline. It was her stated opinion that as long as people were willing to work hard and adapt to ongoing changes, there would always be employment available. Now retired from active employment, she dedicated the vast majority of her time to her community leadership roles, planning and attending community events, and cultivating ever-stronger and wider-ranging networks both on and off the Island. Her main goal in all of this was to improve her community and the lives of the people in it,
and she received little or no financial benefits from the long hours she committed to community service, nor did she expect to.

Two people, in similar roles, with similar lives, but one ready to leave his life and friends in the community with the hopes of starting over somewhere else, and the other, firmly dedicated to a community and a lifestyle she refused to consider leaving. The only real difference between them was their gender.

So, what were the reasons for these gender differences? Were they partly demographic, or more socially based? Were women more committed to their communities, more actively involved in their daily functioning? Were there social network differences in terms of composition, allowing women to attain leadership roles and start new businesses to a greater degree than the men? Were women just more adaptive and innovative, because for the most part, their lives and livelihoods had not depended to the same extent on the fluctuating resource industry, giving them some protection from the boom and bust cycles so inherent in a resource-based town, and as a result, greater stability and durability?

Obviously, something is happening here. Exactly what that is has led me back to reviving my original thesis with renewed interest to find answers to these questions and many more, and it is my belief that, by the end, it will become exactly clear.
CHAPTER TWO

A Tale of Two Islands, Four Communities and No Cities

From time immemorial islands have held a strange and compelling fascination for man... (Dalzell 1968: 13).

This is the story of two islands: one located only a short ferry ride from the mainland of British Columbia and yet a world away; and the other, so far north that when you stand on its north beach on a clear day you can catch a view of Alaska, and so isolated the first white missionary arrived on its shores only 125 years ago. This is also the story of four communities situated on these islands, each community the product of a rich and varied history that has shaped it into a distinct entity. Yet, all have in common a considerable level of economic upheaval and instability over the past few decades that continues on into the present, their responses to which will shape their futures. Most importantly, this is the story of the people who live in these four communities, the men and the women who have stayed despite the economic storms continually pounding their shores. Why they choose to stay, how they have adapted to their changing circumstances, and what elements of their lives contribute to their own and their community’s resilience in the face of constant economic insecurity are the focus of this investigation. This is their story.

In the larger context, the two islands that hold these four communities are located along the coast of British Columbia (B.C.), a truly unique geographical and economic region. With the exception of the growing urban centres encompassing the Lower Mainland, Victoria and Nanaimo, in which 60% of the population of B.C. resides, coastal B.C. consists primarily of small to mid-sized rural communities and First Nation reserves. These communities, which comprise nearly 20% of the province’s population, are located on Vancouver Island and on the many other islands that dot the coastline, or are situated on the vast coastal mainland stretching north to Alaska. This rugged, mountainous and mainly unpopulated landscape offers many challenges to residents, not the least of which is transportation, as many of these communities are unreachable by road and thus dependent on water and air transport.
While some of these communities are considered rural, meaning they have small populations and are located outside of an urban center, they are still within close proximity of necessary services such as government offices and medical facilities. Others can truly be considered rural and isolated, meaning accessing such services is a considerable undertaking, and living in these communities presents a series of challenges not faced by less-isolated and urban communities. This study will investigate both types of communities: Quadra Island, a mere 20 minute ferry ride from Campbell River, a major regional center with a population of over 30,000, and three communities located on Haida Gwaii – Queen Charlotte City, Masset and Old Massett (a First Nation reserve) – for whom the nearest city is Prince Rupert, a 7 to 8 hour ferry ride away on the mainland, depending on weather conditions.¹

One of the greatest challenges these communities face, and what they have in common with so many other B.C. coastal communities, is their historical resource-dependence, which greatly affects their economic stability and adds to their uniqueness as compared to the more urbanized areas of the province. The majority of B.C.’s coastal communities were established around one or more resource, fishing, forestry or mining, and have experienced a fluctuating economy (known as the “boom and bust cycle”) as supplies and practices have changed over time. Reed (2003a) notes communities that rely on resources are distinct from other communities in that they are “extraordinarily vulnerable to changes in external circumstances and demand as they become ‘trapped’ in the mode of staples extraction and production” (45). She notes that,

Because of their marginalized status in directing the economy and their lack of alternative work options, resource workers may in fact contribute to their fate. They frequently ignore the signs of long-term reductions in resource availability and thereby contribute to the inevitable decline of the resource sector (Reed 2003a: 45).

For many communities, this vulnerability and inability to adjust has ultimately led to their facing an “economic shock” that has ripple effects not just in the community but in the surrounding area as well. These shocks have taken many forms: in the mining industry, as costs of extraction have risen and raw materials have been depleted, many mines have ceased operations, and the communities built to service them have all but

¹ See Appendix A for maps of Quadra Island and Haida Gwaii.
vanished. In the forest industry, multiple factors including poor management, overcutting, internal politics, shifting supply and demand, and global policy have resulted in drastic reductions in the operations of local mills and plants, and some permanent shutdowns, resulting in high levels of unemployment and residents with drastically reduced spending power unable to support local businesses.

The fisheries industry, too, has experienced extensive changes, as over-fishing and poor management have drastically reduced the wild fish stocks, which are now subject to strict quota limits. Government policies aimed at addressing these problems have led to the concentration of the majority of large scale, lucrative licenses in the urban core, rather than in rural communities. Many former fishing operators lost not only their livelihood, but their main economic asset and mode of transportation when federal policies aimed at addressing the problem required them to sell their boats to the government. Fishing, once a lucrative career passed from parent to child, and figuring prominently in First Nation heritage and culture, is no longer able to sustain the communities that previously relied on it for both income and food. This has left many residents struggling to adjust to a new way of life they have no experience or skills with which to deal. Some turned to the burgeoning aquaculture industry, leading to much-publicized battles over territory and resources between proponents and opponents who see the aquaculture industry either as a fisheries solution or as a major threat to wild stocks.

As a result of these changes, many rural communities in coastal British Columbia have faced and are still facing massive unemployment, reduction of services and economic instability. Further decimating these communities is the extensive out-migration, primarily of the professional and skilled workforce, and also large numbers of youth, who leave to seek education and employment opportunities elsewhere. For example, between the years 2000 and 2004, the population of the Central Coast Regional District diminished by around 3%, while the population in the rest of BC increased by about 4% (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca).
The ones that stayed

Like so many of their coastal counterparts, the four communities forming the basis for this investigation either have experienced or are still experiencing the economic fall-out of a declining resource industry, and each is dealing with their situation in a different way, their responses influenced by their unique history and heritage and dictated by their residents’ ability to adapt and change. Thus, these four communities provide the ideal context for this investigation, which is an examination of how the social processes operating within them contribute to their resilience in the face of economic instability, and for a examination of how gender influences the operation of these social processes.

This is the story of those who have stayed, despite the economic decline, despite the instability, despite the drastic changes to their lives and their communities. The main questions under investigation are: Which social factors contribute to the ability of these residents to stay and remain committed to their communities in the face of constant economic uncertainty? Are there gender differences in how these social factors operate?

Some of the contributing social factors that will be investigated are the level of commitment to and identification with community and the lifestyle provided by that community; the composition of social networks and the resources available within them; the availability of and ability to access these resources in times of need; the degree of social involvement and participation in the community in both formal and informal groups; level of trust for fellow residents; and the degree of involvement in the informal economy (also known as subsistence activities).

For love or for money?

This focus on social factors is a departure from the standard governmental practice of attempting to address the problems of these communities by focussing on how the economic changes are affecting the social relations. Rather than viewing the social processes of these communities as secondary to or dependent on economic forces, this study will instead focus on the extent to which social factors are contributing to resilience in the face of economic instability and argue in this context, social factors are more important than economic factors in determining resilience.
The government’s focus on top-down, economic strategies disregards the unique circumstances many rural communities find themselves in, thus failing to take into account their distinctive characteristics and needs. This approach disregards the importance of the social structures in these communities that, in the face of constant economic decline, become integral to the ability of residents to adapt to their ongoing circumstances. The predominant belief of government seems to be that, if the economic situation of the community can be improved, the social circumstances will improve as a result, but many rural residents do not agree with this prioritization. The ones who have chosen to remain in their communities have had to learn to adapt to their economic circumstances; it is the social structures they now rely on to maintain their quality of life.

These social factors are often what allows many residents to remain in their communities, regardless of their economic situation. They strive to maintain and defend a lifestyle they have deliberately chosen, often because it is the antithesis of everything urban. As one interviewee from Quadra Island noted, “…we moved here for other reasons than jobs. We moved here to get away from the city, and be more self-sufficient” (QUA Interview 027, Female). A second interviewee from Quadra confirmed, “…it isn’t a place that you come to, to make money. The people who were born and raised here did not get really rich on the things that they did. So, it’s a kind of a different mindset as far as the lifestyle that you’re choosing” (QUA Interview 232, Female).

An interviewee from Masset noted, “You’re never going to become a millionaire on this island…you just don’t have the clientele and the people to make lots of money, but you can make a living, and you can live, have a high quality life: clean air, fresh food, like abundance up to here…” (MAS Interview 187, Female). These interviewees, and many more, emphatically stated their reasons for staying in their communities were not economic but rather social, cultural, environmental and even geographic. As one interviewee from Queen Charlotte City stated, when asked what kept her in her community given the economic decline, “It’s never been economic. It’s always been because this is where I want to be” (QUE Interview 128, Female).

This commitment to lifestyle and to community is common among those who have chosen to “stick it out” in their rural, coastal communities, as is a strong attachment
to the social life of their community. This commitment to and involvement in the social processes of the community contributes to a community’s resilience in the face of economic decline, and it is critical to include and understand these social factors and processes in any attempt to address the ongoing issues and challenges existing in these communities.

A recent paper by Page, Enns, Malinick & Matthews (2006), using part of the same dataset to be utilized in this investigation, supports this contention. The authors found that, within the context of this study - the rural, coastal communities of B.C. - economic considerations did not take priority in determining whether to stay or leave the community. Page et al. (2006) found that, in determining residents’ willingness to leave their communities should a good job come up somewhere else, individual-level economic characteristics such as personal income and employment status did not have a significant association with willingness to leave. Page et al. (2006) note that, initially, this result seems unexpected in that one would assume people without full-time employment and people with relatively low incomes would be more willing to leave their communities for a good job. However, they state:

...as we suggested earlier, our sample consists primarily of people who have – thus far – decided not to leave their communities after being hit with economic shocks. It is interesting, though not surprising, therefore, that individual economic circumstances are not associated with current willingness to leave. It may very well be that, at least for the population under consideration, economic considerations are not as relevant as social ones...(Page et al. 2006).

This underscores the importance of considering both the wider context and individual priorities, something the authors note the government has consistently failed to do in their mainly ineffective attempts to address the many issues rural communities are facing. In addition, a focus on economic solutions and the lack of priority given to social factors often translates into cuts to social programs and services that strike at the very heart of these communities: because the urban centres have larger populations, they receive a greater percentage of the services, and as rural populations have shrunk, service cuts and closures (i.e., schools, hospitals, medical clinics, courthouses, day-cares,

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3 The dataset used by Page et al. (2006) included all 24 coastal communities in the sample, and three of the four communities that are the focus of this study. Individual community analyses will be presented later in the paper detailing the specific data for the four communities under investigation.
women’s centres, government service offices) have become the norm. In many small communities, these losses intensify the difficulties already caused by economic decline, as many key professionals and others employed by these organizations and institutions are forced to leave their communities. Because these are often people who are well-known and very involved in the community, their leaving represents a loss of social resources for the community, weakening vital social networks of support and reciprocity.

The remaining social infrastructure becomes all the more important to the people who choose to remain.

Page et al. (2006) found individual-level social characteristics such as trust (specifically trust of community institutions and community members) and civic engagement were negatively associated with willingness to leave. More trusting people were less willing to leave, as were people who were involved in the social life of their communities through their volunteer activities. The authors conclude,

*These social factors are what makes life in these communities bearable under circumstances of economic decline - the supportive and trustworthy friends, the sense of community made and maintained through social involvement in many different forms, the firm belief that the community leaders have the community’s best interests at heart, and above all, a community spirit, built on the dedication and commitment of its residents, that refuses to be broken (Page et al. 2006).*

Page et al. (2006) suggest the residents who have decided to stay in their rural, coastal communities are able to adapt to, or overcome, their unstable economic circumstances through their involvement in the social life of their community. It is very likely then, the composition of their social networks (not investigated in Page et al.’s study) would also reflect their more socially-oriented priorities.

In support of the focus on gender differences, Page et al. (2006) also found women were less likely to be willing to leave than men. While they suggested this result could be due to a greater proportion of the women not being employed full-time, the inclusion of employment status as a control variable did not reduce the significance nor strength of the association between gender and willingness to leave. This suggests the association exists above and beyond any association between gender and employment status (Page et al. 2008).
This study then proposes to take up where Page et al. (2006) left off, with an in-depth investigation into the social factors operating within four rural, coastal communities enabling their residents to adapt to their ever-changing economic circumstances in positive and innovative ways. Whereas Page et al. (2006) focused mainly on the factors contributing to residents’ willingness to leave, the dependent variable for this investigation is resilience and the focus is on the social factors contributing to resilience in the face of economic instability. In investigating these social factors, this study will also explore gender differences in how rural, coastal residents are adapting to their economic circumstances, particularly in terms of the composition of their networks and the resources they access through them. It will also examine how their particular needs help shape those networks, their level of involvement in and commitment to their communities, and their involvement in the informal economy. A particular emphasis will be placed on examining the unique role of women in promoting resilience within their rural communities.
Theoretical Background

Theory is always a (necessary) detour on the way to something more important.\textsuperscript{4}

There are two main concepts being investigated in this study: social capital and resilience.

**Social capital**

The concept of social capital has achieved some notoriety in academic circles in recent years. It has been used by economists, political scientists, policy analysts, health researchers, network analysts and sociologists. There appear to be as many definitions in the literature as there are research projects to study it, resulting in a criticism from Portes the term has come “to be applied to so many events and in so many different contexts as to lose any distinct meaning” (1998: 2). It therefore becomes important to carefully delineate the role of social capital in any investigation in which it is being used, both in terms of its purpose and its process.

On a very general level, social capital is a multi-faceted concept that incorporates many related social elements, but the main idea is, through our relationships with others, we have access to various resources we can make use of when needed. The sayings “No one is poor who has friends” \textsuperscript{5} and “It’s not what you know, it’s who you know” neatly and colloquially sum up the idea of social capital.

More specifically, and for the purposes of this investigation, social capital is defined as social networks and the resources of others that an actor can call upon as a means of improving or defending his/her conditions of living (Flap 1999: 7). In expanding on this definition, Flap notes the basic constituents of social capital are: (1) the number of persons in an individual’s network; (2) their resources; and (3) the extent to which these others are prepared or obliged to help when asked to do so (Flap 1999: 10).

This definition is useful for several reasons. First, it is an individual-based definition, focusing on the creation and usage of social capital at the individual, or micro, level, which will be the primary level of investigation in this study. Second, this


\textsuperscript{5} *It’s A Wonderful Life*, 1947, Liberty Films.
definition underlines the importance of social networks, the composition of which is a key aspect of social capital – the type of networks people have will determine what kind of resources they have available to them and thus influence their ability to respond to economic instability. Third, this definition emphasizes the concept of cooperation, which is vital to the operation of social capital at the individual level, as having potential access to resources through network ties ceases to be meaningful if the people holding resources refuse to help when asked. Finally, this definition incorporates the concept of resilience where it notes social capital is a resource that can be used as a means of improving or defending an individual’s conditions of living.

Social capital, therefore, is integral to this investigation in that it represents the social factors existing in rural communities that allow residents to adapt to their changing economic circumstances.

**Resilience**

The concept of resilience, while widely used in ecological and environmental contexts, has not been prevalent in sociological literature, and therefore, no one sociological definition exists. Neil Adger, in his paper entitled “Social and ecological resilience: Are they related?” provides a useful definition where he states “social resilience is an important component of the circumstances under which individuals and social groups adapt to environmental change” (2000: 347). He notes social vulnerability is the exposure of groups of people or individuals to stress as a result of environmental change, encompassing disruption to their livelihoods and forcing adaptation, and notes such stresses are often related to the underlying economic and social situation, both lack of income and resources. Social resilience, he states, increases the capacity to cope with such stress (Adger 2000: 348).

Adger notes resource-dependent communities (and therefore their residents) are especially vulnerable to such stress, given their social order, livelihood and stability are a direct function of resource production and localized economy. He states:

...resource dependent communities...are subject to external stresses and shocks, both in the form of environmental variability (such as agricultural pests or the impacts of climatic extremes), as well as in the form of social, economic and political upheaval (associated with the variability of world markets for primary
commodities, or with rapid changes in property laws or state intervention) (Adger 2003: 361).

Commonly managed coastal resources are being degraded throughout the world through the breakdown of property rights or inappropriate privatization. Nowhere is this clearer than in coastal resources, such as fisheries, coastal communities and agriculture, or forest-dependent communities... (Adger 2003: 352).

Machlis, Force & Balice (1990) agree economic dependency on natural resources has significant social effects on rural communities. They note:

Changes in resource production may alter the social order primarily through their impacts upon secondary groups – altering the flow of individuals in and out of community institutions, modifying wants and needs through household economies, creating new or additional social networks, and so forth (413-414).

Adger suggest indicators of resilience (or coping strategies) for residents of resource-dependent communities may be the ability to diversify (which at the individual level may mean retraining or moving into another area of employment, including self-employment), and the ability to utilize non-market resources (what he calls subsistence activities – also known as the informal economy). He stresses “no single indicator captures the totality of resilience” (2003: 357).

Therefore, based on Adger’s suggestions, for the purpose of this investigation, resilience is defined as the adaptive capacity of individuals and communities to respond to ongoing economic and social change in positive, constructive and innovative ways. This will include the ability to effect economic change and diversification, investments in social capital, and involvement in the informal economy.

Level of analysis – micro v. macro

For both concepts, social capital and resilience, there are two levels of analysis – individual (micro) and community (macro). In terms of social capital, in the individual/micro perspective, the focus is on how individuals access and use the resources embedded in their social networks to attain goals or meet needs in their daily lives. At the group/macro level, the focus is on social capital as a collective asset of various types of social groups of all sizes, ranging from family groups to entire nations. As Coleman notes,
As an attribute of the social structure in which a person is embedded, social capital is not the private property of any of the persons who benefit from it.

...the kinds of social structures which make possible social norms and the sanctions to enforce them do not benefit primarily the persons whose efforts are necessary to bring the norms and sanctions into existence, but all those who are part of the particular structure (1990: 315, 317) (emphasis added).

There has been some controversy over researchers’ tendencies to define social capital as both an individual and a collective resource. Some argue that until this can be more clearly delineated, the concept threatens to become a catch-all phrase essentially representing the entire range of social interaction (Portes 1998). As Lin (2001a) notes, the difficulty arises when social capital is discussed as a collective or even public good, and equated with other public goods such as trust, norms and culture, with the result that these terms become interchangeable, leading to the confusion between the attributes of social capital and its outcomes (2001a: 9). He states:

*Divorced from its roots in individual interactions and networking, social capital becomes merely another trendy term to employ or deploy in the broad context of improving or building social integration and solidarity* (Lin 2001a: 9).

Lin argues that social capital as a relational (or individual/micro) asset must be distinguished from collective assets and goods. He further cautions that it should not be assumed that such assets and goods are all alternative forms of social capital, or are defined by one another (Lin 2001a: 10).

Wright Morton notes that both streams of social capital theory and research (i.e., micro and macro) are valuable and argues that they are not mutually exclusive. She states that the real issue is the transition from the micro to the macro (2003: 102). The ties that individuals have with one another and the interactions among people in a community both have an impact on how the community functions. Therefore, as Lin (2001a) notes, individual social capital can be aggregated to represent collective benefits.

This study concurs with Wright Morton and proposes that theoretically, both levels of social capital are related to one another. When one speaks of social networks, interaction, engagement, and the benefits that can accrue from such activities, even if they accrue to particular individuals, one cannot disregard or undervalue their collective nature and value. The benefits accruing to an individual from interactions with friends
and neighbours, from participation in formal and informal social activities, from trusting others and helping others, are inherently collective. The fact that the returns may accrue to an individual is only because that individual is a social being.

On the other side of the equation, individual benefits aggregate to the collectivity in which the individual is embedded. Only through the collective actions and efforts of individuals does society begin to take form and the benefits of cooperation manifest themselves. In sum, this study takes the perspective that social capital is “created through the resources and actions of individuals, but its strength is manifested in its collective social and economic outcomes” (Matthews 2003). As such, the focus is on both individual-level and community-level features of social capital and their association with individual behaviour, but focusing on the collective implications of individual behaviour.

Much less has been written about resilience, but similar to social capital, resilience can be investigated as both an individual and community attribute. In fact, individual resilience and community resilience are very much interdependent. A community cannot be resilient unless the individuals living in it are committed not just to staying there, but also to being an integral part of the social structure and processes that support it (i.e., maintaining local networks, supporting local businesses, participating and being involved in the social life of the community). An aggregation of individual activities in this regard represents community resilience. Individuals and their social networks are what make up communities, and economic and social processes that affect communities cannot help but affect the individuals living in those communities. For example, as noted by Adger (2000), Clapp (1998), Morris & Little (2005), Lucas (1971), Marchak (1983), Randall & Ironside (1996), and Reed (2003a), individuals living in resource-based communities face challenges unique to that context as their livelihoods and the well-being of their communities rely on the stability of the resources and the accompanying economy supporting them. Thus, one cannot undertake any study of individual resilience without reference to broader community issues that may influence the ability of individuals to be resilient when experiencing economic instability in those communities.
Social ties and networks

As noted in Flap’s definition of social capital, social networks and the resources represented by them are an integral aspect of social capital. As stated earlier, the central idea of social capital is that, through our relationships with others, we have potential access to resources we can utilize when necessary. As such, the types of relationships that we have with people in our personal networks, i.e., the types of social ties that we have to others, become a crucial consideration in our ability to access those resources.

One criteria for examining the types of social ties that link people is to assess them in terms of their relative strength, namely, strong and weak. According to Granovetter, the strength of a social tie is a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie (1973: 1361). Therefore strong ties are generally considered to be ties to those people that are within an individual’s immediate social network – the people to whom they are the closest, with whom they have the most regular contact, have known the longest, to whom they have the most obligations, count on for support, etc. In general, family and close friends are considered to be strong ties. Weak ties, on the other hand, are considered to be ties to people who are not within the respondent’s immediate social network, but with whom they may interact for various purposes. Acquaintances, coworkers, and friends of close friends are often considered to be among one’s weak ties.

In terms of how such ties represent sources of social capital, both types of ties can represent social capital for the individual, depending on several factors, including the current needs that the individual has, the type of social resources to which the ties provide access, and the degree to which those ties are willing to exert influence on the individual’s behalf. Some researchers (Smith 2000; Tigges, Brown & Green 1998) suggest that where an individual has the need for social support, security and reciprocity, strong ties within a dense social network can be an important source of social capital. Coleman argues that a closed network made up of strong ties is the best source of social capital in that everyone within the network is provided quickly and efficiently with useful information and the fact that everyone knows everyone else creates obligations within the network, increasing trust and reducing the chance of free-riding or malfeasance (1990: 20).
In addition, such strong ties create norms of reciprocity and a set of effective sanctions that can monitor and guide behaviour (Burt 2001: 38). The idea is that strong ties among members of a network create obligations and provide sanctions for reneging on these obligations due to the norms that are developed through strong ties. This provides members of the network with access to resources that they would otherwise not be able to access through weak ties, where such norms, obligations and sanctions would not exist.

The benefits of strong ties, however, are not without their limitations. Portes warns those same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a group may also act to bar others from access (1998: 15). In other words, while people inside the group may be benefiting from access to resources provided by mutual strong ties, anyone outside the group is unable to gain such access, which can cause negative affect to develop toward the members of that group, weakening the social cohesiveness of the community and its ability to achieve economic advances as a whole. A good example of this is the concept of the “old boys’ network” that has worked for many years to keep women out of the seats of power by controlling their access to top level groups and organizations where the critical decisions are being made.

In addition, there can be negative consequences for members inside the group if they hold more resources than others. “Free-riding” occurs when the less diligent members of the group use the normative structure (i.e. norms of mutual assistance and reciprocity created through strong ties) to enforce their demands on the more successful members of the group but fail to reciprocate when such demands are made of them. For such free-riders, their social capital consists of the privileged access they have to the resources of their fellow members, who do not benefit as a result, but rather find themselves held back from opportunities of accumulation and success (Portes 1998: 16).

Other researchers (Granovetter 1973; Lin 1999; Lin 2000; Lin 2001b; Smith 2000) suggest where individuals are attempting to achieve social mobility or economic stability, making weak ties may be their best strategy for accessing resources that do not exist within their own networks. The idea behind the ‘strength of weak ties’ argument was first promoted in a much-cited article by Granovetter (1973). In his article,
Granovetter introduces the idea of weak ties as bridges that form between people who are not well-acquainted but yet need to interact with one another on a social level. As compared to strong ties, therefore, weak ties tend to be diffuse and inclusive of a greater number of people. Thus, Granovetter argues, individuals with many weak ties are more likely to have contacts with people who are different from them and are able to gain access to information they could not get from their friends (1973: 1371). This is because weak ties are more likely to link members of different small groups than are strong ties, which tend to unite members of the same group. From the individual’s point of view, then, weak ties are an important resource for potential opportunities, be it social, financial, political or otherwise, as well as a significant source of social capital. On a more macro level, weak ties play an important role in creating social cohesion; as people establish networks of weak ties and bridges within a community, allowing information and ideas to flow more easily, trust is created through the interactions (Granovetter 1973: 1373). The most common sources of weak ties are formal organizations and work settings, that get people involved outside of their immediate families and friendship networks (Granovetter 1973: 1375).

Burt’s (2001) theory of structural holes draws on Granovetter’s (1973) theory of the strength of weak ties as opposed to strong ties in the spreading of information and the ability to access social resources. What Burt (2001) calls structural holes, Granovetter (1973) refers to as “bridges” from one group to another. Burt (2001) argues that holes in the social structure create a competitive advantage for a person whose relationships span those holes. Burt (2001) notes that the word “hole” does not mean that the two groups that a person may be involved in are unaware of one another, but rather that they do not get involved in the activities of the other. Thus the people whose weak ties locate them at the “borders” of these holes act as information brokers between the two groups. These “resource brokers” are also in the position to be able to control the flow of information and decide which contacts or projects might be most advantageous. They can make the most of opportunities that arise within either group, as well as providing a resource for other people who are looking for such opportunities (Burt 2001: 34-37).

In the coastal, rural communities of B.C., where economic instability has led to unemployment and decreased financial resources, many people rely on their ties to others
to help them access the things that they need. In small communities where the entire town constitutes one social network in that everyone is known to everyone else in some way, this would also suggest that residents would also have access to the same information and resources. For different information or specific resources that are not available in a given community, it may well be that those people who have ties to other communities (and specifically, resource centers) may have greater access to information and resources they can’t get in their own community. These people would therefore represent bridges between communities, and would be a greater source of resources for those in their social networks, as they would be able to help others access the resources in the communities to which they have ties. Their ability to do this would depend to some extent on how isolated their home community is, and their capacity to transcend the distance between their community and others.

Lin proposes “an alternate route of theorizing the network effects on social capital that shifts the focus from strength of ties to extensity of ties” (1999: 483). He notes that there is persistent evidence that the extensity of network ties (i.e., number of both weak and strong ties) is significantly related to diversity in social resources (Lin 1999: 483). Burt also argues for an integration of the two types of network structures into social capital theory (2001: 52).

**The case for context**

One of the main considerations in determining the utility of social ties in a network is context, which, while sometimes referred to in the social network literature (see Beggs, Haines & Hurlbert 1996), has not been investigated or considered as a key factor in understanding what types of networks represent the most beneficial social capital in a given situation.

An assumption built into the theory of weak ties is that everyone has the same opportunity and ability to make such weak ties, that will then provide them with a variety of benefits, from social mobility to material aid. Lin states that “the weaker the tie, the more likely ego will have access to better social capital” (2001b: 69). Who “ego” is and what sort of “better social capital” they may need or want is not normally part of the discussion.
This implies that everyone has much the same needs and goals and that weak ties can address them all. This is simply not the case as there are a myriad of social factors that will determine an individual’s needs and these will influence the composition of their networks and the types of resources that are most beneficial. For example, women, visible or racial minorities, people from a lower socio-economic class, etc., may simply not be in the position to make potentially beneficial weak ties, and their goals, needs and requirements may be such that weak ties would not provide the type of social resources that they need the most. In these cases, it may well be that strong ties provide access to the most beneficial social capital through giving needed support and assistance in their daily lives.

Researchers (Smith 2000; Hurlbert, Beggs & Haines 2001; Tigges, Brown & Green 1998) have shown that weak ties are not always the most useful in terms of accessing information and resources; there are many situations where strong ties may be more helpful, such as when people are in need of social support, guaranteed reciprocity or non-economic assistance (i.e., sharing, bartering or trading goods or services).

A second assumption built into theories of ties (both weak and strong) is that, if such ties are mobilized on behalf of ego to access social resources, the contact will be willing and able to take action on behalf of ego. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that, just because you know someone who has access to the social resources that you need, they will exert their influence on your behalf. Smith (2001) has found just the opposite in her study of job referral networks of low-income African Americans. In the case of social mobility (e.g., providing job assistance), Smith (2001, 2003) found that, despite the characteristics of strong ties that would theoretically be more willing to provide help when needed (e.g., greater duration, more intensity, mutual obligations and reciprocity), strong ties were no more likely to provide such assistance than weak ties, because the nature of strong ties necessitates that the potential helper knows the jobseeker quite well.

Smith (2001, 2003) found that, while potential helpers were willing to pass along information about vacancies, they would only provide a level of assistance that did not link them closely with prospective employees, which the author notes is a method of
assistance least effective in securing employment. She stated that, even when prospective employers offered monetary incentives to their employees in an effort to increase personal referrals, potential helpers remained reluctant to recruit jobseekers from within their personal networks. Smith cites two possible reasons for this reluctance: 1) based on previous experience, the helpers feared that the jobseekers would not carry through by applying for the position; and 2) even if the jobseeker succeeded in getting the job, the helpers worried that the jobseeker would prove to be unreliable soon after. By helping out someone they know well but have reservations about, the helper is putting their own reputation, perceived judgement and competence on the line, and many felt it was too big a risk to take (Smith 2001: 23).

Therefore, it cannot be assumed that every tie in a person’s network represents accessible resources, and neither can it be assumed that strong ties are more likely to provide access to these resources than weak ties. This emphasizes the importance of investigating the process of social capital – how it actually works for people in their daily lives – rather than just investigating the structure of social capital, i.e., the potential access to embedded resources through network ties, whether weak or strong. This means gaining an true understanding of how people’s networks actually operate to provide them with necessary resources rather than just quantitatively measuring the quantity and type of ties in their networks and assuming how those ties work based on theory instead of reality.

The type of tie most useful to a given individual depends on a variety of factors, one of the most important of which is the context in which the individual lives, as well as their gender, and their needs and goals at any given time. It is impossible to theoretically construct “the perfect network” of weak and strong ties without considering the context in which the individual is interacting. For instance, the residents of the rural, coastal communities under investigation, who are experiencing constant economic instability and community change, may well have very different requirements of their social networks than residents of urban areas. For example, while urban residents may need more weak ties in their networks to allow for greater occupational and status mobility, rural residents may rely more on the strong ties in order to allow for participation in the informal economy, which requires high levels of trust, accountability, and reciprocity.
Social ties and social networks in rural communities

Research confirms these differences. In their comparative study of networks in rural and urban settings, Beggs, Haines & Hurlbert (1996) found that networks of rural residents contain a higher proportion of strong ties - relatives, neighbours and relatives who are neighbours (what they call kin-neighbours) - as opposed to their urban counterparts, whose networks contain a higher proportion of friends and acquaintances (weak ties). They also found that rural residents’ networks were significantly more likely to be composed of long-term relationships, and were also smaller, more dense, and lower in diversity than that of their urban counterparts. This result is not surprising, as many rural residents (particularly First Nation) can trace family members who live in the same community back by generations. Reimer notes that lower social mobility and common social characteristics such as kinship or ethnicity are more descriptive of rural residents than urban residents (2001: 6).

Beggs et al. (1996) state that the network differences between urban and rural residents underscore the concept of “rural distinctiveness” and support the emphasis on the importance of taking context into account when analyzing individual behaviour. They note that the structure of personal networks is significantly affected by the geographical location of the individual and recommend network analysis as a way for rural sociologists to “understand the mechanisms which underlie many of the economic challenges currently facing rural areas” (Beggs et al. 1996: 322).

Onyx & Bullen (2000), in their comparative study of social capital in rural and urban communities, found that rural communities had higher levels of social capital than the urban sample, as well as higher levels of trust, participation and location connections. Onyx & Bullen used the following indicators for social capital: degree of participation in the local community, including volunteerism; 6 social agency or pro-activity in a social context; feelings of trust and safety; neighbourhood connections; 7 family and friend connections; 8 tolerance of diversity; value of life; and work connections 9 (2000: 29).

6 Questions focused on membership in local organizations and attendance at community events.
7 Questions focused on frequency of contact, and availability of help from neighbours.
8 Questions focused on frequency and type of contact, rather than composition of network contact.
Their results showed that rural communities generate considerable “bonding social capital”, which is characterized by strong mutual support within the local level and high levels of participation in community life. However, they also found that such support was likely to be limited to insiders and may not be extended to minority groups within the local area or to those outside the area. They also found that urban areas are characterized “by greater tolerance and individual initiative within the social setting, suggesting weaker ties, or bridging social capital” (Onyx & Bullen 2000: 38).

A further study by Leonard & Onyx (2003) investigates the idea that bonding social capital is characterized by strong, dense, multi-functional ties and bridging social capital is characterized by the weak ties described by Granovetter (1973: 191). Specifically, this study focuses on the contention that while bonding social capital (strong ties) operates as a defensive strategy against economic instability, the necessary condition for positive economic development requires a shift to bridging capital (weak ties). They note that this has been termed the difference between “getting by” and “getting ahead” (Leonard & Onyx 2003: 191). The argument is that the close, intersecting, multi-functional ties of a strongly-bonded community are detrimental to bridging to a wider arena and therefore, if people in rural communities want to “get ahead”, they need to develop more weak ties outside the community (Leonard & Onyx 2003: 193). However, as the authors ask:

Should a community that is just getting by with high levels of bonding social capital take the risk of decreasing its current social capital for the potential, but less certain economic gains of developing bridging social capital? (2003: 193).

Leonard & Onyx’s (2003) research determined that the dynamics of bridging and bonding social capital were quite complex. They found that strong ties were very similar to weak ties in that both strong and weak ties were found in the same networks and both created a sense of belonging and community. The biggest differences were that the strong ties were characterized by long-term relationships, and mutual trust, whereas weak ties tended to be with people less well known, and thus not trusted to the same extent (Leonard & Onyx 2003: 197).

Questions focused on inclusiveness and type of relationship to co-workers (e.g., are they also your friends?)
The authors also found that strong ties were used for both bonding (within group) and bridging (between group) connections. In addition, they found that the only weak ties used for bridging were those of people with formal professional status, such as doctors, pastors, teachers, etc. (Leonard & Onyx 2003: 200).\textsuperscript{10} Leonard & Onyx note:

\textit{The research identified many examples of bridging, or between group links that depended on existing strong ties. These between group links were used to access information and other resources, and were used to achieve outcomes that could not be achieved from the resources of a single organization. Contrary to expectations, those bridging links that could be used ‘to get ahead’ rather than ‘get by’ were almost always drawn from the strong and not the loose links (2003: 200).}

The authors note that people were more willing to take risks in bridging to other networks in search of information and resources when they could work through strong ties to people they trusted and knew well. Leonard & Onyx conclude that these results suggest that rural communities do not need to shift from bonding to bridging social capital to “get ahead”. Rather, they need to find ways to develop stronger ties both within the community and to other communities (2003: 201). This is strong confirmation of the importance of considering context when investigating the utility of social ties, and also of the impact context has at both the individual and the community level.

At the individual level, context is an important element in the development of social ties, as the specific needs that rural residents have will determine the type of ties that represent the most beneficial resources. As noted earlier, Tigges, Brown & Green (1998) found that where an individual has the need for social support, security and reciprocity, strong ties within a dense social network are an important source of social capital. Reimer (2001) found social support, security and reciprocity were also necessary for the operation of the informal economy in rural communities, which provides valuable goods and services for people excluded from the formal economy.

In the type of rural economy which exists in coastal British Columbia, where full-time jobs are scarce and job security is low, it may be that, while some weak ties to

\textsuperscript{10} This is consistent with the measurement of networks through the use of the Position Generator, which measures the structure of access to embedded resources, and contains mainly professional positions within the community. This research gives support to the assumption that such professional positions represent resources to others within the community.
influential others may come in handy in order to find out about job information or to get job advice, the majority of these ties would likely be located outside the community and therefore would be of limited utility. As noted in Leonard & Onyx (2003) and Reimer (2001), in rural communities where constant social interaction leads to overlapping networks, there is a greater level of accountability in people’s relationships with one another, which gives them the opportunity to form strong ties characterized by trust and reciprocity. Weak ties to others less well known would represent less of a resource in this context.

Therefore, in the small, rural communities reliant on resources that make up the sample for this study, the type of strong social ties suggested by Tigges, Brown & Green (1998), Onyx & Bullen (2000), Leonard & Onyx (2003), Coleman (1990) and Reimer (2001) likely represent the most beneficial resources. In such communities, where people interact with one another on a regular basis, building multifaceted and multipurpose ties, such ties help build social networks based on accountability and reciprocity. As a result, there is less likelihood of people taking advantage of one another or not keeping their word, as it is unlikely that such actions would go unnoticed or unsanctioned.

Portes (1998) refers to this system of mutual reciprocity built on frequent interaction the accumulation of “social chits”, in which “donors provide access to privileged resources in the expectation that they will be fully repaid in the future” (7). As people interact with one another, they create norms and social obligations that cannot be ignored without potential damage to their personal reputations. This process is especially salient in small communities, where networks tend to overlap to a great extent, and “everybody knows everybody” is a common phrase heard when residents are asked to describe patterns of social interaction in the community. Word of someone not fulfilling their obligations, reneging on a promise, or taking advantage of a fellow resident, quickly becomes common knowledge and can have serious consequences both socially and economically.

**The contribution and consequences of trust**

Trust is a key element in the social interactions of residents of rural communities. When people live in close proximity to one another, and have frequent social interactions,
trust is an fundamental aspect of those interactions that allows them to continue over the long run. Trust, like social capital, is a particularly difficult social process to define, due to its very nature. As Mitzal (1996) notes, “Trust is a highly problematic but recurrent feature of social relationships” (12). There are many different types of trust, and many ways to measure it, but it is an essential aspect of human interaction. Misztal (1996) states that without trust, social life would not be possible (12). Govier (1997) notes, “life is a boundless set of interactions made possible by trust” and “to a far greater extent than we normally realize, trust is implicit in our daily lives and our social world” (3).

Gambetta (1988) perhaps puts it best where he defines trust as “a particular expectation we have with regard to the likely behaviour of others” (217). He elaborates, stating:

\[
\text{When we say we trust someone or that someone is trustworthy, we implicitly mean that the probability that he will perform an action that is beneficial or at least not detrimental to us is high enough for us to consider engaging in some form of cooperation with him} \quad (\text{Gambetta 217}).
\]

Therefore, trust is a precondition for cooperative social interaction, part of the decision-making process in response to the level of risk inherent in every social interaction.

Trust is something people living in a social world engage in on a daily basis in a variety of different ways. As Govier (1997) notes, we trust many kinds of things, “other people, the government, leaders, foreign leaders, other countries, the postal service, our senses, forces of nature, forces of history, pets, cars, computers, brakes and banking machines” (4). And, she notes, most of the time it does not betray us (Govier 3). The possibility that it could, however, is integral to the entire process. As Govier (1997) states, “When we trust, we take risks and are vulnerable. There are no guarantees, and it would be indication of lack of trust to look for them” (4).

The first step in the social process before trust can start to build is people have to take a risk. They have to make associations with other people outside of their normal social networks, they have to join groups and organizations without knowing what the outcome will be, and the results of taking that risk will determine whether or not they continue the process. If the interaction results in mutual good, then trust is created and validated and leads to confidence that further interactions will also lead to positive
results. If, however, the interaction leads to loss, distrust as opposed to trust is created and no further interactions will occur and a lesson has been learned (Govier 153).

As such, trust is also an outcome of social interaction. Govier (1997) notes that general social trust emerges from previous personal experiences with friendships, network ties and contacts, and from membership in all kinds of groups, formal and informal. Putnam (2000), in his investigation of the decline of social capital in the United States, poses a causal link between forms of civic engagement or associational membership and social trust. He states that participation in civic organizations creates trust by allowing people to interact as equals in a context where they are colleagues and friends as opposed to competitors or clients. Network researchers such as Granovetter (1973) and Lin (2001a) agree with Putnam’s position, noting civic participation allows people to interact with others outside of their normal social networks, often working toward a common goal, and thus creating greater levels of tolerance and trust. Putnam therefore predicts communities with high levels of civic participation will also have high levels of trust. Putnam (2000) states “people who trust others are all-round good citizens, and those more engaged in community life are both more trusting and more trustworthy” (137).

In small, rural, coastal communities, with their densely overlapping social networks, interactions are communal, and so is the process of trust. As one interviewee noted, “…it’s a small town, and if you’re not trustworthy, people are going to know.” Word of untrustworthy behaviour spreads quickly and collective distrust will be expressed toward that person or entity by everyone who hears about the situation, regardless of whether they have experienced any difficulties themselves. On the other hand, once trust is built up through constant positive interaction, strong bonds form between residents, characterized by accountability to one another and norms of reciprocity. As such, processes of trust within these communities are integral to their functioning in the face of economic decline. In their study of the factors involved in residents’ willingness to leave their rural, coastal communities, Page et al. (2006) found trust was negatively associated with willingness to leave – the higher the level of trust, the less likely they were to leave.
In summary, trust is a vital part of rural community life, particularly where people need to work together for the good of the community. In such contexts, trust enables people to engage with others in individual, group and collective endeavours to address the consequences of economic decline, which ultimately contributes to the overall resilience of both individuals and communities.

**Gender differences in social network structure**

Context also represents an important consideration when looking at gender differences in social ties and social networks, which is a key focus of this investigation. While social network research gives us some idea of the typical composition of men and women’s networks, the lack of focus on context undervalues the utility of these networks.

Nan Lin, in his ongoing research program investigating the relationship between social capital and social mobility or status attainment, defines social capital as “*an investment by individuals in interpersonal relationships and/or social relations with expected returns in the marketplace* (2001b: 19). His research is based on the assumption that when social capital is accessed and mobilized effectively, it can, and will, provide specific returns (e.g., occupational status, social mobility).

Lin argues for a conceptualization of social capital that frames it as an accessing of resources that, more specifically, are embedded in a macro-level, or hierarchical social structure (2001a, 2001b). Within this structure, individuals have *positions* that can be described in terms of varying degrees of wealth, power, and status, or more generally prestige.

Thus, in order for individuals to access the type of resources that are most beneficial for the context in which they live, they must have, or be able to make, ties to the people whose position within their social structure provides them with the required resources. The question of interest to this investigation in the context of gender and rural communities is: *what are the “required resources” for men and women living in rural communities, and are they different, thus resulting in different network structures and composition of social ties?*
The limitations to Lin’s research in informing this investigation is that it assumes the majority of individuals utilizing social capital have the same goals (i.e. instrumental and expressive returns) and if they approach them in the same way, they will receive the same returns. It does not investigate how relevant social factors such as context or gender may lead to different goals and needs from individual’s social networks, thus significantly changing the resources and the returns they wish to access.

Instead, Lin treats men and women similarly in his studies (see Lin 2000, 2003) and assumes their goals are economic equality or mobility. Other researchers in this area (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982; Moore 1990; Beggs & Hurlbert 1997; Smith 2000) have conducted similar studies based on the same assumption. When investigating men’s and women’s networks in terms of their utility in providing economic or status attainment, they have found significant differences in network composition and access to embedded resources.

This body of research (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000) suggests men tend to have greater diversity in their networks than do women, with fewer strong ties and more weak ties to resource-rich positions. In contrast, women tend to have smaller and less diverse networks, with more female and kin ties and ties lower in hierarchical position (i.e. less ties to people with influence). Burda, Vaux & Schill (1984) have confirmed these findings, and noted women’s networks tend to have a greater prevalence of kin ties characterized by reciprocity and similarity, while men’s networks tend to contain more ties related to employment and neighbourhood of residence.

Smith (2000) and Lin (2000) conclude women’s networks were less likely to allow them access to the social resources they would potentially need, and their advice for women to overcome this disadvantage was, in essence, to act more like men. Lin notes: “For the disadvantaged to gain a better status, strategic behaviours require accessing resources beyond their usual social circles using male ties...and to join clubs dominated by men” (2001b: 96). Women, therefore, are encouraged to increase their networks to include more homogenous and diverse weak ties in order to increase their status and opportunities. As Lin notes:

*In general, females need to invest more in the mobilization of contact chains because of their inferior position in the hierarchical structure, which is dominated*
by males and their networks. Most critically, in order to attain better social resources, they need to break the gender barrier and cross into male-dominated hierarchical and social structures by extending the chain of ties and maintaining strong ties along the way. If they fail to do so, they tend to reach contacts in inferior structural positions and network locations (2003: 25).

The problem with this advice is that it is based on several unproven assumptions: 1) that women’s goals and needs are the same as men and thus require similar types of networks to provide the necessary resources; 2) that “breaking the gender barrier” and making such weak ties is even possible for women; 3) that, if such ties are made, they will be willing to exert their influence or share their resources when asked; and 4) that in these perfect conditions for the operation of social capital, women would gain the same returns as men, which is by no means guaranteed.

These assumptions assume a situation of equality between men and women; suggesting that if women act as men, they will receive the same benefits. Lorber (1994) argues that these assumptions are simply not accurate. First, she notes that when women attempt to be treated as if they were men, they find themselves in a “double bind”. If they act like men, they challenge men’s natural right to positions of power and traditional gender roles. Mills and Tancred (1992) note where women do “exhibit traits normally positively associated with males, they are regarded negatively and with suspicion” (110). However, if they act like women, they don’t belong in a situation where they have to take charge (that is, act like a man) (Lorber 1994: 244).

Second, Lorber notes that due to the principle of “homosociality”, it is very difficult for women to attain the type of social networks most beneficial for them, that is; networks identical to men’s. She states,

In twentieth-century businesses, professions, and politics, trust and loyalty are build not through kin ties (which is considered nepotism) but through homosociality – the bonding of men of the same race, religion, and social-class background. These men have the economic, political, professional and social resources to do each other favours. Women with the same social characteristics may be included in men’s circles when they have equivalent wealth, power and social position. Most men and women, however, relate to each other socially only in familial or sexual roles (Lorber 1994: 231).
Lorber (1994) states that homosociality starts early with boys separating themselves from girls and becoming contemptuous of girls’ activities in order to establish their masculinity. This segregation makes friendship between boys and girls difficult because it is discouraged by same-gender peers. She notes that in adulthood, whenever men and women come together as equals, in co-ed schools and workplaces that are not gender-segregated, cross-gender friendships are undermined by intimations of sexual attraction. A study of white middle-class young adults found that men invested more time and attention in their friendships with men, while women gave as much emotional support to their men friends as they did to their women friends (Lorber 1994: 232). As a result, men build more gender-specific networks than women. Mills & Tancred (1992) argue that this male domination of informal social networks is an important causal factor in creating barriers preventing females from “fitting in” to the organizational cultures of North American companies. They state:

Such networks function on a basis of trust rooted in assumptions of shared characteristics between key actors. The more unlike those actors an outsider appears the more likely they will remain an outsider (Mills & Tancred 1992: 109).

As a result of being labelled “outsiders”, Mills & Tancred (1992) argue that women are more likely to be regarded as weak and lacking leadership qualities and are less likely to be promoted. Lorber supports this view and notes that in general, the higher the corporate position, the smaller the proportion of women. A major reason for this, she argues, is that women are disadvantaged in the three main ways in which most people move up in their careers: networking (finding out about job opportunities through word-of-mouth and being recommended by someone already there), mentoring (being coached through the informal norms of the workplace), and sponsorship (being helped to advance by a senior colleague) (Lorber 1994: 228). She states,

All these processes of advancement depend on the support of colleagues and superiors, which means that in a workplace where men outnumber women, women...have to be helped by men if they are to be helped at all (Lorber 1994: 228).

Lorber notes that career mobility does not depend only on competent performance, skill, hard work and ambition. Rather, to move up the corporate ladder, a
person’s worth has to be recognized and encouraged by those in the upper echelons. The problem with this is the inequality inherent in the process. Lorber states:

*Promising young men of the right social characteristics are groomed for senior management by “godfathers” or “rabbis” – sponsors who take them under their wing and see to it that they learn the informal organizational rules for getting ahead. Promising young women are left to fend for themselves* (1994: 231).

The result of homosociality and being shut out of male networking and status mobility processes means that fewer women are in positions of power or have the networks to help them achieve these positions. As a result, there are fewer women to help other women achieve these positions as well, whether through networking, sponsorship or mentoring. As such, male dominance in these positions continues. Lorber cites an in-depth study of nine Fortune 500 companies which found that despite differences in organizational structure, corporate culture, and personnel policies, the same practices resulted in a glass ceiling for women. These practices were recruitment policies for upper-management levels that depended on word-of-mouth networking and employee referrals. The study concluded that equal access and opportunity was almost never considered a corporate responsibility. In short, none of the men in senior management saw it as their responsibility to sponsor women to be their replacements when they retired (Lorber 1994: 228-229).

As well as ignoring processes of inequality in the composition of social networks and the benefits derived from them, the advice to women to act more like men also ignores the contribution of context, and the importance of understanding the unique needs of people in terms of what they require of their social networks. Ignoring the influence of context leads to the assumption that certain types of networks put women at a disadvantage, where the reality may be exactly the opposite. For example, in a rural community, where the goal may be the preservation of a chosen lifestyle rather than economic mobility or status attainment, the type of resources sought through one’s network to help achieve that goal may be entirely different. In this case, women might actually have the advantage over men if their networks include large numbers of strong ties developed through involvement in community and domestic-centered activities, as this allows them to become integrated into a community of supportive, and reciprocal, others. In communities experiencing economic instability and out-migration, where
sharing and bartering allow residents to maintain a lifestyle they otherwise might not be able to afford, it is critical to understand what type of ties actually comprise the resources that represent social capital in the process of their daily lives.

The type of networks often associated with men, and promoted by the literature as being most beneficial, as they are made up primarily of weak ties to positions higher in the social hierarchy as well as to acquaintances and business associates, may not be as beneficial in a rural context. In smaller communities, where people are more likely to know one another and be members of the same organizations and groups, such associations are less likely to be a source of weak ties and more likely to provide strong ties. In addition, in a small community where people are more likely to be held accountable due to their overlapping and multiplex ties and their constant interaction with others, weak ties are less helpful in that people are much more likely to ask someone they know well for help, as opposed to someone who is less well known, and thus have not proven their trustworthiness through repeated interaction. Thus, the examination of network structure and composition among the residents of the four subject communities, with a view to highlighting gender differences, will be a key component of this study.

**The role of civic participation in rural communities**

The importance of civic participation to rural communities is admirably described by Wall, Connell, Tachikawa & Yabe, in their investigation of the voluntary sector in rural Canada. They state: “The voluntary sector has been described as the fabric of rural communities...” (2003: 5). They note the connection between participation in community organization and social capital where they state one way to assess the social capital of a community is to examine the voluntary sector. For these authors,

> community organizations provide rich opportunities for people to affirm and re-affirm their common values, to build up trust and obligations, and to establish their attachment to, and identity with, their communities (Wall et al. 2003: 5).

Wall et al. (2003) further note, in the face of decreasing government funding and services to rural communities, the voluntary sector becomes ever more important, as community members are called upon to fill the positions left vacant by government cutbacks and downsizing. Without their efforts, many important community services would cease to exist, making it all the more difficult for rural residents who depend on
those services to remain in their communities. The benefits of such involvement accrue at both the individual and community level, as participation in civic activities has been shown to aid in the development of beneficial social ties and network diversity, increasing social cohesion, trust and reciprocity (Putnam 2000).

Putnam, both in his thorough examination of regional economic development in Italy (1993b), as well as his study of participatory decline in the United States (2000), concluded, similar to de Tocqueville (1975), civic involvement leads to the development of social networks that facilitate interpersonal trust and ultimately economic cooperation and growth. Granovetter (1973) notes formal organizations are good sources of ties to others outside of one’s own social group, which allows for access to resources that otherwise might be inaccessible. A recent paper by Enns, Malinick, & Matthews (2008) using survey data gathered in the rural, coastal communities of British Columbia found civic participation, whether formal or informal, is significantly and positively correlated with ties to resource-rich positions.

Research has also suggested gender differences in network composition are related to involvement in community activities. For McPherson and Smith-Lovin, such differences are partially due to men and women participating in organizations and activities with different embedded resources (1982: 902). While women tend to participate in smaller, more peripheral organizations and activities with a focus on domestic or community affairs (i.e., youth, church-related, social, charitable and neighbourhood groups), men tend to participate in large, core organizations related to economic institutions (i.e., are business, professional or labour-related), and in non-domestic activities (i.e., sports, politics, and service groups), expose them to more potential ties and resources (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1982). They conclude men are located in positions within the voluntary network that are much more likely to provide access to information about possible jobs, business opportunities, and chances for professional advancement, whereas women are located in positions more likely to expose them to information about the domestic realm. These authors suggest such disparity in network composition produces a dramatic difference in the social resources available to men and women through their membership in social organizations and activities (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1982: 901-902).
Beggs, Hurlbert, & Haines obtained similar results in their study on community attachment in a rural setting. They also found gender differences in community participation, with men being more likely than women to belong to community (including service, fraternal, political and sports groups) and interest groups (including labour, farm-related, and veterans groups), but less likely to belong to school and church groups (1996: 421).

The results from a study conducted by Enns et al. (2008), also using the same dataset as this current investigation, contradicts the social network findings from these previous studies, once again highlighting the importance of considering context in any investigation of social capital. Results from the Position Generator measure (which measures access to positions rich in resources in individuals’ personal social networks) showed the women in the sample actually had more ties to resource-rich positions within their social networks than men, and particularly more weak ties to positions inside the community. As noted, this result runs counter to other studies (Moore 1990, Lin 2000, Smith 2000) whose results show, in general, that men have more weak ties to resource-rich positions. In addition, Enns et al. (2008) found women were involved in significantly more activities (measured by participation in both formal and informal social organizations) inside the community than men. They further found the pattern of association found was similar to other studies (McPherson & Smith Lovin 1982, Beggs, Hulbert & Haines 1996) in that the women tended to be involved in more domestic and community-centered groups, including artistic, health, and education groups, as well as social clubs and spiritual or religious groups, while the men were involved in political groups, service clubs and sports groups. However, contrary to other studies, Enns et al. (2008) did not find significant differences between men’s and women’s involvement in business and work-related groups.

Enns et al. (2008) also found some other gender differences in the sample with regards to whether the respondent was married or with a partner (about 76% of males married or with partner; about 65% females), employed full-time or not (51% of the males are employed full-time; only 38% of the females), and whether or not they attended at least some college (50% males some college; nearly 60% females). This shows women in these communities are more likely to be single, not employed full-time,
and highly educated. This represents a rather unique demographic and begs the question: *In communities in financial distress, how are these women with their unique characteristics supporting themselves and their families economically and contributing to the resilience of their communities?*

When taken together, Enns et al.’s (2008) results initially seem to contradict one another. According to network research (Moore 1990, Lin 2003), such a low level of full-time employment should actually put women at a disadvantage in terms of opportunities to access positions rich in resources, in that they would not have the ability to make contact with people in those positions to the same degree as men. How, then, to explain their greater number of ties? The authors conclude,

> ...a more considered reflection leads us to suggest that this relatively more educated group of women, who are not employed full-time, would find community groups, organizations and social activities a good way to get involved, meet others and spend their time productively, and in doing so, manage to develop useful strong and weak ties (Enns et al. 2008: 271).

Again, we see, as with Page et al. (2006), a greater emphasis on social considerations as opposed to economic, and gender differences, in the way social networks operate within these communities. This provides further support for a focus on context in any study investigating the utility of social networks and social ties, and particularly in this present investigation. Enns et al. conclude,

> ...the coastal communities ... provide a distinctive social context and isolated geographical location, both of which produce network patterns different from those often found in more central locations (2008: 279).

In confirmation of this rural distinctiveness, a study by Coakes & Bishop notes, “one of the most salient characteristics of rural communities is the high level of involvement in community affairs” and confirms the Enns et al. (2008) finding that women, in particular, play a major role in rural community life (1998: 250). They state:

> ...research in metropolitan areas...has shown that few working mothers have the time or energy to join community organizations. If this experience is repeated in rural communities, the impact on the social well-being of rural areas is likely to be considerable, as these areas rely on the voluntary work provided by women (Coakes & Bishop 1998: 250).

The authors note this level of civic involvement within rural communities is a factor in helping create dense, overlapping networks provide considerable quantities of support,
which is more instrumental than emotional. However, they warn in order to determine a woman’s degree of participation within her community, it is inappropriate to focus solely on membership in formal community organizations. They emphasize the importance of informal participation where they state:

*Participation within a rural context is not unidimensional. It involves participation in family life, personal business, and the community, whether this includes membership in formal groups or organizations or contributing in a more informal manner* (Coakes & Bishop 1998: 264).

The most important aspect of informal participation in rural communities is involvement in the informal economy, a practice that represents the capacity of people to adapt to changing circumstances in that it allows them to remain in their communities and maintain their lifestyle despite their decreased economic status. As such, investigating the role of the informal economy in contributing to individual and community resilience will be an integral part of this study.

**The informal economy in rural communities**

*When we cease to use money as our only ruler, we begin to realize that we live in a world of two economies, not just one. One is the formal marketplace measured by – and consisting mainly of – monetary transactions. This is the realm of supermarkets and shopping centers, offices and factories that the media calls the economy. The other economy is the informal networks of helping in families, neighbourhoods, volunteer groups, and the like* (Ratner 2000: 3).

Several researchers (e.g., Reimer 2000, 2001, 2006; Adger 2000; Harper & Gillespie 1997; Tickamyer & Wood 1998; Little 1997), confirm the importance of the informal economy to the residents of rural communities as a way of dealing with the insecurity and risk of living in an unstable resource-based economy. Reimer describes the informal economy as a “safety net”, noting “it provides an alternative source of goods and services should income be unavailable through the formal economy, the pricing too high, or the goods and services unavailable” (2001: 4).

As such, the informal economy is an integral part of life in many rural, resource-based communities. For the purposes of this investigation, the informal economy is defined as “the production, distribution, and consumption of goods that have value”, which can be economic, social, cultural, political or even symbolic, but are not paid for in
any monetary way. This includes “a large number of legal economic activities such as self-provisioning, barter, volunteer work, unpaid labour, care-giving, subsistence production, and pricing based on friendships and arrangements other than market prices” (Reimer 2001: 2; 2006: 25).

For many residents of BC’s rural, coastal communities, their involvement in the informal economy is what allows them to adapt to their changing circumstances and remain in their communities, despite the ongoing economic upheaval and instability. Reimer notes the informal economy is especially important in communities facing high unemployment, where it buffers the loss of work in the formal economy by providing economic support during periods of instability or recession (2001: 4,17). He notes this sort of support is especially critical for rural communities,

As employment becomes more uncertain and part-time work increases, so does the stress and anxiety on the part of individuals involved. Informal economic activities may help to reduce this stress, not only by providing an alternative source of goods and services, but also as a form of social support that affirms the worth of the unemployed and encourages the continued search for paid work (Reimer 2001: 5).

Ratner confirms the importance of the informal economy to residents of communities undergoing “economic depression” and notes that,

The economic insecurity experienced by residents was lessened through their extensive kinship and friendship networks which lessened their dependence on formal sources to meet their daily needs. The most widely practices strategies involved swapping, trading, and borrowing from one household to another (Leonard 1998 as quoted in Ratner 2000: 6).

She concludes that “the informal economy acts as an alternative distribution network in which those who do not have money to buy goods and services nevertheless are able to access at least some of what they need...” (Ratner 2000: 6). Tickamyer & Wood provide further support for this where they state,

When formal labour force participation is not available, informal work serves as a substitute and may also serve as a means to stabilize income when formal work is increasingly uncertain (1998: 326).

The rural context is an important factor in the functioning of the informal economy. Tickamyer & Wood’s (1998) investigation of the informal economy in rural
Kentucky shows many similarities to the coastal context under investigation here. They state,

*Changes widely documented include a shift from manufacturing [resource industry] to service jobs, an increase in forms of marginal employment, an increase in small businesses, and a decline in the male labour-force participation. Along with these and other changes, social scientists have begun to examine the extent to which informal economic activity exists as a form of income generating or subsistence activity…*(Tickamyer & Wood 1998: 323)

Machlis et al. confirm the role of the informal economy as a buffer for economic instability in rural, resource-based communities, noting,

*The quasi-subistence economy of many resource-dependent communities...with barter, local credit, worker’s cooperatives, and seasonal service jobs, all represent small-scale mechanisms for buffering the community from production-based, larger scale perturbations (1990: 421).*

Tigges et al. (1998) state that rurality is a key factor in the existence of an informal economy, as the likelihood of engaging in such activity increases in rural communities. They note that participation in informal activities are an important way for families to deal with the new economic realities in rural communities (Tigges et al. 1998: 215). They conclude,

*Our data reaffirm the important role of social relationships in generating the foundation for a variety of lifestyle strategies, including informal activities. Here cooperative relations and social exchange emerged as important. Self-provisioning activities were often intertwined with bartering activities, bringing in social resources as a key variable. The locality as a web of social relationships provided an additional level of well-being and sense of security to participants in a variety of economic circumstances (Tigges et al. 217).*

Tickamyer & Wood note the informal economy is an accepted way of life in many rural communities, noting,

*...informal activity is most prevalent in rural communities as extensions of long-held traditions of barter, exchange and self-provisioning that are the legacy of a less commodified work, family and community life associated with rural areas (1998: 325).*

Harper & Gillespie, in their study of informal exchanges among rural residents, note,

*...when people share an uncertain material world, and when their success in that world depends on their own actions, they tend to understand that they may need exactly the kind of help they are called on to give in times of their own crises (1997: 117).*
They state this kind of helping behaviour, through informal exchanges, is not only “part of role expectations of traditional rural people, but actually part of their identities” (Harper & Gillespie 1997: 117). They note part of this phenomenon can be explained by understanding that rural people who help each other, see themselves as different from people who live in cities or suburbs.

Reimer also agrees there is reason to believe the role of the informal economy in rural areas is different from urban areas (2001:5). He argues most of these differences are due to five conditions. First, in order to participate in the informal economy, people require access to resources that make production and service possible, and residents of rural areas are more likely to have access to resources such as land, workspace, and the tools that make exchange possible. Resources such as large vegetable and fruit gardens, and opportunities for hunting game, catching fish or harvesting wild produce (e.g. berries, mushrooms, salal) are often not available in the urban context (Reimer 2001: 5). This is particularly true in the rural, coastal communities of B.C., where gardening, fishing, hunting and other methods of provisioning are an integral part of the lifestyle and are considered essential activities for survival, especially in depressed economic times.

Second, most of the goods and services produced as part of the informal economy require a wide range of knowledge and primary work skills, and there is some reason to believe the range of such skills is more likely to be found in a rural context where resource-dependent industries such as fishing, mining and forestry require diverse capabilities, as does the varied nature of rural living where services and professionals may not be available in the community (2001: 5). Many people in rural, coastal communities have these types of skills, either learned early-on in the resource-industry or passed down from parent to child. The isolation of these communities dictates people have to learn to be more self-sufficient and to provide for themselves to a greater extent, because access to necessary goods and services on a regular basis may well be limited or even impossible.

Third, the informal economy is most important in areas where people are excluded from the formal economy, as it can provide an alternative source of goods and services. Reimer states the relatively high level of economic crises in rural areas is likely
to increase the extent to which rural residents utilize the informal economy (2001: 5). This is particularly pertinent in areas experiencing a decline in the resource industry, where unemployment and insecurity are high and jobs are scarce. In this context, the informal economy provides a buffer to the effects of job loss and financial instability by allowing people to obtain necessary goods and services without the need for money.

Fourth, the informal economy requires social norms that support reciprocity and accountability, and such norms are more likely to develop where people have frequent contact with one another and share common goals. Reimer notes low mobility and social homogeneity, as well as frequent and multifaceted interactions, are more likely to occur in rural areas (Reimer 2001: 6). In small, rural communities, where visibility and thus accountability is high, people learn to rely on and trust one another through continuing interactions, and these interactions take on more meaning in times of economic instability. People who take advantage of that trust may quickly find themselves cut off from vital social resources, which may seriously impact their ability to stay in the community over the long run.

Finally, these lower rates of mobility existing within rural communities are more likely to enhance the opportunities for informal exchanges, and allow for such norms and obligations to form. Reimer notes participation in voluntary associations and repeated encounters “establish contacts for exchanges, provide access to resources, information and skills” and states these kind of networks are more likely to be found in rural areas (2001:6). Not only are these kind of networks more likely to be found in rural areas, they are the heart and soul of rural communities and an important contributor to resilience in these communities during times of economic crisis.

Reimer’s (2006) research confirms the contention that primary and service industries place the greatest demand on informal economic activities, whereas there is a decrease in time committed to such activities for people in the secondary and financial/trade sectors. He further found time spent in informal activities increases as more household members are removed from full-time work (Reimer 2006: 34-35). All four communities under study are economically reliant on either the resource industry
and/or the service industry, all have high rates of part-time and seasonal employment, particularly for women, and all have high levels of participation in the informal economy.

However, as noted by Reed (2003a), the traditional boom and bust cycles of resource-based communities has meant that they are constantly in periods of change, whether for better or worse. In many cases, the informal economy is a vital source of both non-material and material benefits, and as such, residents remain involved in it regardless of economic factors. This is certainly true in the four communities that are the subject of this investigation, in that many are involved in the informal economy regardless of their level of financial security, due to the social benefits this involvement provides. This is supported by Reimer, who argues that the informal economy is the very basis of social capital, in that through the exchanges that occur in the informal economy, people build strong social networks based on reciprocity and trust (2001:4).

This is also supported by Ratner, who notes that “participation in the informal economy cuts across all income levels” and that participation in the informal economy “has payoffs beyond the physical needs it satisfies” (2000: 6). She concludes,

In addition to serving critical roles in both supplementing income and providing a source of support during periods when monetary income becomes scarce or non-existent, subsistence activities contribute to overall social well-being through a variety of social, cultural and psychological functions (Glass, Muth & Flewelling 1989 as quoted in Ratner 2000: 6).

This dual purpose is also confirmed by Tickamyer & Wood, who note that, ...informal activity typically is portrayed partly as a means to augment income and partly as a way of life in rural communities (Tickamyer & Wood 1998: 326).

Measurement issues

By its very nature as economic activity outside of the formal economy and thus also outside of the purview of government agencies, the informal economy is very difficult to measure quantitatively. Tickamyer & Wood confirm this difficulty in their article, noting that very little agreement exists in the literature as to what constitutes informal work, what activities make up the informal economy and where these activities are located (1998: 323). They state,
The lack of consensus on the proper definition of the activities that make up the informal economy is reflected in the lack of systematic data available to investigate these forms of work (Tickamyer & Wood 1998: 323-324).

In addition, for the most part, people do not think of the activities associated with the informal economy as economic activity per se; it is simply part of their lives in a rural community and something in which they are involved on a daily basis that helps to maintain that way of life. Tickamyer & Wood cite “the elusive nature of such activities, their often semi-legal status, and the seeming lack of awareness of respondents of the extent of their participation in informal work” as obstacles in obtaining information on the informal economy (1998: 326). As one Charlotte interviewee noted when asked whether there was a lot of participation in the informal economy in her community,

Interviewee: Yes, but I wouldn’t be putting it in sort of that box.
Interviewer: That’s too academic is it? Okay, how would you define it?
Interviewee: Well, I might come home and find a fish in my sink, and I know that’s from a certain group of people that maybe I have done something for...
You know, it’s not so direct, but there is, you know, everyone wheels and deals (QUE Interview 128, Female).

Thus, it can be very difficult to quantify the benefits of involvement in the informal economy and there is very little quantitative data specifically on the role of the informal economy in rural communities in Canada. Reimer, in his investigation of the informal economy in non-metropolitan Canada, relied on information regarding individual activities taken from the time budget data of the General Social Surveys from 1986, 1992, and 1998 (2006: 29). Participation in the informal economy is inferred from activities that provide output or services capable of being exchanged with another person. Within this classification of activities, he then maintained a distinction between production and services for household consumption and those identified as a good or service exchanged with non-household persons (Reimer 2006: 29-30).

Reimer’s results confirm the importance of the informal economy for both metropolitan and non-metropolitan residents; he found that in 1998, over 90% of the population was involved in such activities. He noted, however, that most of the activities were related to household consumption, and only 11% unequivocally involved exchanges of goods or services with non-household people (Reimer 2006: 30). In terms of urban vs.
rural differences, Reimer found that non-metropolitan residents were not only more likely to participate in the informal economy than metropolitan residents, but the amount of time they spent in such activities was also greater (Reimer 2006: 30). These rural/urban differences are confirmed by Harper & Gillespie (1997), Ratner (2000) and Reimer (2001).

The four communities under investigation here are all non-metropolitan communities, and while 90% (or more) of residents are likely involved in the informal economy, and the majority of the activities are household-oriented (e.g., food gathering and storage), much more than 11% are exchanges of goods and/or services with non-household people. The residents of these communities rely very much on family, friends and neighbours to help supply them with the goods and services they could not otherwise access.

Reimer further found that participation in the informal economy increases as participation in the formal economy decreases, and that there is a decline in informal economy activities at the upper ranges of income and an increase in non-household exchanges in the lowest income group, confirming the role of the informal economy as a buffer to economic insecurity (2006: 33-34). This applies to the four communities that are the focus of this investigation, as several interviewees stated that they did not participate much in the informal economy because they had good jobs and could pay for the goods and services they needed. A Quadra interviewee stated,

*Very little barter economy for me. I know there are people who live a lot on the barter economy. I’ve got a friend who tutors and she’s constantly getting tutoring for hair jobs or tutoring for, you know. It goes on quite a bit. No, I figure because I had a good-paying job that it’s better that I hire people to do the job and get the money into the community…*(QUA Interview 124, Male).

Conversely, several interviewees noted that, while they did not need to be involved in the informal economy, they chose to be involved for the social benefits it provided. One interviewee from Charlotte noted that while she did make enough money to purchase what she needed, and thus did not need to rely on the informal economy for survival, she remained a full participant simply because it enhanced the quality of her life, which revolved around gathering, preparing, storing, eating and sharing food with
friends and family. To her, this was an essential part of life in a small community (QUE Interview 004, Female).

Ratner provides support for this non-economic view of the informal economy where she notes that,

*The retention of home production practices is not merely a tradition but an innovative ethic of a people who confront daily the force of structural currents impacting upon their region in underdevelopment...They are not purely economic functions nor are they always perceived as such, but material practices which act as a vehicle for social expression, cultural identity, and the reaffirmation of community* (Matvey 1991 quoted in Ratner 2000: 6).

Harper & Gillespie also confirm the social benefits of involvement in the informal economy, noting that such behaviour goes beyond the economic and becomes part of a rural person’s identity, which is different from urban dwellers. This difference is mainly due to an adherence to values of helping and reciprocity that make up an integral part of rural life. Such involvement brings intrinsic rewards, as noted by Harper & Gillespie:

*...our sense is also that people express satisfaction and pleasure from the willingness to help others because these actions answer the universal need to be part of social groups* (1997: 117-118).

In terms of residents at the other end of the economic scale, the data also confirm Reimer’s findings of an increase in non-household exchanges, in that many residents in this economic situation rely almost completely on the informal economy for their livelihood, and trades among friends and neighbours are what allows them to maintain this way of life, as family members are likely to be in the same economic situation and thus unlikely to have access to needed goods and services. Harper & Gillespie provide support for this contention, noting that *“kin and friendship networks are, of course, very different”* (1997: 118). They note that, for rural people, *“the basis for friendship often includes the powerful ingredient of shared purpose and the opportunity to help each other”* and social activities often become part of the shared work (Tickamyer & Wood 1997: 118). However, they state, while people choose their friends, they do not, in the conventional sense, choose their families. They note that, where families were in close physical distance, they were also functionally interdependent (Tickamyer & Wood 1997: 118-119).
Regarding gender differences in participation in the informal economy, Reimer notes, in general, that a greater amount of men’s time is spent in activities related to the formal economy whereas for women, informal activities tend to predominate, largely through home production (2001: 14). He notes for rural women, part-time employment means an important increase in informal activity, as does self-employment (Reimer 2001: 14). As noted in Enns et al. (2008) in their rural, coastal sample, only 38% of the women were employed full-time. As a result, women in these communities are very much involved in the informal economy, and an investigation of this expectation within the four communities comprising the sample will be undertaken and presented later.

**Research Relevance and Contribution**

Relatively few studies to date have conducted a comprehensive investigation of the influence of social variables on the ability of rural residents to adapt and promote resilience in the face of constant economic instability, despite that rural communities all over the world are under siege from forces of globalization, depleted resources and ever-changing commodities markets. Even fewer undertake a comprehensive gender examination of the social processes involved. Those that have been conducted are focused on specific aspects of the resource industry rather than resource communities in general (see Newell & Ommer 1999; Neis, Binkley, Gerrad, & Maneschy 2005; Yodanis 2000, 2002; Marshall 2001; and Davis 2000 re gender issues in the east coast fishery; Reed 2003a and Egan & Klausen 1998 re gender issues in forestry communities; and Gill 1990 re gender issues in a mining town) and do not utilize a social capital perspective to analyze the gender issues involved.

Several studies have investigated gender differences in network composition in the context of social mobility and status attainment (see Lin 2000; Lin 1999; Lin, Cook & Burt 2001; Smith 2000; Burt 1998; Moore 1990; Beggs & Hurlbert 1997). However, these works focus mainly on economic returns to investments in social capital tends to assume men and women have the same, mainly economic, goals and objectives for their social networks. This results in the finding that women are disadvantaged due to their lack of weak ties and ties to positions in the social hierarchy rich in embedded economic resources, and their overabundance of ties to other women, close friends and relatives.
In addition, the majority of these studies were conducted within an urban environment and/or with an urban sample. Given the dissimilarity between these two contexts, it is unlikely these studies can be confidently generalized to a rural setting. Several studies focusing on comparisons of social and economic variables between rural and urban settings (Bird & Sapp 2004; Hofferth & Iceland 1998; Onyx & Bullen 2000; Beggs, Haines & Hurlbert 1996) note differences between the two settings are highly significant. In addition, none of these studies undertook a separate gender analysis to investigate the role of gender in the composition of networks and social ties, community involvement and civic participation, or involvement in the informal economy, within these contexts.

The focus on the process of building and/or using social capital as well as its structure or its consequences is an important advance in the study of social capital. Many studies look at the composition of networks in terms of types of ties, and the structure of access to resources potentially available, but few look at the actual process of how people use the resources in their networks to meet a specific need or goal other than status attainment or mobility. This study will focus on how the men and women of four coastal, rural communities actually use their social networks and the resources within those networks to allow them to maintain their chosen lifestyle within those communities.

This study will also directly test some of the assumptions currently found in the literature, such as: 1) men and women have the same goals for and needs from their networks, and women are disadvantaged as a result; and, 2) men and women use social capital the same way to achieve these goals. This is an important advance in the understanding of the role of gender in the creation and utilization of social capital.

Finally, the concept of resilience is not one that has been used extensively in sociological studies, and the idea that people in rural contexts utilize their social capital to achieve resilience in the face of economic crisis has not been widely investigated. It is, therefore, an important contribution to the sociological literature.

**Thesis Summary**

*Chapter 3* will outline the methodology of the study, including the collection of data and the indicators and measures used in the mail-out survey, the respondent
interviews, and the leadership interviews to be analyzed in this investigation. In addition, it will explain how the data are to be utilized for this study (i.e. mail out data for quantitative analyses, interview data for support of quantitative data and to give the rural respondents a voice in the investigation).

Chapters 4 and 5 will introduce the four communities that are the subject of this investigation, and explain their sociological significance and reason for inclusion in this study. They will then present a detailed analysis of each community, starting with a historical summary focused on understanding what social and economic factors led to, and continue to contribute to, the current situation. Chapter 6 will provide an introduction to the data chapters, including a historical summary of the role of both native and non-native women in resource-based communities, with a focus on how this unique context has contributed to their ability to adapt to current economic instability. Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10 will then present a gender analysis of social capital in each community, focusing particularly on the role of women, using both quantitative and qualitative data to investigate gender differences on the social and economic dimensions highlighted in this study.

Chapter 11 will examine the role of the informal economy in creating social capital and contributing to resilience in rural, coastal communities. It will examine what forms the informal economy takes, and the extent to which rural residents rely on it to provide resources they cannot access through the formal economy. A gender investigation of involvement in the informal economy will also be presented, with a focus on whether women are more involved, and if so, how this impacts their ability to adapt to ongoing financial insecurity.

The final chapter, Chapter 12, will contain a summary of the findings of this investigation and the conclusions that can be drawn from them in terms of the relationships between gender, social capital and resilience in B.C.’s rural, coastal communities. It will also summarize the contributions this study makes to knowledge about social capital and gender specifically and to sociology in general.
CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The focus of this thesis is the presentation of detailed case analyses of four of British Columbia’s rural, coastal, resource-based communities. It is not intended to be a comparative analysis, although some comparisons are included in the community descriptions to allow for a clearer perspective of what the specific measures mean in each community. Instead, the purpose of the study is to investigate the operation of social capital and its relationship to gender in a particular context. Thus, each of the four communities represents a unique opportunity to study how gender impacts social capital and resilience under specific social and economic conditions.

The four communities have many similarities, and just as many differences. Like all communities, each one has a unique history that continues to affect the way it functions today. An important element of this history is the degree to which the economy is, or has been, dependent on the local resource base, as this has an enormous impact on the economic and social structure and development within each community. Other important elements are location, leadership structure, and social factors such as civic involvement, trust and networks, as all of these factors contribute to creating a unique context for the study of gender and social capital.

This study utilizes the concept of triangulation, employing multiple methods and measures to address the research questions in order to ensure that the greatest confidence can be placed in the findings. This study has utilized quantitative data from several sources, including Statistics Canada, BC Stats, and a mail out survey conducted by the Resilient Communities Project (RCP), the research study under which much of the data for this study were gathered. This study also utilized qualitative data from several sources, including two sets of interviews conducted by the RCP and interviews conducted in the reserve community of Old Massett as part of a larger study for the Band Council. Finally, this study utilizes participant-observation, as the author has had the opportunity over the past four years to travel to the Haida Gwaii numerous times (in the course of conducting three separate research projects there), and Quadra Island twice. The author
has therefore spent time in all four communities, and has had the opportunity to observe and take part in many aspects of life in these communities.

Choice of communities for study

Three of the communities investigated in this study are located on Haida Gwaii (Charlotte, Masset, and Old Massett). Given the small size and isolated location of Haida Gwaii, this may seem somewhat unusual. However, the choice of these three communities had less to do with geography and much more to do with social context and the availability of data. As will be explained in this chapter, the data for this study came from several sources, including the Resilient Communities Project and the Coastal Communities Project (CCP), both operating out of the University of British Columbia. The Resilient Communities Project conducted personal interviews in six communities, including Quadra Island, Charlotte and Masset. The data for Old Massett were collected as part of the Old Massett Community Survey, a joint initiative between the CCP and the Old Massett Village Council.

As noted in Chapter 2, this investigation is a case study of the social factors that contribute to resilience within four different contexts. As such, the choice of communities hinged almost entirely on the context provided by each community and the ability to investigate that context with available data. The RCP interview process provided a choice of six communities for study: Quadra Island, Masset, Charlotte, Port Alberni, Port Hardy and Prince Rupert. The three latter communities were excluded from this study for several reasons. First, they are larger communities, each with a population over 5,000, which makes them more complex to study and to understand their social processes and functioning. Second, all three of these communities are still heavily resource-dependent, and as this study was interested in investigating communities based on their level of resource dependence, it was necessary to include communities with varying levels of dependence. Finally, the author did not have an opportunity to spend as much time in these three communities as in the four communities that are the subject of this investigation, and thus this would have negated the inclusion of participant-observation as a source of data within this study.
Sources and Explanations of Data

The Resilient Communities Project (RCP)

The majority of the data for this investigation were collected under the auspices of the Resilient Communities Project, a multi-year, multi-phase project aimed at examining and better understanding the complex relations between social and economic development in the rural, resource-dependent communities of coastal BC. The principal investigator of the project was Dr. Ralph Matthews of the Department of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Co-investigators were Professor Brian Elliott, Emeritus, also of the Department of Sociology at UBC, and Dr. Terre Satterfield, of Resource Management and Environmental Sciences at UBC. The author was both a research assistant and the research coordinator on the project and is grateful to the investigators for allowing her the use of the data for this investigation.

While fully recognizing the critical importance of economic aspects of life in rural BC, this project also sought to define some of the traditionally overlooked contributions of social life in promoting resilience, adaptability, and innovation in confronting the dramatic changes taking place in many of these coastal communities as they deal with the continuing decline of industries that have supported their communities for decades.

The data for the RCP were collected in three phases, with the objective of providing the most comprehensive picture of life on the BC coast possible over this period of time. The majority of the data in this study come from Phase II of the RCP, which included collecting quantitative data in the form of a mail-out survey to 24 communities, and Phase III, where qualitative data was collected through two sets of interviews conducted in six communities.

Phase I data collection

In Phase I of the project, with the assistance of BC Stats, we collected data on all economic and social indicators available for the past twenty years, for each community on the coast. Through this process, we identified 131 coastal communities with a

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11 Funding for this study was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) through the Strategic Theme Program “Social Cohesion in a Globalizing Era.”
population of over 50 and less than 30,000, including 75 First Nation reserves, 28 unincorporated and 28 incorporated communities.

**Phase II data collection**

Phase II consisted of a mail-out survey sent to 24 communities chosen from the original 131 identified in Phase I. The communities were selected using a stratified random sample aimed at ensuring representation from communities on both the north and south coast, and from those with a strong resource dependency as well as those with a more diverse economy. The aim was to study communities with both low numbers and high numbers of people employed in the resource industry, and compare them in terms of their ability to weather the economic storms pounding the coast.

The mail-out survey utilized for Phase II was created by a team of investigators and research assistants, based on measures utilized in similar studies, as well as many measures created for this particular context. The self-administered questionnaire focused particularly on indicators of social capital, operationalized in fixed-choice question format. Overall, it was divided into seven distinct sections: demographic measures; employment; community identification and commitment; trust; social activities and networks; media use; and health.\(^{12}\)

The administration of the mail-out survey commenced in September 2002 and was conducted in five waves that were completed in July 2004. In doing so, we followed Dillman’s (1978) *Total Design Method* which included up to six mailings. The first was an initial contact letter, informing the participants of the study and letting them know a survey package was on the way. The second mailing was the survey package, including a letter to the householder, a letter to the respondent,\(^ {13}\) the survey, a self-addressed stamped envelope, an entry form for the draw (as an incentive, each respondent who returned their survey was entered in a draw for $50, $150, or $250 – awarded in each community at the conclusion of each wave) and a small pencil. The third mailing was a reminder letter,

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\(^{12}\) See Appendix B for a copy of the RCP mail-out survey.

\(^{13}\) In the householder letter, we asked that the survey be filled out by the person in the household with the most recent birthday, in order to ensure a random sample of respondents. The respondent letter explained the project and gave instructions on how to fill out and return the survey.
followed by a second survey package if the first survey had still not been returned. The five and sixth mailings were reminder post cards.

We obtained the addresses for the mail-out from a data company that took a random sample of residential addresses of those listed in the database for the up-to-date telephone directory for each community. We then took a smaller random sample of these addresses for the mail-out. Because of the nature of such research, we knew we would need extra addresses to replace returned mail for people who had moved, were deceased, or whose address was unknown. As the initial mailings were returned to sender, we replaced the returnees with an address randomly chosen from those remaining in the database. We did replacements only after the first mailing.

In total, the mail-out survey was sent to 4,904 households in 24 communities and 2,881 were completed, for an overall response rate of 58.7%. Considering that more than half of the communities were unincorporated, meaning they were postal code communities and we had only residential addresses for respondents as opposed to post office boxes, this was a strong response rate. We were unable to get post office box numbers from the data company that supplied the random sample of addresses for our 24 communities, as post offices are prohibited by law from giving this information. However, the local post office has the authority to look up the post office boxes and forward mail, should they so choose. On the other hand, they also have the authority to return as improperly addressed all mail with only residential addresses and no post office box numbers. To try and ensure this did not happen, we phoned every post office handling the mail (in some cases, this meant contacting multiple post offices in one community), and spoke to the employees, explaining what we were doing and asking for their cooperation. It is a testament to the rural, coastal residents of BC that not one post office refused. Indeed, most went beyond the call of duty to look up post office box numbers and forward the mail on, not just once, but for up to six mailings. After the first wave of six communities, we decided to reduce the amount of work the post offices had to do, and started including a self-addressed, stamped Post Office Box Request Card.

After we had concluded the mail-out for each community, we sent the post office(s) a thank you card, acknowledging their contribution to the project and our appreciation for their hard work on our behalf. The employees of the post office in Queen Charlotte City sent us a thank you note for our thank you note – saying that they appreciated the fact that we took the time to thank them for the extra work they did.
with the initial contact letter, asking people to provide their post office boxes by returning
the card to us so we could mail their surveys to their correct mailing address. In some of
the communities, close to 50% of respondents did so.

In the study that follows, the results of the mail-out survey are used to present a
demographic picture of each community. This demographic picture will include
measures on length of residence in the community; employment; commitment to and
identification with community; trust; social participation, both formal and informal; level
of volunteerism; composition of social networks; education; and income. While many of
these measures are relatively straightforward, others presented a challenge of
measurement, and thus some explanation is required as to their presentation in the text.

Validity and reliability

Before creating the RCP mail out instrument, an extensive literature search was
undertaken of the social capital literature to determine how social capital was being
conceptualized and measured. A number of measures in the RCP mail out instrument
were taken from studies where these measures were shown to be valid and reliable, and
adapted for the RCP context. Others were created keeping in mind the success and
failure of many of the measures in the studies reviewed.

In addition, the RCP mail out-survey was pre-tested in the community of Sechelt
with a limited sample obtained in the same method as the 24 communities that comprised
the main survey sample. Following the pretest, the data from the surveys were entered
and analyzed in order to determine the validity and reliability of the measures. As a
result of this process, several revisions were made to the mail out survey before it was
sent to the main sample.

Finally, the number of surveys sent to each community was calculated based on
current population in order to ensure a valid and representative sample. For the three
non-reserve communities that are under investigation here, a total of 100 mail-out
surveys were received from New Masset, 129 from Charlotte, and 133 from Quadra
Island, for a total sample of 362.
Explanation of Quantitative Measures from RCP Mail-out Survey

Employment

The structure and process of employment relations are important factors to understand in these communities. As noted in Chapter 2, the well-paid, full-time employment that once characterized the resource industry has declined drastically, often requiring adaptive strategies for those who wish to stay in their communities. Each community has its own unique set of circumstances contributing to residents’ ability to adapt, and understanding the nature of employment in these communities is therefore an important part of understanding how residents are remaining resilient in the face of economic decline.

However, attempting to measure employment in this context was a challenge, given non-standard employment (i.e., part-time, seasonal, contract) is increasingly more common, and many respondents work multiple jobs. Many work for wages and also have a small business that they run, and others may be laid off from one job seasonally but still receiving wages from another or through self-employment.

In order to capture the complexity of this work situation, the measure employed a series of close-ended questions, starting with “What is your current work situation?” Respondents were given five categories and asked to select all that applied: self-employed full-time; self-employed part-time; employed by others full-time; employed by others part-time; and not working or laid off.

The problem with this formulation is that respondents could check multiple categories and thus be represented more than once. We are unable to state categorically that a given percentage of the respondents were self-employed while another percentage worked for wages, because it is entirely possible they do both. Thus, when presenting the percentages in the text, the employment statistics do not add up to 100%. What we are able to say is how many respondents reported working in each category, with the understanding these categories are not exclusive.

Respondents who chose one of the first four categories were then referred to a yes/no question asking them if they had more than one job. Self-employed individuals...
were then asked two further questions about their self-employment: *How long have you been self-employed?* and *Apart from your immediate family, how many others do you employ?* The answers to these questions provide information on the type of self-employment common within the three communities and allow for a gender analysis in this regard.

Respondents who were not working or laid off were then referred to three follow-up questions determining length of time off work, current status and the main reason they stopped working. These questions permit a community-based analysis of the proportion of each community dealing with unemployment, as well as for how long and for what reasons. Once again, however, we are unable to be completely precise in determining the unemployment rate in these communities from these measures, as it is entirely possible someone could be laid off from one job yet self-employed or working for wages in another. For this reason, unemployment statistics gathered by Statistics Canada and BC Stats were also utilized in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the employment situation in the community.

Finally, the question was asked: *In the past 12 months, in which of the following areas were you employed or self-employed?* The responses to this question provide a picture of what areas the respondents work in, and how many are still employed in the resource industry. They also allow for a gender analysis in this regard.

**Trust measures**

As noted in *Chapter 2*, levels of trust are an important feature of life in rural communities, and is even more salient in rural communities facing constant economic insecurity and upheaval where residents need to rely on one another in many ways. Unlike in an urban setting, where anonymity is a central characteristic of the context, visibility is key feature of most small, rural communities. People see each other frequently and a certain level of accountability is created through frequent interaction. With accountability comes trust, which is the knowledge you can count on others not to take advantage of you and to provide assistance when needed. If social capital is the brick foundation keeping these rural communities from collapsing, then trust is the mortar holding the bricks in place. Without trust, social processes essential to the
continued functioning of these communities, such as civic participation, volunteering, and the informal economy, could not take place. Distrust has a much heavier penalty in this context, and one which most residents are not willing to risk, as the majority of the interactions that go on in their day to day lives depend on the trust residents have for one another and the understanding of the obligations they have built up over repeated interactions.

The trust section was comprised of 13 Likert-scale questions designed to investigate different aspects of trust. In order to allow for comparability with other studies, the commonly-used generalized trust measure\textsuperscript{15} was included, although for our purposes, we split it into two measures as we felt it was asking two different questions and our version would work better with Likert-style response categories, allowing us to investigate both aspects of the generalized trust question.

The second area of trust investigated was generalized community trust. These measures investigate the levels of trust residents hold toward other community members in general. We operationalized this variable in five ways: (1) the extent to which respondents trusted others in their community; (2) the extent to which they trusted people who lived in the community more than people from outside the community; (3) the extent to which respondents trusted groups in the community (4) the extent to which people felt others in their community would take advantage of them if given the chance; and (5) the extent to which people felt safe in their communities (i.e., could leave their homes without locking the door). These indicators are statements allowing respondents to make a decision as to their level of generalized community trust, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

The third area of trust was social/institutional trust. These measures were meant to investigate the levels of trust held for particular groups within the community. The groups included were young people, police, community leaders\textsuperscript{16}, business leaders, First Nation leader and “politicians who represent the community”. This last group,

\textsuperscript{15}The most common version of this measure is worded, “Generally speaking, would you say most people can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?”
\textsuperscript{16} The exact wording was “I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.” We did not include the word “elected” here because we did not want to exclude more informal leaders who were not elected yet still considered community leaders.
politicians, was intended to measure trust held for the provincial and federal politicians responsible for the community, but as this wording was not specific,\textsuperscript{17} it is possible respondents may have thought it referred to local elected leaders and responded accordingly.

\textbf{Social participation}

As noted in \textit{Chapter 2}, the level of social participation in a community is considered an important aspect of social capital as well as a key contributor to levels of trust, as it is an opportunity for people to meet others and make beneficial social ties, as well as building community cohesion and unity. In order to measure the level of social participation in each community, we utilized two measures:

\textit{Formal organizational involvement}

The measure of formal social activities was obtained by presenting a comprehensive list of social groups, organizations and activities. Respondents were asked to indicate the groups in which they were currently involved. They were then asked to identify where these activities were located, inside the community, outside the community or both. The activities listed were specifically developed for a rural environment and context. The ‘location’ aspect of the measure was included in order to investigate the idea of “bridging” social capital. Involvement in groups outside the community, or both inside and outside the community, would potentially allow residents to make a greater number of and more diverse social ties than if they just participated in activities inside their own communities.

As outlined in \textit{Chapter 2}, this work will investigate gender differences in the number and type of activities in which residents are involved, in order to investigate the claim of other researchers (Moore 1996; McPherson \& Smith-Lovin 1982) that women tend to be in more domestic-centered activities, which has a detrimental effect on their social networks; men tend to participate in more economic and business-centered activities, which has a beneficial effect on their social networks.

\textsuperscript{17} The exact wording was, “The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.”
Informal community involvement

The question on informal activities was adapted from a measure used by Robert Putnam in his 2003 book, *Bowling Alone*, which investigated the decline of social capital in the United States, based on the thesis that social capital was declining because people did not make the effort to get out and get involved to the same extent as the generation before them. The informal activities measured in this question ranged from ‘*having a meal in a restaurant with others*’, to, ‘*attended a sporting event to participating in a First Nation cultural or social activity*’. The goal was to capture the type of things people did in their communities on a more informal basis than was captured in the information about more formal organizational activity. Respondents were asked to indicate the activities they had engaged in during the past 30 days with people who did not live in their household. This distinction is important in that the focus is the relation between social participation and the forming of beneficial social ties. Thus, the question was designed to go beyond the household and look at activities undertaken with other people who would represent a different set of resources. Again, the questions also included the location element, asking respondents whether the activity occurred primarily in their community, another community, or both.

The purpose of this measure is to gain an understanding of the types of activities in which men and women are involved, so we may distinguish how they differ, as well as identify any relation this may have to their adaptive capacity.

Composition of social networks

Social networks are an integral part of life in any community, and in rural communities experiencing ongoing economic decline, social networks are all the more vital. The kind of resources to which a person has potential access in his or her network is an important contributor to his or her ability to adapt. However, trying to capture the totality and complexity of a person’s social network in a mail-out survey is a very difficult undertaking and, as yet, there is no proven measure to carry this out. Therefore, what we employed, with revisions, was a tool designed to measure the potential access respondents had to resource-rich positions within their networks. Such tools are known
as **Position Generator** measures (Lin & Dumin 1986; Lin, Fu, and Hsung 2001; Lin 2001b; Enns et al. 2008).

Common to all Position Generators is the general format. Survey respondents are presented with a sample of socially relevant structural positions (typically occupational) ranging across prestige classes, and asked to indicate whether or not they have any contact with individuals in each of the positions. This approach is based on the key assumption that various hierarchical positions represent differential resources (Lin & Dumin 1986). Various degrees of wealth, status and power will be inherent in different positions, and individuals in the social network having access to these positions will likely have access to some of the resources embedded within them as well.

While most Position Generators used in previous studies typically included a sampling of occupational positions from some listing, such as U.S. Census data, and assigned some prestige score to each position (see Lin, Fu, and Hsung 2001), this specific approach was deemed unsuitable for our coastal, rural communities for two primary reasons. First, in many cases, small, remote, resource-based communities are severely limited in the number and variety of positions present in the region. Second, certain positions quite familiar, influential, and of great interest (e.g., Elected or hereditary First Nation Chief; Manager or administrative officer of a First Nation Band or Tribal Council; Member of a Chamber of Commerce, Town Council, or Regional District) are not necessarily occupational positions *per se* (many of these positions are typically unpaid), and are not present on any known occupational classification system. However, given the flexibility of the Position Generator, we were able to adapt it to study our research interests within our unique population. Therefore, the RCP Position Generator included a series of eighteen different positions, some of which were fairly specific to coastal B.C., while others were relatively common to many regions.\(^{18}\)

Another important difference between our measure and previous versions of the Position Generator is that our tool allows for what we believe is a more insightful exploration of the structure of access to embedded resources. In a unique revision, we

\(^{18}\) For the complete listing of positions, and the format of the Position Generator, please see page 15 of the mail-out survey in Appendix B.
inquired about the total number of ties to each of the positions. While the extent of access to the positions as a group, in terms of the number of positions rich in embedded resources accessed, is of key interest, we suggest the extent of access to each position is also crucial in gaining a better understanding of the social structure and dynamics of our coastal communities. For example, consider two respondents: the first reveals they have access to three positions rich in embedded resources (the typical measure of extent), the second reveals they only have access to two. With this information one could only conclude the former has the access advantage. What if, however, we were to find out even though the latter only has access to two positions, they actually have four separate ties to individuals in each of these positions, while the former has two ties to each position? The second respondent with a total of eight ties now has some measure of potential advantage over the first individual, who only has six ties. This information contributes greatly to the mapping of the complex structure of access to embedded resources.

Further, to gain better insight into the structure of these networks, particularly in terms of the type and nature of ties involved as identified by Granovetter (1973) and Burt (2001), the Resilient Communities Project Position Generator also asked, similar to past studies, that respondents differentiate these ties as either acquaintances (weak ties) or close friends (strong ties).19 Finally, because of the geographic uniqueness of the region with its varying degrees of remoteness and access to other communities, and to obtain a better understanding of the structure of networks between and among communities, we once again added a location element to the measure, asking that respondents differentiate these ties as existing with others inside or outside their community.

Uses of the Position Generator

For this analysis, the Position Generator measure will be used primarily as an indicator of how many ties to resource-rich positions the respondents in our sample have, and in order to do gender comparisons of social ties by community. A previous study utilizing 22 communities (Enns, Malinick, & Matthews 2008) found women had more

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19 Respondents were also asked about the number of relatives they had inside and outside the community, but due to certain conceptual difficulties with assuming relatives to be strong ties, these were excluded from the current analysis.
ties than men. This study will investigate whether this holds true for the four specific communities in this sub-sample. This study will also investigate gender differences in types of ties residents of rural, coastal communities have to resource-rich positions (i.e., weak or strong), and where they are located (i.e., inside or outside the community).

**Limitations of the Position Generator**

Despite its utility and flexibility, the Position Generator is not without limitations. The insights it provides are generally limited to a comprehensive overview of the structure of people’s social networks and the potential access to embedded resources located within them. The Position Generator is not able to examine the social processes whereby people utilize their network ties for social benefit. That is, the Position Generator shows the extent to which respondents have ties to persons in resource-rich positions and have potential access to social capital resources they may be able to call upon. It cannot, however, measure the level of cooperation each tie is willing to extend. Thus, the data obtained through the use of the Position Generator represent only theoretical resources, not necessarily ones that are actually accessible.

In fact, the positions listed in the Position Generator have much greater significance within a rural setting, in that there may be only one or two people in each position in the community, thereby limiting the number of resource-rich positions that actually exist and also the ability of the people in them to allocate resources to others. If, for instance, there is only one doctor in the community, who is well-known to all (thus many would claim acquaintance with him or her, noting them to be a weak tie), he or she could not possibly be able to share resources with everyone who requested their assistance – such help would most likely be reserved for close friends and relatives (strong ties). In this situation, this weak tie would be of limited utility as a source of social capital.

There is a certain level of gender bias built into this particular Position Generator. The measure utilized by the RCP contained a total of eighteen positions, although only twelve are included in the analysis, as these are the position theorized to have the greatest number of resources attached to them. Of these twelve positions, seven are typically male-dominated, either through the resource industry (three positions: aquaculture or fish
plant manager; mine manager; pulp mill, paper mill or sawm ill manager) or through
custom and tradition (four positions: elected or hereditary First Nation Chief;
manager or administrative officer of First Nation Band or Tribal Council;
police officer; pastor, priest or other church leader). Women are less likely to be in these positions, and as
research (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000; Burda, Vaux & Schill 1984) shows that
women are more likely to have networks made up of strong ties to other women, and
fewer weak ties to men and those in resource-rich positions, this would reduce the
number of potential ties for women overall.

In addition, the RCP Position Generator focused mainly on formal positions
within the community; resource-industry management positions, elected leadership
positions (i.e., Member of the Regional District Council, Member of the Town Council)
and professional positions (Member of the Chamber of Commerce, local health
professional). Research (Reed 2003b; Marchak 1983; Lucas 1971; Little 1994, 1997;
Teather 1997) shows women are less likely to be in these positions, and more likely to be
found in informal social leadership positions within the community (i.e., running civic
organizations and groups, the community centre, arts clubs and groups, etc.). However,
none of these positions were included in the Position Generator, again reducing the
potential number of ties women could claim. We would expect then, women would have
fewer ties than men on this measure.

Finally, the Position Generator looks at a finite number of positions within the
community, namely positions that are assumed to hold resources within that community.
However, it is entirely possible the people in such positions are not the ones others go to
in times of need, and therefore the measure may under-represent the beneficial ties in a
person’s network. As noted in Chapter 2, context and need determine what are beneficial
resources for a given individual. For example, a single mother living in a rural, coastal
community may be in need of good friends on whom she can rely to take care of her
children, trade goods with her, and give her support by listening when she talks. When
filling out the Position Generator, she may indicate she knows very few people in these
community positions, and as such, it would appear she has little access to embedded
resources in her social network. However, it may just be the case that none of her good
friends, who provide her with the things she really needs, are in these positions. This
does not mean her network is devoid of important social resources, the Position Generator measure is just unable to capture those resources. It is for this reason we undertook the personal interviews in Phase III of the project - to get beyond the structure and into the actual process by which people live their lives in their communities.

**Education**

Education is a key contributor to a community’s ability to adapt to changing circumstances. As previously resource-dependent communities make the switch from primary industries to an service economy based on health services, educational facilities and the tourism industry, and from full-year, full-time jobs to part-time, seasonal, and self-employment, different skills and qualifications are needed. As noted in Lucas (1971) and Marchak (1983), the resource industry did not require men to stay in school past early high school; high-paying jobs were to be had without graduating. The same was not true for women for whom jobs in the resource industry were scarce; in order for them to find good-paying jobs, they needed not only a high school education, but often university or college training as well. The switch-over to a service-based economy now allows women to use those skills and qualifications. In the study utilizing the same dataset by Enns et al. (2008), women were found to be more educated than men. This study will examine if this holds true in the four communities focussed on here.

In order to capture the range of educational achievements attained by respondents, two measures were utilized. The first measure asked respondents to indicate the highest level of education they had completed from a list ranging from no schooling to professional degrees or doctorate. A second question asked respondents to indicate all the types of technical, trade and skills training they had attained from a comprehensive list. As it is entirely possible some respondents may have taken more than one type of this training, they were requested to select all that applied. Therefore, analysis on this measure does not add up to 100%, as the categories are not mutually exclusive, but allow for the inclusion of multiple types of training.

**Income**

Income is often used as a gauge for how a community is doing overall. However, there are many factors to take into account. In a rural context, where housing is
considerably less expensive, residents may need less income to live comfortably than would urban residents. However, the cost of living may be greater depending on degree of isolation. In many rural communities, residents are able to participate in the informal economy to acquire the goods and services they might otherwise have to pay for, and this allows them to live on considerably less income. Thus, just knowing how much income a person has is an incomplete measure of how well they are doing.

The RCP utilized three income measures. The first asked respondents to indicate the income category that best described their individual income from all sources for the past year, and the second referred to the household income. The third measure asked them to indicate their sources of income, and respondents were asked to check all that applied from a comprehensive list of categories. It is entirely possible respondents could have multiple sources of income, and thus results on this measure do not add up to 100%.

**Phase III Data Collection**

Phase III of the project consisted of conducting two sets of interviews (community member interviews and community leader interviews) in six communities chosen from the 24 who received the mail-out survey in Phase II. The six communities chosen were Quadra Island, Port Alberni, Port Hardy, Prince Rupert, Masset and Queen Charlotte City.²⁰

These communities were chosen based on the results of the mail-out survey. We were looking for communities that varied in terms of their resource dependency past and present so we could compare them on several social and economic dimensions. Specifically, we wanted to compare communities that had mostly overcome their resource dependency (Quadra Island) with ones in the process of doing so (Queen Charlotte City, Masset), and with ones still mainly dependent on resources for their economic base (Prince Rupert, Port Hardy, Port Alberni). Our aim was an examination

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²⁰ Initially, there were seven communities chosen – the first five mentioned here as well as Alert Bay and Bella Coola. However, given that Alert Bay and Bella Coola both contain large First Nation reserves, and both were undergoing some upheaval in terms of their political and economic situations, it was decided to postpone the interviewing in these communities until better relations could be formed between our team and these communities. Queen Charlotte City was therefore added as an interview community, mainly because it was convenient to interview there while researchers were in Haida Gwaii, and because we were interested in looking at the differences between Queen Charlotte City and Masset.
of how the social factors operating in each of these communities contributed to residents’
ability to adapt to the changes their community had experienced or was experiencing.

The interview communities were also chosen in tandem with the successor to the
RCP, a research project entitled the Coastal Communities Project (CCP). The CCP is a
Community-University Research Alliance (CURA), meaning investigators and research
assistants work with community partners in deciding research goals and procedures – the
research is community-initiated and carried out as a joint venture. In order that the data
collected for the RCP be useful to the CCP, many of the communities chosen for the CCP
were also chosen as the interview communities for the RCP.

The community member interviews commenced in the summer of 2004 and were
completed that fall. The leadership interviews commenced late in the fall of 2004 and
were completed by the spring of 2005. Overall, 93 community member interviews and
78 leadership interviews were conducted in six communities, for a total of 171
interviews.

In this study, the data from the interviews conducted in three communities will be
used to support the quantitative data, so as to lend a deeper and more comprehensive
understanding of the social aspects that aid in the ability to adapt to changing economic
circumstances, particularly as these were expressed in the words of our own respondents.
Our quantitative data do not readily tell us how people use their social ties and networks
on a daily basis so as to support their chosen way of life. More specifically, it cannot
give in-depth insight into whether women use social network ties differently than men.
The quantitative data, therefore, will be used to present the demographic picture of the
three communities and of the social structures existing within them, while the qualitative
data will be used to provide insight into the actual social processes allowing people to
stay in those communities despite their ongoing economic instability.

**Community member interviews**

The community member interviews were developed in order to collect more in-
depth information about the process of social capital utilization in rural, coastal
communities. While the mail-out survey focused on social structure, such as the
composition of the networks of a representative sample of respondents in a particular
community, the interview questions focused on how those interviewed actually utilized those network ties, and for what purposes. The focus was on how such social ties and activities are related to resilience, both individually and at the community level.

The interview participants were chosen from a sample provided by the mail-out survey. At the end of the survey, we included a question reading “We may be interested in talking with you further about your community. If you would be willing to speak with us, please check here.” The households who completed the survey and checked the provided box were contacted by phone where it was ascertained who from the household had completed the mail-out survey and whether they would be willing to be interviewed. When booking respondents, we attempted to obtain a representative sample in terms of age and gender. Each respondent was then interviewed by a member of our research team. Interviewers used an interview schedule and digital tape recorders to record respondents’ replies. The interviews took, on average, 1.5 to 2 hours to complete.

The interview schedule was created by members of the research team and was pre-tested in one of the 24 communities to ascertain its efficiency. Subsequent to the pre-test, significant revisions were made to the format and content before it was used in the chosen interview communities the following summer.

The content of the community member interview focuses on many aspects of social and economic life. Some of the measures worked better than others. Often, however, the interviewers found the measures attempting to investigate social processes such as personal networks and the informal economy simply did not work the way they were intended. These informal processes are part of the day to day interactions of rural residents, and they do not think of them in the academic terms required to answer formal questions. For instance, when asked to think about how their personal networks benefited them (the process of social capital) or to quantify the informal economy in their lives (who traded what with whom and what such trades were worth), many interviewees expressed they were not able to do so, as this was far too rigid a way to describe an informal process that was just a common, everyday occurrence and a normal, natural part of their lives in their rural communities.

21 For a complete copy of the Community Member Interview Schedule, see Appendix C.
As a result, much of the relevant data on these informal processes were not given in response to the formal questions used to attempt to elicit a quantification of them. Rather, these data were more likely to be contained in responses to other, less formal, questions about how people in rural communities obtained the things that they needed, and how trading networks operated within the community. As such, it was of little use to analyze only the formal questions aimed at these processes. Rather, a more broad analysis of the qualitative data had to be undertaken, searching for key words, phrases and concepts that described the social processes under investigation. The focus was on data that described how these processes worked in these communities; how people formed their social networks and made ties to others in the community, how they used these networks to obtain necessary resources, how they went about “making a living” through various means of non-standard and self-employment and involvement in the informal economy, and how this related to their ability to stay in their communities throughout the ongoing economic instability.

The concept of accountability due to increased visibility within the community either because of a small population or because of social involvement was key to the building of beneficial social networks. Specifically, quotes providing details about how this process of accountability worked within each community, and the benefits and consequences associated with this process, were of particular interest. In many cases, this idea of accountability was linked to the operation of both the formal and the informal economy, and was key to the process of generalized reciprocity, where respondents referred to the practice of giving to others with the understanding it would be reciprocated either to themselves, should they need it, or to someone else in need.

Also closely linked to these concepts of accountability and generalized reciprocity was the importance of trust, and this was another key concept highlighted within the qualitative data. The focus was on the process of building trust, and how social factors such as civic participation, visibility, and accountability were related to the creation and maintenance of trust within the community. Of particular interest were quotes outlining the process by which community members held one another accountable, and thus were found to be trustworthy, and what happened when that trust was broken or breached.
Finally, the qualitative data were analyzed for any gender differences that might exist in these social processes, and particularly, for differences in level of community involvement (e.g., social participation, leadership roles, composition of social networks), as this appears to be the key to the operation of many of these integral social aspects of community. A particular focus was on perceptions of leadership, as the unique operations of most resource-based communities suggests men and women may have very different views on who the leaders of the community are (i.e., formal vs. informal) and these perceptions have an impact on a community’s ability to adapt to ongoing economic instability.

**Community leadership interviews**

The leadership interviews were designed to tap another aspect of social capital within the rural, coastal, communities of British Columbia. As noted in *Chapter 2*, the idea of social capital is premised on the perspective that through our relations with other people, we have access to resources we can draw upon when necessary. However, an important consideration is the type of resources these people might represent, and whether they are both useful and obtainable at the time we need them. Social capital theory (i.e. Lin 2001b) states that certain people will have more resources than others, depending on their position in the social hierarchy. Therefore, ties to these people will represent a greater amount of resources than others who are lower in the hierarchy and thus have fewer resources.

As noted earlier, the Position Generator measure was formulated to investigate ties to resource-rich positions within people’s social networks. We specifically revised the Position Generator measure in the mail-out survey to reflect the positions we felt represented resources within our coastal communities, and thus, enable us to identify the people who hold such resources. It is our contention such people are also, very often, the leaders of the community. As such, they are the people others often come to for help, and are the ones occupying the resource-rich positions within the community. The purpose of the leadership interviews then, was to talk to these people, and get an understanding of their role in their communities. If they are the “holder of the resources” per se, then they are a critical aspect of social capital creation and utilization within their communities.
Another aspect of community leadership derives from the fact that the people in leadership positions are often more educated and informed, both formally in terms of academic status, and informally, in terms of their knowledge about the community and its functioning. As a result of their human capital and their social capital, they tend to have large and diverse social networks, are highly involved in community groups and activities, are well-informed regarding the political life of the community, and also have ties to other communities. They are, therefore, highly insightful people to interview, and are able to present a different picture of the community than other community members.

The participants for the leadership interviews were selected in two ways. Primarily, their names were provided to us by a question in the community member interviews that asked “Can you tell me who you consider to be the leaders in the community. They don’t have to be ‘official’ or elected leaders – just anyone that you think has a leadership role in the community.” We then asked respondents for the leader’s name and his/her role in the community.

Second, we conducted our own research into the leadership of the community in two ways: 1) through observation by the research teams when conducting the community member interviews in the communities; and, 2) through conducting internet research into the different groups and organizations present in the communities, and the people involved in them. Because the communities are, for the most part, fairly small, often the same names would repeatedly occur as ‘leaders’ tend to hold multiple roles in the functioning of their communities.

Once the leaders had been identified, we contacted them by mail in the form of an introductory letter, as unlike the participants for the community member interviews who had filled out the mail-out survey, the majority of the chosen leaders had not had any prior contact with the RCP. In the letter, we provided our contact information and asked them to contact us if they would consent to be interviewed, and also informed them we would be following up by phone if we did not hear from them.

There were two types of leaders identified for the purpose of our investigation: formal leaders and informal leaders. Formal leaders are the individuals who hold titled positions within the political life of the community – mayor, councillor, director, board
member, regional district chair or councillor, and First Nation chief or band councillor. The majority of these positions are elected and represent the official leadership of the community.

Informal leaders, on the other hand, often have no titles, and have significantly less recognition, both outside and inside the community. These are people generally active in the social life of the community – the people who organize and run the social events such as music festivals, craft fairs, carnivals, and farmers markets. These are also the people who run the community centres, the community theatre, music groups and the arts club. These are mainly volunteer positions, yet vitally important to the well-being of the community. Quite simply, these people are the “heart and soul” of the community because without their time and commitment, the all-important social life of the community, relied on by so many in small, rural communities, simply would not exist.

This distinction is sometimes blurred, particularly in small communities where individuals often hold multiple roles. It is entirely possible for an individual to be both a formal and an informal leader, and this is quite common in small communities, given the small population and the fact that people who tend to get involved are involved in more than one area of community life. We were interested in talking to both types of leaders in order to get the most comprehensive picture of the community as possible. Therefore, when choosing whom to interview, we attempted to obtain an even sample of both formal and informal leaders.  

The content of the leadership interviews had a different focus than the community member interviews. Due to their unique position within the community as the people who ‘get things done’ and who are the holders of social resources, we were interested not only in their informed views on their communities as places to live, but also how they used their social ties to make things happen, both for themselves and for their communities. In terms of the measures to be used for this study, the analysis will focus on what led the leaders to get involved in the formal and/or informal activities of their communities, and what benefits accrue from this involvement.

22 Unlike the community member interview schedule, the leadership interview schedule was not pre-tested, due to time and budget limitations.

23 For a complete copy of the Leadership Interview Schedule, see Appendix D.
Interview data collection

For the most part, this study will be utilizing the 35 interviews personally conducted by the author in the three communities that are the focus of this study, although it will draw on interviews conducted by the other interviewers where their information provide either unique insights or confirmation of conclusions. A total of 85 interviews were conducted in the three non-reserve communities that are the subject of this investigation; 47 community member and 38 leadership interviews. In addition, 69 interviews were conducted in the reserve community of Old Masset.

Because the author was planning to use the interview data in this analysis, in the majority of interviews that were conducted, while following the set interview schedule, she particularly focused on gender differences and asked pointed questions in this regard or followed up responses referring to gender issues or differences. These questions were not included on the interview schedules, but they will be used in the data analysis.

In some cases, after the tape recorder was turned off and the interview portion utilizing the written schedule was completed, many interviewees would relax and keep talking, often addressing the very issues most important to this study, which were not discussed with the tape recorder on. While they were talking, the author would either take notes in a research journal or, if this seemed to slow the conversation, commit the conversation to memory and go to a computer or her field journal after the interview and type out or write down the conversation in detail. In some cases where the interview transcripts do not deal with issues to the necessary level of detail, the author will rely on these communications. It was made clear to all interviewees that even though the tape recorder was off, the interviewer was or would be keeping notes, these questions were still part of the formal interview process, and the information would be utilized as such. They were assured all and any information provided during the course of the interview,

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24 The author conducted both sets of interviews in three of the four chosen communities. The author conducted four community member and four leadership interviews in Queen Charlotte City, and three community member and seven leadership interviews in Masset. On Quadra Island, the author conducted five community member interviews, and all twelve of the leadership interviews that were completed there. The fourth community, Old Massett, is a First Nation reserve, and the data were collected in a different format that will be described later in this chapter.

25 The author received permission to add these questions from the investigators at a project meeting where the issue was discussed.
regardless of whether the recorder was on or off, was protected by the confidentiality agreement they had signed at the outset.

Presentation of interview data in text

As confidentiality was a condition of the consent forms signed by each interviewee before the interview commenced, the names of any of those interviewed will not be provided in the text. Each interviewee was assigned a community-specific personal code, and this will be utilized when referring to particular interviewees. Although it is sometimes difficult to disguise identifying information, given the small size of these communities and the fact there is often only one individual in any given position, every effort will be made to ensure interviewees’ privacy is protected.

Old Massett Community Survey Project

This study also utilizes data collected in the Village of Old Massett, a Haida reserve in Haida Gwaii (also known as the Queen Charlotte Islands). As part of a joint research initiative between the Coastal Communities Project (CCP) at the University of British Columbia (UBC) and the Old Massett Village Council (OMVC), the elected governance structure of the Old Massett band, the CCP conducted a community survey aimed at collecting data to aid in the OMVC’s ongoing community strategic planning process. This survey was based on the mail-out survey utilized by the RCP, although it was administered at a different time and in a different way.

The survey instrument was a combination of closed and open-ended questions. The majority of the close-ended questions were taken from the RCP mail-out survey and revised for the reserve context after consultation with several people in Old Massett, including band councillors and OMVC staff members. The open-ended questions were created by a process of consultation over several hours with two elected band councillors, going through the mail-out survey question by question and focusing on the areas in which the council needed and wanted more information from the community. Once again, the schedule was reviewed and revised by CCP investigators as well as Old

26 Community Leader interviews are differentiated from Community Member interviews by the inclusion of a “L” in the second half of the code.
Massett research assistants, councillors and staff members before interviewing commenced in the community.27

The data collection process

The actual interviewing commenced in mid-July of 2005 and continued over a six week period until the end of August. Four research assistants from Old Massett were hired to conduct the interviews. All were post-secondary students living in the community for the summer. This author did not personally conduct any interviews for this project. The method of obtaining agreement to be interviewed was mainly by phone and personal contact, although some door-to-door “cold calling” was attempted. In total, 133 people were contacted in Old Massett, and 51 interviews were conducted over the six week period. Because there are many Haida living in the town of “New” Masset as well as on-reserve in Old Massett, they were included in the sample, and 35 “uptown” Haida were contacted, resulting in 18 interviews, for a total of 69 interviews overall.

While some of the questions from the survey used in Old Massett were similar or identical to questions on the RCP mail-out survey, many are not the same, and the data were not collected in the same way nor at the same time. In addition, the data for Old Massett were collected for a different purpose, as a joint initiative between the CCP and the OMVC to gather data for the Council and community’s use in social and economic planning, and therefore, the majority of the questions are directed toward that goal, and are very community-specific. Because the data were gathered as part of a joint initiative, ownership rests with both parties. The CCP used the raw data to prepare a comprehensive report for the OMVC’s use in the community planning process and that report is the sole property of the OMVC. The CCP maintains control over the use of the raw data and has given permission for it to be used in this study. The author is very grateful to the investigators for allowing her to do so.

The community of Old Massett will therefore be presented as a case study separate from the other three communities. Old Massett represents a community that has been and still is reliant on the resource industry for its economic stability, more so than the other three communities in this study. In part because of this dependence, the

27 For a complete copy of the Old Massett Community Survey interview schedule, see Appendix E.
community is experiencing considerable unemployment and uncertainty as the resource industry has declined and as land claims to the resource-rich territory have stalled any economic development plans until ownership is determined. Combined with its reserve status, Old Massett therefore represents a unique opportunity to study how social factors contribute to resilience within an entirely different population, a First Nation reserve.

**Why Old Massett and not Skidegate and Cape Mudge as well?**

Old Massett is a reserve located very close geographically to the non-reserve community of Masset. As noted in Chapter 4, the communities of Quadra Island and Charlotte also have First Nation reserves located within close proximity, yet neither of these two communities are included in this study. It could certainly be argued that in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the social functioning of these communities, this study should include data from Cape Mudge and Skidegate as well as Old Massett.

Where possible and relevant, this study does incorporate quantitative data on these two reserve communities obtained from Statistics Canada and BC Stats. However, no concentrated study was conducted in either of these communities. The community leadership interviews conducted for the Resilient Communities Project do include four interviews with members of the Skidegate Band, but no Cape Mudge residents were interviewed.

Therefore, the reason Old Massett is included while Skidegate and Cape Mudge are not is because the Old Massett Band Council requested the Coastal Communities Project conduct a community survey for them to aid in their strategic planning process. Since the author was the research coordinator for that study, and because the data collected for that study represent a rare and unique opportunity to conduct a case study of the social factors within a reserve community, it was decided to include the Old Massett data, making note of the limitations of comparison with the other three communities due to the different research methodology.

A second reason is the data for this study were collected within the funding parameters of the Resilient Communities Project and the Coastal Communities Project. As Cape Mudge and Skidegate were not chosen as interview communities for the RCP
nor included in any CCP projects, no funding was provided for further study to be done in these two communities.

**How the data will be used**

The data from the Old Massett Community Survey will be used to present a demographic picture of the community, using similar dimensions to the RCP data, but with a view to understanding the unique circumstances with which this community is dealing, and the operation of gender and social capital within this context. As mentioned earlier, neither the RCP interviews with community members or the leadership interviews were conducted in Old Massett; as a result, there are less data available on this community than for the other three. However, given the rare opportunity to explore the operation of social capital within this environment, it is worth dealing with limited data in order to gain knowledge and understanding in this context.

In Old Massett, there was a large gender discrepancy in interview respondents, with 70.6 percent of the interviewees being female and only 25 percent being male (4.4% missing data). This was due to a number of reasons, including that the interviews were conducted during the prime food gathering season, and many of the men were out of town fishing and crabbing. In addition, all four of the research assistants in Old Massett were female, as we were unable to find a male post-secondary student to work on the project, and several potential subjects were not comfortable being interviewed by a female. Finally, the research assistants themselves reported that, in general, the men they approached were less willing to cooperate. It was their belief the men were more suspicious of the purposes of the interview, and also there were some literacy issues that affected the men to a greater extent than the women. Due to this discrepancy, any gender comparisons undertaken with these data must be carefully qualified, as there is not equal representation from both sexes in the data.

**Explanation of data**

The Old Massett Community Survey contained several of the same Likert-scale questions used in the RCP mail-out survey. However, in order to obtain a greater understanding of the responses, follow-up questions were asked after the response was given on the Likert-scale measure. As a result, in many instances, the Old Massett
Community Survey provides both quantitative and qualitative data for the same measures, which is not the case with the RCP mail-out survey.

Many of the perceptions of community, identification and commitment measures are identical to the RCP mail-out survey and thus some limited comparison can be made. The majority of the trust measures are also the same, although some were revised for use within Old Massett. The formal social activities scale was revised to include specific groups existing within Old Massett, as was the informal social activities measure.

A version of the Position Generator measure was included in the Old Massett Community Survey, although it was extensively revised to be relevant to the reserve context. It included a total of 26 positions, as compared to the 18 that comprised the RCP Position Generator, and all 26 were used in the analysis, whereas the analysis on the RCP Position Generator only included the 12 positions theorized to hold the greatest amount of resources in the community. Thus, the number of potential ties to resource-rich positions for Old Massett residents was considerably higher than for the other three communities.

Given Old Massett’s continuing attachment to the resource industry, and its complex leadership structure, well over half of the positions on the revised Position Generator were related to the resource industry or to the leadership structures of the community. In addition, the majority were economic and formal leadership positions as opposed to social, informal positions. As the resource-industry remains a male-dominated area, and as the formal and economic leadership of Old Massett is still disproportionately male, this translates into 16 out of the 26 positions on the revised Position Generator most likely filled by men, thus considerably reducing the number of potential ties for women.

The Old Massett Community Survey included a unique measure focusing on traditional skills, which were defined as “knowledge about traditional activities such as fishing and food-gathering, or cultural knowledge such as customs and conventions.” The respondents were presented with a list of traditional skills; if they indicated they had a particular skill, they were then asked about from whom they had learned it. The listed skills were:
- Artistic skills (e.g., weaving, carving, painting, button blanket-making)
- Canning and/or preserving
- Cedar bark gathering and/or spruce root gathering
- Cultural expression (e.g. dancing, singing)
- Cultural knowledge (e.g. stories, traditions, customs)
- Family/clan history
- Fishing
- Food gathering (e.g., berries, mushrooms, clams, crabs)
- Hunting and trapping
- Medicine gathering, plant gathering
- Medicine preparation
- Traditional food preparation techniques, cutting

The results from this question were used to gauge the prevalence of activities closely related to the informal economy, and thus to resilience. This study investigates the idea that residents of a community who are tied into traditional knowledge through their reciprocal social networks and are able to provide for themselves in this way are more likely to be able to adapt to economic decline. It will also investigate any gender differences in these activities, both in terms of type of traditional activities engaged in, and extent of traditional knowledge utilized.

As with the RCP community member and leadership interviews, qualitative data analysis on the Old Massett interview data consisted of reading through the transcripts and looking for key words, phrases, and descriptions and examples of social processes at work in the community relating to the social dimensions under investigation here. The focus was on relating these social processes to the considerably different operation of a First Nation reserve community, and the role they play in that community’s ability to adapt to ongoing economic instability.
CHAPTER FOUR

Community Descriptions: Quadra and Charlotte

*Interviewer:* How would you describe this place?

*Interviewee:* Beautiful, like it’s one of the few places left on earth where you can still walk on a beach and be the only person, so [it’s] Mother Earth’s playland. If you like a more simple life that focuses on quality of life rather than quantity, where there’s not a lot of money and high unemployment, then this is the place. (MAS Interview 187, Female).

The above quote from a resident of the Haida Gwaii reflects the feelings of many of the people interviewed in the four communities that are the focus of this investigation. It underscores the core argument of this investigation: for the people of these communities, economic factors are not necessarily the most important determinant of their ability to adapt to their changing circumstances.

It cannot be assumed, however, despite their similar circumstances, that the social and economic situation in all four communities is identical, nor that the residents of these communities are facing these circumstances in the same way. Each of these communities has its own unique history that influences its current functioning, and also contributes to the way its residents respond to the ongoing economic instability.

The purpose of the next two chapters, therefore, is to give a historical summary of each community, showing how this history is significant to the current situation by the way it has shaped each community and its residents both socially and economically. In addition, some of the sociologically significant aspects of each community will be explored and explained. Data will be drawn from many sources, including historical and recent publications, Statistics Canada, B.C. Stats, the RCP mail-out survey, and the community and leadership interviews. The goal is to provide a comprehensive framework of the social and economic factors both past and present that influence how each community operates, in order to give a solid foundation for the gender analyses in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10.
Quadra Island – A Community Divided

...I don’t think there is anything that would take me away from Quadra. Unless...it starts sinking, or a huge earthquake, or almost something – a force of nature (QUA Interview 046, Female).

Respondent: ...I mean we have labels flying all over the place. Like the greenies and the antis and the cave people.
Interviewer: Cave people?
Respondent: Concerned citizens against virtually everything (QUA Interview 053, Male).

Interviewer: It seems that no matter what you do on this Island a lot of people are going to object to it. So you can’t let that stop you.
Respondent: If I had let it stop me every time I would have just given up, you know, fifteen years ago (QUA Interview 001, Male).

Quadra Island is located between Vancouver Island on the west and mainland B.C. on the east. It is accessed by a 20 minute ferry ride from Campbell River (population 30,000) on Vancouver Island. Quadra, therefore, while rural, cannot be considered isolated, mainly due to its close proximity to all major services and amenities.

Quadra Island has three small communities; Quathiaski Cove, Heriot Bay and Cape Mudge, which is the home of the We Wai Kai Band of the Lekwiltok First Nation. These communities, however, do not have distinct boundaries; while residence on the island is concentrated in these areas, it is not limited to them. The population of Quadra Island was 2,599 in 2001, although there are many residents on the island who live there only seasonally, as increasingly it is becoming a popular place for summer and retirement homes (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca).

Like many communities on the coast, the economic structure on Quadra Island has changed significantly over the past 50 years, and the resource industry is no longer the dominant economic base. Census data show in 1986 and 1991, only 18% of the working population was employed in primary industries, which decreased to 13% in 2001. However, according to the 2001 Census, this represents the highest percentage of employment by industry on Quadra Island and signifies, for the most part, the number of people who work at the Walcan fish processing plant, the largest employer on the Island. While Quadra Island’s economy appears to be quite diversified, with Census data
showing employment is spread fairly equally across the other industry categories, the reality is that the majority of employed residents commute to work on the ferry into Campbell River. Unemployment rates for Quadra Island remained stable from 1986 to 2001, hovering around 9%, which is lower than the 2001 unemployment rate of 12% for the Comox-Strathcona Regional District (of which it is a part) but higher than the B.C. average of 8.5% (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Population and Housing, www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca)

Quadra Island has a rich and colourful history that still influences the relations of its residents today. The divisions that characterize its current functioning can be traced as far back as 1850, when the peaceful Salish people of Cape Mudge on the south tip of the island were driven out by the invading Lekwiltok, who then acted as pirates of the sea, demanding toll or loot from all who travelled past their oceanside villages (Anderson 1976: 10-11). This continued until an ill-considered attack on Fort Langley decimated their numbers, followed by small pox, which all but destroyed them.

After the initial discovery of Quadra Island (originally called Valdes Island) in 1792 by Captains Vancouver and Galiano, the first white men to live on Quadra did not arrive until the mid-1880s. These men were explorers and traders, there mainly to trade with the Indians. Colonists began arriving in the late 1880s, followed by large lumber companies that set up logging camps throughout the island. Anderson (1976) notes:

_Quadra Island was called a logger’s paradise in the days of the first settlers. Timber grew down to the shoreline and there were numerous sheltered bays where logs could be skidded away to the smooth waters to be boomed and towed away. There was little or no underbrush to battle between the huge trees that were five and six feet in diameter (14)._  

The expansion of logging on the island created access roads into the interior, encouraging settlers and homesteaders to clear farmland and set up services for the many logging camps. Gold and copper ore were also discovered on Quadra around this time, and several mines were established. Anderson notes while many came to Quadra to work in the logging and mining camps, some stayed on after the camps closed and became permanent settlers. She notes,
Here, among the giant firs, they built their log cabins, cleared their land and farmed, fished in the lakes and sea, and hunted the abundant game in a poor man’s paradise (1976: 15).

Jeanette Taylor, author of River City, A History of Campbell River and the Discovery Islands (1999), notes that the early economy of the Island was based mainly on logging and commercial fishing, led by the Cape Mudge Indian fishing fleet (Interview March 2005).28 The first cannery was built on Quadra Island in 1904, and through the years burned down and was rebuilt and closed down and sold to new management, finally closing for good in 1941 after yet another fire (Anderson 1976). A fish packing plant still continues to operate on Quadra Island, now locally owned, and is the single largest employer on the island.

While initially opposing the new settlements, the Lekwiltok elders soon realized the white settlers were there to stay and their people’s survival depended on learning the new ways and skills of the non-native settlers. Having discarded their roaming and raiding ways for a more permanent and peaceful settlement at Cape Mudge, they accepted missionaries and schoolteachers into their community. Their attachment to their traditional practices was strong, however, and despite continued attempts by Indian Agents and missionaries, they continued to potlatch and dance and maintain their traditional language and culture (Anderson 1976).

This time period, from the early to mid-1900s, was probably the most peaceful in the history of Quadra Island, as the resource industry provided jobs and a good living for the residents. By 1920, the white population of Quadra Island, located mainly in Heriot Bay and Quathiaski Cove, had grown considerably, as had the Indian population at Cape Mudge. The Depression then sounded the death knell for the economic boom on Quadra Island. The majority of the logging camps closed down, as did the cannery at Quathiaski Cove, which burned down in 1941 (Anderson 1976).

28 Jeanette Taylor was interviewed in her position as Quadra Island historian and former Campbell River Museum curator on March 18, 2005. She is the author of River City, A History of Campbell River and the Discovery Islands (1999) and has produced two videos for the Campbell River Museum and Archives entitled Silent Partners: A history of the Women of Northern Vancouver Island to 1920 and The Women of Northern Vancouver Island 1915-1945. The author obtained her written permission to use the information from the interview of March 18, 2005 with her name in this study.
Anderson notes while times were hard, living conditions were inexpensive on Quadra, and the island attracted many unemployed resource industry workers who lived in shacks and ate off the land (1976: 65-66). She notes,

*Deer were still plentiful on the island, and most residents, risking a fine, canned venison to tide them over the winter. There were plenty of clams and oysters, and almost everyone raised vegetables and fruit. It was the lack of cash for clothing, school supplies, and rent or upkeep on house and boats that caused distress* (1976: 66).

As a result of the shared hardship, Anderson states, islanders became a close-knit group, holding dances and parties where everyone brought what they had and shared. She notes,

*Community dances at the hall involved whole families, from grandparents to small children and both the white and Indian populations. Medleys...were always included among the dances and successfully integrated old and young, Indian and white* (Anderson 1976: 68).

The Second World War brought the end of the Depression, and in 1946, the first scheduled ferry service (passenger only) to Quadra Island commenced. In 1949, Quadra Island became one of the first communities in B.C. to integrate First Nation and white children in school. The 1950s saw the development of Campbell River and the lack of industry on Quadra drove many islanders to commute there to work, a trend that continues to this day. The 1950s also heralded the beginning of the tourist trade on Quadra, aided by the launch of a new car ferry to the island, on a regular schedule. This influx of new people was not welcomed by the locals. Anderson notes,

*Their contention was that an influx of tourists and summer vacationers to the island’s seaside and wilderness lake areas was not the way to maintain their island as a refuge from the complex and tension-filled world* (1976: 82).

An even less welcome group of people followed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, who, unlike the tourists, did not leave again after a few days. Their arrival heralded the beginning of the “colourful” divisions on Quadra Island. Taylor, in her book *River City* (1999), notes,

*There were essentially two types of people in the movement – peace-loving idealists who...wanted to take the best ideas of the olden times and bring them up into the fresh new world, and those who simply wanted a good time, at a safe distance from the mores and soap suds of their parents’ generation. But long-time residents of this “coastal paradise” saw no virtues, style or integrity in either type of long-haired youth. By the early 1970s the words “dirty,” “filthy,” and “lazy” were synonymous with “hippies”* (184).
These newcomers endorsed communal living, non-aggression, a rejection of materialism and a wish for freedom. Many were disenfranchised university graduates from the United States looking for greater tolerance and sympathy for their views. This is not exactly what they found on Quadra Island, still largely inhabited by loggers and fishermen and their families, who saw them as a threat to their established way of life. Taylor notes the arrival of the “back to the landers” resulted in tension. She states,

*By then you had second and third generation families who were “bushed” – they hadn’t really seen too much of the outside world, they had not a first-class education because they came out of a one-room school situation with teachers that changed every year and weren’t much older than 18 or 19…their views were pretty narrow and their world perspective was very narrow and here comes these people who were from California and all over the place and many of them had been very well-educated and were very counter-cultural and the clashing was huge* (Interview March 2005).

In *River City*, Taylor describes the culmination of these culture clashes, which reverberated across the country and are still felt to this day on Quadra Island, where nearly every islander has a version of this story to tell, with each version clearly reflecting the views of the teller…

*In the hottest part of the summer of 1975, several transient youths were routed out of their makeshift shelters on an abandoned homestead on Quadra Island by a group the Courier described as “vigilantes.” After pushing over the flimsy shelters, Sam Hooley recalls that “a few young bucks” hung nooses in the trees as an aggressive warning to the hippies to stay away* (1999: 189).

Unfortunately for Sam Hooley, then the Regional Director for Quadra Island, a local newspaper reporter got wind of what was going on and rushed over to take a picture of him standing next to the three nooses hanging from a tree branch, hard hat on head and lit cigarette in hand. The story was picked up by the national press. Taylor notes,

*When the story of the nooses hit national television, the incident took on a much larger meaning. Sam Hooley, who had been part of the crowd ousting the squatters, got a call from a sister living in Winnipeg: “Sam, what the hell are you people doing out there!”* (1999: 189)

The negative attention to Hooley and his band of “rednecks” as they were then branded, served as a catalyst for improved relations between the two groups, as the erstwhile vigilantes attempted to prove “they were not like they were portrayed on television” (Taylor 1999: 189).
A Quadra Island interviewee takes up the story where Taylor left off. He notes,

*When I arrived here...I mean I had hair half down my back and there was the rednecks and they hated the hippies. You know the funny thing is once they saw you working, they may not have really totally appreciated you but they would then help you because you were working. They did encourage you as long as you didn’t try to impact on to them. You know, we were, when we arrived that whole flux, seen as a threat to their lifestyle. And once they got past that, we got past it...you know it was a two way street, things were actually pretty good (QUA Interview 053, Male).*

However, while relations did improve, the divisions did not completely disappear. The lifestyle offered by Quadra Island continued to attract well-educated, and now more well-off, residents who were heavily engaged in environmental causes and whose beliefs frequently came in direct opposition to those who still made their living from the resource industry on the island. Dubbed the “greens”, they were not afraid to invest their time and resources to fight for what they felt was right. Thus began the now long-established division between the “reds” and the “greens” on Quadra Island.

In 1970, regional and community planning and the decision to impose land use controls on Quadra Island alarmed many of the locals. However, the final straw for the independent islanders was when the Regional District attempted to apply the building code to Quadra Island. Anderson states,

*Sixty residents chartered two buses and travelled to Courtenay to appear before the Regional Board and protest the motion. To quote Sam Hooley, a long-time representative of Quadra on the Regional Board, ‘When you try to put a saddle on an Islander, you’ve got trouble’” (1976: 82).*

The building code imposition was abandoned as a result. And while Quadra Island has since had to comply with the BC Building Code, it does not have, and never has had, building inspections, one of only two electoral areas in the entire province that does not. When the current Quadra Island Regional District Director was continuously pressured by the District to take it to community referendum, the answer came back loud and clear: 724 *against* and 23 in favour of the institution of building inspections (QUA Interview 001, Male). However, this resounding accord was short-lived, and land use planning continues to be a hot button issue on Quadra Island, with the two separate camps firmly entrenched. Whatever one group favours, the other group is automatically against. Woe to anyone who attempts to bring development to the Island in terms of affordable
housing, a golf course, or even a unified sewer system – community meetings become an outlet for personal attacks and very little is accomplished.

While they cannot agree on the best use for public land, the one thing everyone, regardless of the colour of their label, categorically states is they do not want to be told what they can and cannot do on their own land. According to one interviewee, the unique thing about Quadra Island is this is already the case, although many people can’t seem to realize it and are constantly wary of the possibility of Regional District interference. He notes,

*This is what really upsets me is that everybody, including myself, do what we want on our own property. What I’ve told people for years is, if you’re doing something on your property that you know, you just know your neighbour is going to be pissed off about, don’t let him see it. Put up a fence, you know. Do it in the backside of your property instead of the front. Don’t get in people’s face* (QUA Interview 001, Male).

Taylor notes the descendents of many of the early settlers still live on Quadra Island, and maintain their connections to the resource-industry, and the accompanying mindset that “trees and fish are for selling, not for protecting.” These “old timer” residents are a tightly-knit group who hold very specific views of the kind of place they want the Island to be, which are often in direct opposition to the views and needs of newer residents (Interview March 2005). A Quadra Island leader notes they are not shy about expressing those views. He states,

...*a lot of the old timers are great to deal with. Some of the old timers are just hell to deal with and some of them have a lot of time on their hands, spend a lot of time in the coffee shops, spend a lot of time spreading rumours at the bar. They come to the meetings totally pissed sometimes and just cause trouble* (QUA Interview 001, Male).

The problem, he states, is sometimes these voices are the only ones being heard. He notes, 

*A lot of the well-educated, intelligent, well-read people...also don’t get involved. They just live their life as if it’s the only one on the Island and they know stuff is going on around them but they don’t get involved. And it’s really unfortunate because they’re very, very well spoken, reasonable people. And if they were to come to meetings more often and speak up I think things would calm down a lot on the island* (QUA Interview 001, Male).
The people he refers to are the young professionals building their summer homes or dream homes from which they can now work, thanks to an increasingly global economy. Another influx has been the wealthy baby boomers building their retirement homes. There has been controversy over these newcomers. Many accuse them of having driven the land value prices up astronomically and thus changed the demographics of the community. A common complaint is the land is no longer affordable for young couples with children, and elementary school enrolment has dropped significantly in the past few years. Others say the price of land would have gone up regardless, as it has in all the communities along B.C.’s south coast, and it is a good thing for the community so many older people are moving to Quadra. As one interviewee noted, “They have time and they want to live in this kind of a community so therefore they’re going to get involved to make sure it stays the kind of community that attracted them in the first place” (QUA Interview 001, Male).

In terms of First Nation involvement in the community, unlike in the early days when the two groups were well integrated, Taylor notes such involvement is now fairly limited, and has been since regular ferry service was established to Campbell River (Interview March 2005). The once prosperous Cape Mudge fishing fleet was decimated by the failure of the fisheries and government boat buy-back schemes. According to government statistics, as of January 2006, the population of the Cape Mudge Reserve was 332 (http://sdiprod2.inac.gc.ca/fnprofiles/ Retrieved February 26, 2006), up considerably from 190 in 1996. The 1996 Census data show an unemployment rate of 43.8% for Cape Mudge Reserve, more than 4 times the unemployment rate of 10% for Quadra Island. Employment by industry statistics show Cape Mudge is still reliant on the resource industry, with 25% of the working population employed in fishing. The other main source of employment is government services at 25%, no doubt representing Band employees (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca). The Band also owns and operates the up-scale Tsaw-kwa-luten Resort and Conference Centre which is open from early May to mid-October.

When asked whether the Cape Mudge First Nations played an important role in community planning and decision-making, a Quadra Island leader noted while he believed there was a good relationship between the Regional Director and the Cape
Mudge Band, they were not as involved as the Regional District would like because of the possible effect the band’s involvement could have on their ongoing land treaty process and quest for self-government (QUA Interview 001, Male).

Taylor states this degree of separation goes beyond just the formal political level,

\textit{Even though the kids are going to the same school and they know each other, there is still a separation and I think the native people choose that. There are people on Quadra who say, “Oh, we wish that the First Nations people would be involved in the May Day Parade and we wish they would come out and participate in things.” Well, they don’t want to and it’s a way that they preserve their culture. If they just started blending in with all the things we do, they have more to lose. I remember one elderly native woman saying to me, which I think to some extent still applies – she said, “I have never had a problem with white people, no problem at all, I just stay away from them.”} (Interview March 2005)

Both Taylor and the community leader noted the First Nations tend to stay out of the community conflicts unless they have a direct effect on the Band.

The Resilient Communities Project data from the non-reserve population also support these views. When asked to indicate which activities they had participated in over the past 30 days, only 6% of respondents noted they had participated in a First Nation ceremonial activity, and only 5% noted they had participated in a First Nation cultural or social activity.

Quadra respondents are split on the social role of Cape Mudge leaders, with more disagreeing than agreeing they play an important social role (Table 4.1). However, respondents are in agreement over their economic importance, with two-thirds agreeing First Nation groups are important to the community’s economic well-being and using their culture and history is a good way to promote economic development. Therefore, while it appears their social importance is seen as negligible, the First Nations’ potential economic contribution to the community is acknowledged.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
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<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>27</td>
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</table>

Taylor notes community conflicts will continue because of the fundamental differences between these groups in all but one aspect. She states,

...in both camps, in all three camps, who you have are rebels who have moved away from mainstream society for somewhat different reasons but they share that in common and so they are fighters and feisty and have different perspectives on what they need to have happening within their community in order to maintain their lifestyle and that’s where their conflicts arise – and because they are feisty fighters who are determined, distinct individuals, they are going to go at it, and they are never going to agree because the older group...want the logging to continue, they want sub-division and multi-lot development because their jobs lie there.

...[then] you’ve got the whole crowd of people who are very outspoken, some of whom are not working full-time so they have more time to be able to commit to a cause, who are determined that not a tree shall fall...

Where their common ground is, is the kind of person that they are, even though they have different values, and different economic and social needs, their only connection is their sort of rebel quality (Interview March 2005).

Taylor is not alone in this view. In 1974, then minister Ron Atkinson wrote in the Quadra Island newspaper,

An islander is different from a mainlander. There is an island temperament. The true islander prefers being somewhat removed from the mainstream of society. He treasures detachment and insularity. He doesn’t “go over” more than he needs. The islander desires two things: solitude and simplicity” (quoted in Anderson 1976: 83).

Quantitative data

Sociologically speaking, on the surface, Quadra Island appears to have abundant stocks of social capital and high levels of commitment to community. In the RCP mail-out survey, Quadra Island had the highest response rate of all 24 communities at 74%. 

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This rate, combined with the results from the mail-out survey, led to the decision to choose Quadra Island as one of the RCP interview communities, as an example of a resilient community doing well both economically and socially.

The results from the mail-out belie the deeply-entrenched, fundamental differences dividing the residents into three disparate groups. These differences were only discovered during the interview process, and were a surprise to the interviewers, who were expecting a very different social climate on Quadra Island. This underscores the importance of investigating both the structure and the process of social capital in order to understand how it operates in communities.

**Demographics**

Quadra Island has the highest average age, the lowest level of employment by others, and the highest percentage of respondents not working or laid off of all non-reserve communities (*Table 4.2*). In addition, Quadra respondents have the highest level of educational attainment. This reflects the extent to which Quadra has become a retirement community for mainly middle class and wealthy baby boomers.

*Table 4.2 - Quadra Island Demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quadra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed (part-time or full-time)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others (part-time or full-time)</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working or laid off</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence – 11 or more years</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence – 30 or more years</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – some university</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – BA</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – MA</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – Ph.D.</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Income**

The average individual income of Quadra respondents was $20,000-$29,000 per year, while average household income was $40,000-$49,000 per year. This was the second highest individual and household income in the non-reserve sample. Sixty-two percent of respondents reported receiving income from personal investments, work pension and CPP, OAS and GIS (Table 4.3), by far the highest in the sample, giving further support to the contention Quadra Island has become a retirement community.

**Table 4.3 – Quadra Sources of Income**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Satisfaction and identification with community**

When asked to respond to the question “I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live,” 96% of Quadra respondents noted they agreed. In response to the statement “I would move away from this community if a good job came up somewhere else,” 71% of respondents disagreed and this result did not change when controlled for age (i.e., <65). For a community of such deep and long-standing divisions, these are very high levels of satisfaction and commitment; obviously, there is something Quadra respondents agree on. Quadra respondents showed the highest levels of community satisfaction in the non-reserve sample.
In terms of identification with community, Quadra respondents show uniformly positive ratings and a high level of agreement (Table 4.4), once again the highest in the non-reserve sample. The only two dimensions on which there was disagreement was on the ratings of degree of isolation and quality of health care. These ambiguous ratings regarding health care on Quadra are notable, given that all of the other ratings were uniformly positive, except for the rating of employment opportunities. Health care on Quadra is an emerging issue as the number of retirees grows and the demands for better services increases. While there is a medical clinic on Quadra, and two full-time doctors, there is no hospital and no long-term care facilities. Seniors with severe medical issues have little option but to move to a larger center. Medical emergencies on Quadra can also be problematic; if the ferry is on the other side of the crossing, the ambulance is forced to wait at the dock for its return before taking the patient to the hospital in Campbell River. At night, the ferry docks at Quadra with the ambulance and crew on board should any emergencies arise, but the size and rural nature of Quadra (many islanders still refuse to use house numbers) tend to make it very difficult for situations to be dealt with expeditiously.

Table 4.4 – Quadra Community Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This measure asked respondents to rate their community on a variety of items, marking a 5 point scale to circle the number from 1 to 5 which came the closest to how they felt about their community. For example, good place to raise kids would be 5 while poor place to raise kids would be 1. I have presented the percentages that correspond to each number on the scale but have collapsed the five categories into three.
While all respondents in the non-reserve sample disagreed their fellow residents have a weak sense of community, respondents from Quadra disagreed to the greatest extent (Table 4.5). As to the effect of outside forces on the community, Quadra respondents discounted this to the greatest degree in the non-reserve sample, which is perhaps not surprising, given the ongoing battle over resources in Haida Gwaii between government, resource industry proponents, environmental interests, First Nation residents and non First Nation residents. Somewhat surprisingly, given its low rate of employment by others and high number of respondents who are laid off or not working, more than half of Quadra respondents indicated their community was doing well economically as compared to other communities on the coast. Once again, this reflects Quadra’s rapidly growing retirement population.

While the majority of respondents in the non-reserve sample agreed First Nation groups are important to economic well-being, Quadra respondents show the lowest level of agreement (Table 4.5). Given the First Nation communities of Skidegate and Old Massett are both geographically and economically closer to Charlotte and New Masset than is Cape Mudge to the communities on Quadra Island, it follows they are seen to play a bigger role economically.

Table 4.5 – Quadra Community Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quadra Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                                                                 | Agree | Neutral | Disagree |%
| People in this community have a weak sense of community.        | 7     | 4       | 89       |
| It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.  | 8     | 15      | 77       |
| The future of this community depends more on what happens outside the community than inside it. | 38    | 15      | 47       |
| Compared to other communities on the BC coast, this community is doing pretty well economically. | 52    | 30      | 18       |
| First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being. | 63    | 24      | 13       |
| Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community. | 64    | 27      | 9        |
Quadra Island was very similar to the other non-reserve communities in perceptions of leadership, despite the existing differences in governance structures.\textsuperscript{30} For the most part, the majority of respondents rated their leaders relatively highly, although one-third of respondents noted there were partisan politics in their communities, and expressed doubt in their business leaders’ ability to create new economic opportunities (Table 4.6). The measure on which the respondents from the three non-reserve communities diverge regards the social importance of First Nation leaders; on this measure, Quadra respondents showed the lowest level of agreement. This result is consistent with the greater geographical and social distance between Quadra Islanders and Cape Mudge residents as opposed to the First Nation and non-First Nation communities on Haida Gwaii.

\textit{Table 4.6 – Quadra Leadership Measures}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quadra Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me don’t have any say about what the political</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaders in this community do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community generally represent</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the interests of a few powerful groups.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community are creating new economic</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opportunities here.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role in its social life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Social participation}

Similar to the other non-reserve communities, the highest level of participation by Quadra respondents was in sports or recreation groups, followed by artistic or craft/hobby groups (Table 4.7). These statistics confirm the importance of the arts, where over one-third of respondents were involved in some form of artistic activity. However, the other

\textsuperscript{30} Quadra has no incorporated communities and the entire island is represented by one regional district councillor; Charlotte was unincorporated and governed by a management committee at the time of this study; and Masset is an incorporated community with mayor and council.
communities showed a higher degree of participation in work-related groups than Quadra respondents, no doubt due to the lower rate of employment on Quadra. Quadra respondents, however, show a higher rate of involvement in environmental groups than the other non-reserve communities.

Table 4.7 – Quadra Social Participation by Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Activities</th>
<th>Quadra Respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spiritual or religious</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% that volunteer</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust

Quadra respondents indicate high levels of generalized trust, with a full three-quarters agreeing most people can be trusted. However, they are not as united on the second measure, with one-third of respondents indicating you can’t be too careful in dealing with people (Table 4.8). Regardless, Quadra respondents show the highest levels of generalized trust in the non-reserve sample.

Table 4.8 – Quadra Generalized Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the generalized community trust section, where we might expect to see some interesting results given the deep divisions in the community, the results from this measure do not reflect the qualitative data, with residents expressing high levels of generalized community trust (Table 4.9). The only indication of the complexity of the
situation was in the response to “There are groups in this community that I do not trust” where close to half of the respondents agreed and only one-third disagreed. Despite the divisions on Quadra Island, their trust scores are the highest of the non-reserve sample. This high level of agreement suggests even though many Quadra residents do not agree on important issues, it does not effect the trust they put in other residents.

Table 4.9 - Quadra Generalized Community Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try and take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the measures of social/institutional trust, Quadra respondents indicate high levels of trust for young people, police, community leaders and business leaders. Lower levels of trust were expressed for First Nation leaders and politicians, where a high percentage of respondents chose to stay neutral rather than commit to an answer (Table 4.10). Compared to the other non-reserve communities, Quadra residents show the highest levels of trust in all categories. Interestingly, Quadra respondents indicate higher levels of trust for First Nation leaders than do the other communities. This is notable because, as stated earlier, the residents of Quadra are separated both geographically and socially from the First Nation residents of Cape Mudge. The data supports this separation: only 6% of Quadra respondents had participated in a First Nation ceremonial activity in the past 30 days, compared to 26% in the other communities; and only 5% of Quadra respondents had participated in a First Nation cultural or social activity in the past 30 days, compared 28% in the other communities.
In addition, on previous measures, such as responses to *The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life*, only 26% of Quadra respondents agreed as compared to 61% in the other non-reserve communities. In response to *First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being*, 63% of Quadra respondents agreed as compared to 78% in the other non-reserve communities. Therefore, it appears even though Quadra respondents have less contact with the First Nation residents on the island, and don’t believe their leaders play an important role in its social life, they still indicate they trust them to a greater extent than the residents of Charlotte and New Masset, whose communities are situated much closer to the First Nation communities and who have considerably more contact with them.

**Table 4.10 - Quadra Social/Institutional Trust Measures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The politicians who represent this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary**

Quadra Island is a community divided, in more than one way. Socially, there is a divide between those who hold strong views on environmental preservation and sustainability, and those who make their living off the land. There is also a divide between those residents who have lived there for long lengths of time, and the relative newcomers, mainly retirees and summer residents. The first group are often highly committed to and involved in the community, and have deeply entrenched opinions on
governance and development, while the other group is looking for a particular lifestyle, and have certain requirements to achieve this.

Economically, there are also divisions on Quadra. The newcomers, the summer residents and the retirees, are buying up most of the remaining waterfront properties, and building large and expensive homes. These residents are in a different economic class from many of the other residents of Quadra, who either commute to work in Campbell River or make their living from the resource industry or off the land, and there is tension over the perception the newcomers are driving up the land prices on Quadra and putting it out of reach of the “average” citizen, and particularly the children of long-time Quadra Islanders who wish to buy land and live there as well. Given that 60% of respondents to the mail-out survey reported making $20,000 or less per year while only 10% are making $60,000 or more, it is understandable tensions might exist between the two disparate groups who have very different ideas of life on the island.

Quadra Island has long since overcome its resource dependency, and there is no major industry on the island. The biggest employer is Walcan Seafood, which employs 150 people year round and up to 185 on a seasonal basis (Bill Pirie, Walcan Owner, E-mail May 23, 2006). The main source of income for those that work on the island is the tourist industry, but once again, residents are divided over how much tourism is a good thing, with some wanting to promote it to increase revenues and others wanting to keep it to a minimum to protect their quiet lifestyle and pristine environment.

What makes Quadra so unique is virtually none of these tensions appear in the quantitative data from the mail-out survey. In terms of community satisfaction, 96% of Quadra respondents stated they were satisfied with their community as a place to live, by far the highest level in the study. Seventy-one percent of Quadra respondents stated they would not move away if a good job came up somewhere else, the highest level of commitment in the study. Quadra respondents had the most positive community ratings, and the highest levels of trust, both general and specific. The only area where Quadra respondents were less positive than the other non-reserve communities was in their relationship with First Nation peoples on the Island, but given their geographical separation and lack of integration, this is not surprising.
Regarding its sociological significance, therefore, Quadra Island provides a unique setting for investigating the operation of social capital within a deeply divided community. At a structural level, it appears to be a healthy and vibrant community exhibiting high levels of commitment, satisfaction and trust, as well as uniformly positive community ratings, but social processes show the continuing influence of a history of intolerance and social division, and the inability of residents to move past deeply entrenched differences. The focus here will be on how social capital operates within such a divided community; and specifically on the role of women in promoting resilience and adaptation in this situation.

Haida Gwaii (Islands of the People)

Also known as Xhaaidlagha Gwaayaai (Islands at the Boundary of the World)

Haida Gwaii. Haida homeland. Of all the places on Canada’s extraordinary West Coast, there is nowhere more beguiling, more hypnotic, more intoxicating and infuriating and enigmatic, more ineffable, than Haida Gwaii.

Storms, be they natural or political, are never long out of the forecast. And the people of Haida Gwaii, be they the Haida, or those who came after them, seldom stray far from the storm’s powerful eye. There is a potency to the place and the people that doesn’t exist anywhere else.

The voices here are loud, the characters vividly drawn, the wildlife abundant and at times exotic, the geography surreal, the history bloody. These are not features one expects to find within the muted confines of Canada, but they are abundantly in evidence in Haida Gwaii (Gill 2004: 1-2).

Three of the four communities in this study are located in Haida Gwaii, an archipelago of 1,884 varying-sized islands located 100 kilometres off the north coast of British Columbia, directly below Alaska. The two main islands, Moresby Island and Graham Island, are home to all of the existing Haida Gwaii communities. Much has been written about Haida Gwaii, the majority focusing either on its unspoiled beauty or the history and culture of its first peoples, the Haida, who claim the islands as their ancestral territory. Gill notes the islands have been home to the Haida for possibly 10,000 years; they are one of the most powerful and enduring Northwest First Nations, famous for their warrior culture, their myths and their totemic art forms (2004: 4). He states,
The Haida were tough, fierce warriors and formidable mariners...when they weren’t trading, they were raiding, crossing Hecate Strait and terrorizing mainland tribes, seizing goods and slaves, and returning to Haida Gwaii with impunity.

...The Haida, and only the Haida, were immune from attack. In consequence, the pride of the Haida shaded even that of their mighty neighbours. They were the lords of the coast, the aristocrats of their world (Gill 2004: 11).

Haida Gwaii is believed to have supported a population of 15,000 to 30,000 Haida before the coming of the white traders. However, a deadly combination of disease, alcohol and cultural genocide decimated the native population of the islands to a mere 600, destroying villages in their entirety, obliterating families who traced their lineage back thousands of years, and bringing a powerful culture to the very brink of extinction (Gill 2004:6). Bringhurst states,

After a hundred years of European contact, the indigenous economy and culture were in ruins. Island otter and caribou had been hunted to extinction; whales were badly overhunted, salmon and cod were overfished, old-growth forests were disappearing rapidly, and disease – chiefly smallpox – had killed about 90 per cent of the human population. Of the fifty or sixty major villages, four – two in Haida Gwaii and two newer settlements in Alaska – were still inhabited (quoted in Gill 2004: 6).

On Haida Gwaii today there are still only two Haida villages – Skidegate and Old Massett – although the population has rebounded to 2,500 Haida (2001 Census data states the population of Skidegate is 743 and Old Massett is 707, but many Haida live off-reserve in other communities on the islands and elsewhere). Many of the abandoned villages have been reclaimed as cultural sites and summer residences (www.bcstats.gov.bc Retrieved February 27, 2006; Gill 2004: 6). The spirits of the many who disappeared are still strongly felt on these islands – a place shrouded in mystery and myth like nowhere else on earth.

The remaining Haida are working hard to recover what they have lost. Despite their greatly reduced numbers and the social issues commensurate with losing so many people in such a short amount of time (i.e., the loss of elders and chiefs, skilled artisans, medicine people, and shamans), they continue to fight for their rights and for the preservation of their traditional land. Once again, they have become a force with which to be reckoned. As one interviewee put it,
...what the English – where they really screwed up is that if they were going to annihilate a people they should have got every single last one of them, but guess what, they left a few; now they’re back and they’re pissed off (MAS Interview 013, Male).

The Haida have scored some major victories over the years, starting with the protection of South Moresby and many of their ancient village sites from the logging companies, which led to the creation of the Gwaii Hanaas/South Moresby National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site, which occupies 1470 square km, encompasses 138 islands and represents about 15% of Haida Gwaii. Several more ancient village sites have been designated as sites of National Historic Importance. MacDonald (1996) notes, “Hectare for hectare, there are more aboriginal sites of National Historic Importance on Haida Gwaii than anywhere else in Canada” (233).

In 1999, the Haida won a major court case against the B.C. provincial government and Weyerhaeuser, the giant U.S. lumber company which had bought out the Canadian forestry company that held the tree farm licenses for most of Haida Gwaii. Gill notes,

The court found that not only did the government owe the Haida a duty to consult on the transfer (a duty it had failed to meet), but that the company was likewise on the hook. It said that Weyerhaeuser was in “knowing receipt” of a tenure over which the government had breached its fiduciary obligations to the Haida; thus by extension, Weyerhaeuser had too.

The TFL 39 case was a huge victory for the Haida, and for conservation. In short order, Weyerhaeuser agreed to halve its annual cut from Haida Gwaii. Increasingly, the Haida – not the provincial or federal governments – are being looked to as the rightful owners and stewards of Haida Gwaii (2004: 16).

Following up this victory, in 2002, the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) (the main Haida political body) sued the provincial and federal governments for rights and title to all of Haida Gwaii, “which includes the land, inland waters, seabed, archipelagic waters, air space, and everything contained thereon and therein…” (Gill 2004: 16). The governments have fired back with a defence that stating because Haida society consisted of small, separate villages, title can only be claimed at those village sites. They argue they have the legal right to control all the resources of the islands, and the Haida people have not suffered any damages as a consequence of government actions. Gill states,
The reality, of course, is written across the landscape in ugly clearcut scars, in the destitution of the fishing fleets, and in a torrent of statistics – most of them compiled by said same governments – that make liars of them and by extension, all Canadian citizens. To regain their proper place in what is incontestably their place, the Haida have put themselves to the strict proof thereof in the courts. On Haida Gwaii itself, the proof is everywhere evident that the Haida once had exclusive dominion over the islands, lost it, and are steadily regaining it (2004: 17).

Haida Gwaii residents, for the most part, are certain of an eventual Haida victory, although they accept it may take many years and millions of dollars before it is all over. The common assumption is the government is dragging out the case as long as possible, hoping the Haida will run out of money and have to give up. This is not likely to happen. One interviewee noted,

...the title case that the CHN is pursuing right now is a slam dunk. There’s no way that they cannot win that title case, they have too much evidence. The province tried to sell them fifteen percent of it and they just laughed at them, because they know they can get the whole thing, why take fifteen when you can get the whole...And they’ve got so much evidence to show that everything has been violated since day one. And it’s all documented – it’s set up under the British. I mean the British are great at overtaking nations, but their Achilles’ heel is that they tend to record everything. And if you’re going to be diabolical, you don’t want to write it down. So – but it’s all written down, even the introducing of the smallpox to the Haida (MAS Interview 013, Male).

In the meantime, the Haida and non-Haida residents of Haida Gwaii watch as barge loads of prime timber are taken away from the islands (there is little secondary or tertiary manufacturing of wood products on the islands), and as back roads are littered with burned and rotting piles of logged trees that don’t pay to ship out; as the sport fishing industry increases every season, operating nearly unregulated and further depleting the wild fish stocks; and as the commercial fishing vessels come up from the Lower Mainland and haul their catch out of the ocean, returning the majority back to the Lower Mainland for processing (Broadhead 1995: 11). They watch and wait and wonder what will be left by the time all the legal wrangling and posturing is over.
Data from the 2001 Census puts the population of the non-reserve communities on Haida Gwaii (Sandspit, Queen Charlotte City, Tlell, Tow Hill, Port Clements, & New Masset) at 3,145 (www.bcstats.gov.bc Retrieved February 27, 2006). All of these communities have undergone significant changes as the resource industry supporting them has slowly collapsed. Some have fared better than others. The two that are the subject of this investigation, Queen Charlotte City and New Masset, have both been severely impacted by economic and social changes beyond their control, and their responses to these changes are a vital part of this study.

**Queen Charlotte City – A Community Under Conversion**

*Queen Charlotte City is a rather grand name for a settlement that sprang up around a lumber mill and, for the longest time, was known simply as the Town Site.*

...it is strung out along the coast, several kilometres wide and in some places not even a block deep. From out on the bay it looks like a tide wrack of a huge ship that has lost a cargo of houses. Or like crumbs that have been swept into a ragged line, yet to be swept sideways into a bigger, central pile (Gill 2004: 41).

Given the reams that have been written about Haida Gwaii, surprisingly little reference is made to its largest community, Queen Charlotte City (known to the locals as “Charlotte”). Founded in 1908 as an American-owned mill town, Charlotte saw rapid growth as mill workers were able to obtain cheap land and brought their families with them to live in the newly constructed “Town Site”. Soon other people began to arrive to fill the much-needed service positions in the community, and schools, hotels and shops were built. Dalzell (1981) notes community spirit was evident in Charlotte right from the beginning – within a year of the town being established, “the people of the whole area got together to make a much needed hospital a reality” (260). In 1912, the government office was moved to Charlotte, and it became the unofficial capital of the islands.

The sawmill continued to function until the end of 1912, when it closed until the latter part of the first world war. It closed again after the war was over, and reopened in 1925 for eighteen months, after which it failed for good, and the equipment was barged

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31 In 2005, Queen Charlotte City became an incorporated village, and changed its name to the Village of Queen Charlotte. However, as these data were collected prior to this change, the community was still referred to as Queen Charlotte City during data collection.
away. The years of the depression saw the community members pull together to assist one another over these difficult times, and a lucrative fishing industry carried on through the mid to latter part of the 1900s. The timber industry boomed through most of the last half of the 20th century and provided the community with a stable economy (Dalzell 1981: 268; www.queencharlotte.ca/history.php). Charlotte was also the administrative centre for the islands, and was the location of several government offices.

Up until 2005, Charlotte was an unincorporated community, administered by a management committee instead of a mayor and council, which put it at an disadvantage in terms of funding from the Regional District. In 2005, thanks in large part to the long-term effort by the Regional District Director representing Charlotte, the community voted for incorporation and achieved municipal status. The Regional District Director then ran uncontested for Mayor.

Like so many other communities along the coast, Charlotte was hit hard by the downturn in the resource industry. Census data state while 29% of the employed population was working in the primary industries (fishing, forestry, mining, and agriculture) in 1991 and 23% in 1996, by 2001 this had dropped to 14%. Interestingly enough, however, this was not accompanied by a decrease in population, as the population actually increased from 933 in 1991 to 1045 in 2001 (www.resilientcommunities.ca, Retrieved February 28, 2006). The unemployment rate in Charlotte fluctuated widely between 1986 and 2001. In 1986, it was 9%, but then dropped to 4% in 1991. It rose again to 10% in 1996 and then dropped again to only 3% in 2001. This contrasts against the unemployment rate for the Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional district of 16.5% in 2001 and the B.C. unemployment rate of 8.5% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, Census of Population and Housing, www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca). This is also by far the lowest unemployment rate of all the communities in the sample.

These numbers suggest Charlotte has been successful in converting itself from a resource-based community to a service centre for the south end of the Island and a destination for the many tourists who visit the islands. This is also evidenced by the increase of the population employed in government services from 7% in 1991 to 11% in 2001 and the large increase in the retail trade industry from 8% in 1991 to 17% in 1996 to
21% in 2001, making it the largest employment sector in the community. The period between 1996 and 2001 also saw employment in health and social services double, from 6% to 12%. (www.resilientcommunities.ca, Retrieved February 28, 2006).

A major reason for Charlotte’s success in diversifying its economy is the community’s close proximity to the main airport and ferry landing. In addition, Queen Charlotte City is aesthetically lovely, with a main street built into a hillside running down to the waterfront, and most of the businesses located along this street. It has the appearance of a traditional seaside town, with all of the charm and character of a historic village, and the associated amenities of little craft and jewellery shops and locally-owned and operated restaurants. During the tourist season, multiple tour buses full of foreign tourists are visible on the streets, and it is very difficult to find accommodations. This growing industry has created opportunities for entrepreneurs within the community, and several small shops, restaurants and services have opened, providing a good variety of choices for tourists. Eco-tourism has become a major focus, with several businesses servicing this type of tourist, including organic food stores, coffee shops and eco-tour operators.

Up until the past four years, many of the government offices on the Islands were located in Charlotte. Recently, however, due to provincial government cutbacks, many of these offices have been downsized, amalgamated or phased out altogether, leading to job loss and out-migration of many of these employees. Even so, government, educational, health and social services still employ close to one-third of the workforce. Another quarter of the workforce is employed in the retail/trade and accommodation, food, and beverage industries, which depend greatly on tourism and thus do not provide the same economic benefits and security the resource industry once did.

The tourist industry in Charlotte is soon to receive a big boost, as the Haida reserve community of Skidegate, located about 15 minutes drive outside of Charlotte, is in the process of completing a $15.7 million world class heritage centre and a high end destination lodge and restaurant. The Qay’Ilnagaay Heritage Centre, which began operation in July 2007, includes an interpretative centre, a teaching centre, a canoe shed, an expanded museum, a performing arts centre and a gift shop. The 28-room Lodge,
which has yet to begin construction, will incorporate traditional Haida architecture and the upscale restaurant will showcase Haida and west coast cuisine (www.ainc-inac.gc.ca).

Relations between Charlotte and Skidegate (population 743) are for the most part positive, although the two communities are not as integrated as New Masset and Old Massett, located on the north end of the island. Skidegate is, for the most part, self-contained in terms of goods and services, and therefore the residents do not rely on Charlotte to a great extent. Data from the mail out survey confirms this friendly relationship, with 23% of Charlotte respondents indicating they had participated in a First Nation ceremonial activity in the past 30 days, and 31% indicating they had participated in a First Nation cultural or social activity.

Charlotte respondents express a high level of agreement regarding the importance of First Nation groups and their culture to the economic well-being of the community (Table 4.11). This is perhaps not surprising, given Charlotte will benefit from the large new cultural center and lodge. Charlotte respondents also indicate First Nation groups have an important social role in the community, although to a lesser extent than their economic role.

Table 4.11 - Charlotte Views on First Nations’ Social and Economic Contribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being.</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demographics

The average age of respondents in Charlotte is 50, the second highest in the non-reserve sample. Employment statistics indicate more than half of respondents are employed by others while only one-quarter are not working or laid off, the lowest unemployment rate in the sample. Charlotte respondents have the highest individual and
household incomes of the non-reserve communities, with more than half of all respondents households making more than $50,000 per year. Charlotte respondents also have the second highest levels of education in the non-reserve sample (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 – Charlotte Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Age</th>
<th>50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed (part-time or full-time)</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others (part-time or full-time)</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working or laid off</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence – 11 or more years</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence – 30 or more years</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – some university</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – BA</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – MA</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – Ph.D.</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main sources of income for Charlotte respondents are wages or salary and income from self-employment, with 96% of respondents reporting income from these two sources. Considerably fewer Charlotte respondents report income from personal investments, work pension or government sources (Table 4.13).
Table 4.13 - Charlotte Sources of Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Respondents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>9.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>6.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community ratings

Charlotte respondents show a high level of agreement on perceptions of their community as a place to live (Table 4.14). The only three categories which showed a difference in opinion were evaluations of the quality of employment opportunities, schools and health care. The quality of schools and health care was something the interviewers heard quite a lot about in Charlotte. The elementary school is located in Skidegate and the high school in Charlotte, and the turnover of teachers and principals has been very high. In the high school, there have been seven principals in the past ten years. In terms of health care, while Charlotte has a hospital, it is old and very limited in its services, and serious cases have to be flown to Prince Rupert or Vancouver for treatment. Pregnant women are advised to move to either Prince Rupert or Vancouver at least a month before their delivery date in case of problems during delivery. This can add expense and stress for expectant mothers who do not have family or friends to stay with in those locations.
Table 4.14 – Charlotte Community Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor place to raise kids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor employment opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not isolated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commitment to community

Charlotte respondents show the second highest levels of community satisfaction in the non-reserve sample, although considerably less than the 96% agreement of Quadra respondents. Similar to Masset but again considerably higher than Quadra, one-third of Charlotte residents agreed they would move away for a good job, and this did not change when controlled for age (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15 – Charlotte Commitment Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Charlotte Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</td>
<td>%Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere. (Age &lt; 65)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Identification with community

The positive perception of community continues with the measures in Table 4.16, with three-quarters of Charlotte respondents disagreeing there is a weak sense of community or that it is hard to make close friends. However, when it comes to outside forces, nearly half agree Charlotte is at their mercy; in addition, nearly half disagree the community is doing well economically.
Charlotte respondents indicate the highest level of agreement in the non-reserve sample that First Nation groups are important to economic well-being. Given the economic importance of Skidegate and the new cultural centre to the southern end of the island, this is perhaps not surprising. This is supported by the final measure, where over two-thirds of respondents agree using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development.

Table 4.16 – Charlotte Identification Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People in this community have a weak sense of community.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The future of this community depends more on what happens outside the community than inside it.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compared to other communities on the BC coast, this community is doing pretty well economically.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leadership measures

Results on the leadership measures are not as positive as on the community identification and commitment measures, with well over one-half agreeing they have little say in the leadership of their community (Table 4.17). Regarding the quality of leadership, while close to one-half agree their leaders are good, capable people, another 62% chose to remain neutral or disagreed with this statement and another one-third thought the leadership catered to a few select groups. Only 11% of respondents thought business leaders were creating new economic opportunities, the lowest level of agreement in the non-reserve sample on this measure. On the other hand, Charlotte respondents showed the highest level of agreement on the social importance of First Nations leaders, continuing the positive perceptions of First Nation contributions to the community.
Table 4.17 – Charlotte Leadership Comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People like me don’t have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful groups.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community are creating new economic opportunities here.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trust**

Nearly three-quarters of Charlotte respondents agreed most people can be trusted, second highest only to Quadra. However, less than one-third disagreed you can’t be too careful in dealing with people, with another one-third remaining neutral (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18 – Charlotte Generalized Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Charlotte respondents also display high levels of generalized community trust, with over three-quarters agreeing most people in the community can be trusted (Table 4.19). The same number disagreed most people in the community were likely to take advantage if given the chance. However, two-thirds of respondents indicated there were groups in the community they did not trust, with only one-fifth disagreeing. This did not, however, lead them to feeling the need to lock their doors at night, with two-thirds of respondents disagreeing this was necessary.
Table 4.19 – Charlotte Generalized Community Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try and take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the social and economic importance of First Nations as indicated in Tables 3.11, 3.16 and 3.17, there are some definite divisions between Charlotte and Skidegate. Measures of social/personalized trust indicate only 38% of Charlotte respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted (Table 4.20). The level of trust in other members of the community was higher, including trust in young people, the police, community leaders, and business leaders. The only group less trusted than First Nation leaders were the politicians who represent the community.

Table 4.20 - Charlotte Social/Institutional Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Social participation

Similar to the other communities, the most popular activities in Charlotte are sports and recreation groups, with nearly one-half of respondents indicating participation (Table 4.21). Another one-third of Charlotte respondents are involved in work-related groups, and close to one-third indicated participation in artistic or craft/hobby groups. Finally, one-quarter indicated involvement in community service groups and health groups, which is not surprising, given that Charlotte has the highest level of volunteerism in the non-reserve sample.

Table 4.21 – Charlotte Social Participation by Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Activities</th>
<th>Charlotte Respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Community service</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% that volunteer</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary

Charlotte is a community with many advantages, including location (it is close to the main ferry dock, airport and multi-million dollar Qay’lnagaay Heritage Centre being built in Skidegate. It is also the gateway to the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Sites). In addition, it is aesthetically attractive (it has the look of a quaint, seaside village), has required tourist amenities (shops, galleries, cafes, restaurants, accommodations, tour operators and guiding outfits) and strong community spirit (after an exhaustive campaign by the then-Regional Director, the community voted for incorporation. This gives Charlotte a more comprehensive governance structure, and more standing in and access to resources and funding from the Regional District). While it is yet to completely overcome its resource dependence, it is well on the way, and boasts the lowest unemployment rate of all four communities.
Economically, Charlotte is doing quite well; respondents to the survey had the highest individual and household incomes in the non-reserve sample and the second highest rates of both self-employment and employment by others. While it has no major industry or large employer, it has established itself as a service centre, catering both to tourists and to other communities on the island. And unlike New Masset, at the north end of the island, which lost close to 38% of its population from 1991 to 2001, the population of Charlotte actually increased 12% during this same period.

Socially, Charlotte also appears to be doing well, with the highest volunteerism rate in the sample, and the second highest levels of community satisfaction, commitment, and trust, both general and specific. On the community rating measure, Charlotte is actually closer to Quadra on items such as perceptions of safety and crime, as opposed to their closer geographical neighbour, New Masset. Charlotte respondents indicated the highest level of agreement on the importance of First Nation social and economic involvement in the community, although they did not show the highest levels of trust for First Nation leaders, and stated they trusted them the least of the groups presented (i.e., young people, police, community leaders, business leaders and politicians). Charlotte respondents and New Masset respondents gave identical responses to the statement *There are groups in this community that I do not trust*, suggesting the two communities are dealing with similar internal tensions.

Queen Charlotte City represents a community still working on making the conversion from resource-based to tourist and service-based, which requires many of its residents to learn to deal with only seasonal employment and earnings or work at multiple jobs in order to make a year round wage. As primary industries still represent the second highest employment category, the diversification from a resource-based economy is not quite complete, but the quantitative data indicate it has been successful thus far, both in keeping its population and in converting to a new economy. The focus of this study will be on the role of women in promoting and supporting this change, particularly in terms of business ownership, leadership and involvement in the community, and participation in the informal economy.
CHAPTER FIVE

Community Descriptions: New Masset and Old Massett

(New) Masset – A Community Reinvented

Masset is an odd place. In terms of layout it seems more like a real town than any of the other settlements on the islands. And yet the presence of an armed forces suburb (to service the listening station just east of town), and the geographical separation from the Haida Village of Old Massett, imply a variety of tensions...(Gill 2004: 72).

New Masset is located on the northern end of Graham Island and as such is much further removed from the main airport and ferry landing than Queen Charlotte City. New Masset has its own small airport that is well-used by charter planes and helicopters heading out to the many fishing lodges, and Pacific Coastal Airlines established regular year-round service to New Masset in 2005.

New Masset was established in 1907 as the first non-native settlement on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Dalzell (1981) notes what brought settlers to this out of the way place was simply a need for land, a reaction to the depression then sweeping the country. She notes,

This depression which displaced so many people into insecurity, created a tremendous urge to own a piece of land – any kind of land – and to satisfy the hunger for a place of their own people would undergo incredible hardships (Dalzell 1981: 133).

In response, the BC government put out pamphlets offering 160 acre plots of “good farming land” in the Queen Charlottes for give-away prices. In addition, the government issued coal, petroleum and timber licenses covering vast acreages to all who applied and collected enormous revenues as a result. The hitch was the area was unmapped, and this led to the inevitable confusion over who owned what. The government office in charge of the land was far away on the mainland and, Dalzell notes, had an “amazingly unrealistic understanding of conditions” (1981: 135). However, the settlers continued to pour in from 1908 to 1914, hoping to make a living off the land. During this time, eight town sites were developed, four of which have survived. The first of these was New Masset.
Originally named Graham City by its first residents, the town site was renamed New Masset in 1909. Dalzell (1981) notes this name change came about as a result of some scheming by early landowners who recognized they needed a post office to attract more settlers to the fledgling community. Unfortunately, there was already a post office established in the Haida community of Massett. The enterprising settlers decided to change the name of Graham City to “Masset” so they could take advantage of the number of people getting mail at the Massett address, giving them a better chance of obtaining the important service. Dalzell notes,

_They could be quite certain that the far-off uninformed government offices would have no knowledge of – or interest in – the subterfuge._

_On June 7, 1909, the name of Graham City was dropped and the new townsite to which it had been applied was called Masset. The wave of local protests about this fell on deaf ears and in order to avoid the inevitable confusion, the two Massets were differentiated by calling the Indian village Old Massett and the new white settlement New Masset (1981: 154)._ Dalzell notes the scheme worked, and the post-office was moved to New Masset and installed in the general store (1981: 155). The town experienced steady growth throughout the early 1900s, as more people arrived and set up businesses and services in the small community. Logging began in earnest during the First World War, when Queen Charlotte spruce was used to construct airplanes for the British airforce. Logging camps sprang up all over the Islands, and sawmills were built to process the wood. The industry slowed down after the war ended, and several sawmills went out of business, but logging and fishing continued as the main economic activities for the residents of New Masset until the mid 1900s (Dalzell 1981: 225-226).

Up until 1958, when an overland road was finally built, the only way to get to New Masset was by boat or airplane, which meant everything had to be brought in or out by barge or steamers. In 1920, a plank road was constructed between Tlell on the coast and Port Clements in the interior, situated on Masset Inlet, and this allowed more traffic to access New Masset by boats running up the inlet from Port Clements. This plank road was twelve miles long, and took eight years to build. It was quite literally two narrow ribbons of planks laid on the ground for vehicles to drive over. This plank road was not replaced by gravel until 1941, a project which took another 10 years. Finally, in 1966, all the roads on Graham Island were paved, and for the first time, settlers had road access to
all the communities on the Island (Dalzell 1981: 292). The path of progress rarely runs straight, however, and the road to New Masset was no exception. Dalzell notes,

*It was surveyed by a local road superintendent as a reasonably straight road, but with a change in government, there was the usual change in personnel – so the story goes. When the new man came in, he sent a bulldozer out ahead to test the terrain. Whenever the operator struck a soft spot he turned his machine and crept this way and that to find a better base, sometimes doubling back on his own tracks. Then, local residents explain, they laid the road along his tracks. To the motorist who drives this series of horseshoe bends and curves – on perfectly level stretches in many cases – this would seem to be as logical an explanation as any. Safe to say, the job was not supervised by any Islander. It is thirty miles from Port Clements to Masset and rumour has it that when all the unnecessary bends are removed from the road – as is mooted – this will lop six miles off the present distance* (1981: 292-293).

In 1942, a Canadian Forces communication station was established in New Masset, which was expanded in 1972 to employ over 300 military and civilian personnel, making the federal government the largest employer in the community. Census data show in 1991, 42% of the workforce was employed in the government sector and the population stood at 1,476. This dropped to 33% in 1996 when the base began to downsize, with the population decreasing commensurately to 1,293.

In February 1997, CFS Masset was decommissioned, leaving only a small remote operation employing 30 personnel. Over the time period from 1996 to 2001, the population of New Masset decreased to 926, a net loss of 28.4%. The 2001 Census data show employment in the government sector dropped 25% during this same time period, to only 8% of the workforce (www.resilientcommunities.ca Retrieved March 1, 2006). The base closure and the loss of employment associated with it were only the first of several economic blows for New Masset.

As noted, New Masset was traditionally a resource-based community, depending on commercial fishing and logging as its economic base prior to 1972, when the army base was expanded. Lillard confirms this where he notes in 1966, New Masset supported a fleet of 180 fishing boats, and 290 people either fished or worked in the local cannery (1995: 146). Broadhead (1995) notes the labour force in New Masset doubled in the period from 1971-1986, mainly due to population growth associated with the Canadian Forces Station, which employed nearly 40% of the labour force during this time, and
provided the community with a high proportion of full-time, full-year jobs. The unemployment rate at this time was only 5%, and this jumped to 11% in 1986 when the crab cannery closed (Broadhead 1995).

The collapse of the fisheries in the 1980s resulted in the loss of over one-third of its commercial fleet, as well as the loss of business from transient fleets that used New Masset as a service center for fuel and supplies. By 1986, only 7% of the workforce was employed in primary industries, and this remained relatively stable, dropping only slightly to 5% in 1991, increasing to 6% in 1996 and increasing back to 7% again in 2001 (www.resilientcommunities.ca). Employment on and associated with the army base effectively released New Masset from its reliance on the resource-economy. The closure of the base, however, has forced some residents, mainly male, to rely on this unstable industry once again.

As a result of the fisheries closure, Canada Packers closed their New Masset plant in 1997, and Petro-Canada ceased operations at their bulk fuel station. The fish processing plant was reopened in 1998 by Omega Packing Company Ltd, and is now the largest employer in the community, although it operates only on a seasonal basis. Interestingly, given the downsizing of the base during the end of the period of 1991 to 1996, the unemployment rate held steady at 5% and 4% respectively and only rose to 6% in 2001, despite the complete closure of the base in 1997. This rate is considerably lower than the unemployment rate for the entire Regional District of 16.5% in 2001, and slightly lower than the provincial rate of 8.5% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, Census of Population and Housing, www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca). These statistics, combined with population and workforce statistics, suggest the majority of the people employed by and associated with the base left when it closed.

The economic changes have also affected the community socially. The out-migration of the military and its personnel changed the social structure of the community significantly, but also provided the community with many amenities other communities of the same size would not have: available housing in the form of 190 base houses (private married quarters) were sold off at very affordable prices, allowing many lower to middle income residents the chance to own their own home and also bringing more
seasonal residents to New Masset; a sports and recreation facility with swimming pool and ice rink; and a fully-equipped hospital. These facilities, however, were not well-built and are aging, requiring ever larger amounts of money to be spent to service them and keep them operational.

Several interviewees noted the community had changed for the better since the military pulled out. One interviewee in particular noted the community was less polarized now because there was hostility between the military personnel and the Haida, which transferred into the relationship between the non-military residents of New Masset and Old Massett. The interviewee noted the military population was quite transient. This is supported by Broadhead (1995), who notes over 60% of New Masset residents came and went from one census period to the next while the base was in full force. In addition, the interviewee noted many army personnel were not suited for life in a small, isolated community, nor were they used to dealing with the cultural differences they encountered (MAS Interview 007, Female). Another interviewee noted since the military left, she observed much more positive integration between Haida and non-Haida. She noted,

Like that whole, we’re Haida Gwaiiins rather than I’m Haida and non-Haida. I’m seeing less of Haida, non-Haida now than I did when I first moved here. Now I’m seeing more the residents of the Haida Gwaii (MAS Interview 187, Female).

Many interviewees noted the high level of integration between New Masset and Old Massett and while relations can be strained as both communities are competing for scarce resources, they are closer geographically, socially, and economically than Charlotte and Skidegate. RCP survey data show New Masset respondents have a high level of participation in First Nation activities, with 28% indicating they had participated in a First Nation ceremonial activity over the past 30 days and 24% indicating they participated in a First Nation cultural or social activity.

New Masset respondents view the First Nations economic role in the community as more important than their leaders’ social role (Table 5.1). While 57% agreed First Nation leaders played an important social role, over three-quarters agreed First Nation groups were important to the community’s economic well-being, and 69% agreed First Nation culture was a good way to promote economic development.
Table 5.1 – New Masset Views on First Nations’ Contribution to Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Demographics**

Demographic data from the RCP mail-out survey show the average age of respondents is 47 years, the youngest in the non-reserve sample (Table 5.2). New Masset respondents have the lowest levels of education in the sample as well as the lowest individual and household incomes with only 16% of respondents making $50,000 or more and 84% making less, and only 35% of households making $50,000 or more. New Masset respondents have a highest rate of employment by others, with two-thirds being employed either part-time or full-time, but the lowest rate of self-employment in the non-reserve sample.

Table 5.2 – New Masset Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed (part-time or full-time)</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others (part-time or full-time)</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working or laid off</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence – 11 or more years</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence – 30 or more years</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – some university</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – BA</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – MA</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – Ph.D.</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New Masset respondents report the highest attainment of income from self-employment and salary, with all respondents reporting they received income from one or
both of these sources (Table 5.3). In addition, 44% of respondents reported receiving income from personal investments, pension and government sources, suggesting New Masset residents rely on more than one type of income to make a living in their community.

Table 5.3 – New Masset Sources of Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perceptions of community

In response to the statement, *I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live*, 65% of New Masset respondents agreed, demonstrating the lowest level of community satisfaction in the non-reserve sample. When asked if they would move away from the community if a good job came up elsewhere, just over one-third of New Masset respondents agreed, and this increased slightly when controlled for age (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 – New Masset Commitment Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere. (Age &lt; 65)</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community ratings

The majority of New Masset respondents agreed on ratings of employment opportunities, safety, isolation, and quality of education and health care (Table 5.5). There was less agreement as to whether New Masset is a good place to raise kids, and respondents were also divided over their perceptions of crime. These ratings were consistently the lowest and most negative of the communities in the non-reserve sample, particularly in terms of crime rate and safety.

The strongly similar poor ratings of schools and health care are understandable given the current circumstances. There are two schools in New Masset, an elementary school and a high school, catering to all north end communities. Similar to Charlotte, these schools continue to experience a high turnover of teachers and administrators (the high school principal, elementary school principal and vice principal all left at the end of the 2005/06 school year; the elementary vice principal was not replaced and the principal is leaving at the end of the 2007/08 school year). The hospital in New Masset was built for the army and was not intended for long-term use; it has limited services and out-dated equipment. Since the army left, the hospital has had a hard time attracting permanent doctors. A new hospital and long term care complex is being built as part of a joint initiative between the Northern Health Authority and the north end communities, but it is not expected to open until sometime in 2008.

Table 5.5 – New Masset Community Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Identification with community

Two-thirds of Masset respondents disagreed there was a weak sense of community, and close to three-quarters disagreed it was difficult to make close friends (Table 5.6). Once again, these were the lowest levels of agreement in the non-reserve sample. Equal numbers of respondents agreed the community was at the mercy of outside forces as disagreed, while more disagreed the community was doing well economically than agreed. However, respondents were consistent in their perceptions of First Nation contributions, with over three-quarters affirming their economic importance and well over two-thirds agreeing using First Nation history and culture was a good way to promote economic development, the highest level of agreement in the non-reserve sample on this measure.

Table 5.6 – New Masset Identification Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Masset Respondents</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People in this community have a weak sense of community.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The future of this community depends more on what happens outside the community than inside it.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other communities on the BC coast, this community is doing pretty well economically.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leadership measures

Generally, New Masset respondents do not indicate a very positive perception of leadership in their community (Table 5.7). In particular, one-third indicate they do not have any say in decision-making, and only half agree the leaders are good, capable people. Another one-third believe the leadership is partisan and the same percentage
agree business leaders are creating new opportunities. For the most part, these perceptions are quite similar to the other communities, except for the final measure, where over one-half agree First Nations play an important social role in the community, as compared to 26% of Quadra respondents and 64% of Charlotte respondents. Given the emphasis put on the *economic* importance of the First Nation to the community in the previous measures, this is a notable result. It appears as if New Masset respondents do not rate the First Nation social contribution as highly as the economic, suggesting perhaps there are some existing social tensions between the two communities.

*Table 5.7 – New Masset Leadership Measures*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>New Masset Respondents</th>
<th>%Agree</th>
<th>%Neutral</th>
<th>%Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People like me don’t have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful groups.</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community are creating new economic opportunities here.</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Trust*

New Masset respondents show relatively high levels of generalized trust, with two-thirds agreeing most people can be trusted (*Table 5.8*). This does, however, constitute the lowest level of generalized trust in the non-reserve sample. Similar to Charlotte but well below Quadra, less than one-third disagreed you can’t be too careful in dealing with people.

*Table 5.8 – New Masset Generalized Trust Measures*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While two-thirds of respondents indicated most people in the community could be trusted, the same number of respondents noted there were groups in the community they did not trust and agreed they would never leave their house without locking it (Table 5.9). Interestingly, however, this is only slightly more than the number of respondents who disagreed most people in the community were likely to take advantage if given the chance. These are the lowest levels of community trust exhibited in the non-reserve sample. The high level of agreement to the “door-locking” measure and the one-fifth of respondents who agreed most people in the community were likely to take advantage if given the chance, as compared with only 2% of Quadra and 9% of Charlotte respondents, as well as the more negative crime and safety ratings shown above, indicate tensions and conflicts exist in New Masset to a greater degree than in the other communities.

Table 5.9 – New Masset Generalized Community Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try to take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10 provides some insight into which community groups may be less trusted than others. It shows the only group in the community who were trusted less than First Nation leaders were young people. The police, community leaders, business leaders, and even politicians were trusted to a greater extent than First Nation leaders. These results suggest there are some existing tensions between New Masset and Old Massett, at least at the level of its leaders.

New Masset respondents exhibit the lowest levels of trust in the non-reserve sample for young people, police, business leaders and First Nation leaders. While
Quadra and Charlotte expressed the least trust for politicians, New Masset respondents indicated more trust in these politicians than either local young people or First Nation leaders, which once again supports the idea New Masset is a community with many conflicts that need to be worked out among its diverse members.

Table 5.10 – New Masset Social/Institutional Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social participation

Similar to Quadra and Charlotte, New Masset respondents indicated they were most likely to be involved in sports or recreation groups (45%), followed by artistic or craft/hobby groups (33%) and then work-related groups (28%) (Table 5.11). The fourth category is where Masset differs, with respondents mainly involved in social clubs. Participant observation in New Masset suggests these social clubs are most likely related to card-playing, either Bridge or Texas Hold ‘Em poker, which are very popular in the community. This is supported by the informal activity question, where 47% of New Masset respondents indicated they had played cards or games with others in your home or their home in the past 30 days, as opposed to only 34% in Charlotte and 30% in Quadra. Finally, one-fifth of respondents indicated they participated in a church group.
### Table 5.11 - New Masset Social Participation by Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Activities</th>
<th>New Masset Respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Social club</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Church group</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% that volunteer</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary**

New Masset is currently a community in flux. As it attempts to reinvent itself from “army town” to a more diversified economy, it faces some daunting challenges, not the least of which are the very visual reminders of its 55-year history as an army base: aging square-block barracks in the centre of town, multiple tree-named cul-de-sacs of identical army-built married quarters, and the aptly named “elephant cage” just outside of town (the enormous caged listening station). In addition, many businesses in New Masset were unable to survive the economic downturn, and the community’s peculiarly-wide main street (built to accommodate army vehicles and logging trucks) has several boarded up storefronts and for sale signs. In the ongoing competition between north and south, Masset is the perpetual underdog in terms of location and proximity to the main airport and ferry dock, aesthetics and geographical beauty, and tourist services and amenities. This, combined with a lack of waterfront access and views all add up to a town not living up to its truly spectacular surroundings.

New Masset has neither the quaint appeal of Queen Charlotte City nor the rural charm of Quadra Island, and also does not currently have all the amenities needed to service a successful tourism trade, including good restaurants and a variety of galleries and shops. The majority of accommodations and tourist amenities are located out of town in remote, “resort” settings and are geared toward the lucrative sport fishing industry or the eco-tourism trade. However, as was continually noted by both community

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32 For a town with a population of under 1000, Masset has three Chinese-Canadian restaurants, but no seafood restaurants or upscale dining spots to cater to the tourist trade.
member and leadership interviewees in New Masset, the community does not benefit much from the sport fishing industry. Broadhead (1995) notes in 1993, 80% of the sport fishing was by guests at lodges owned by off-island interests and only 8% occurred through locally owned charter operations (11). For the most part, these operators are self-contained, and the only place they can be seen in any large numbers is at the New Masset airport, where their charter flights land and from which they are helicoptered to and from the isolated fishing lodges. The lodges bring their own supplies and labour with them, although some local youth are hired to work there during the summer.

The other popular form of tourism is the eco-tourist industry, which attracts environmentally-minded families, back-packers, and kayakers to the pristine beaches and vast rain forests of North Graham Island. These tourists do benefit the community, as they buy their supplies in town, utilize the local accommodations, and shop in the local galleries for Haida art and jewellery. It is also becoming more common to see guided tours or bus tours in New Masset, although not to the same extent as Charlotte due to the long drive up-island. A popular draw for tours is the Delkatla Bird Sanctuary located in New Masset and the Rose Spit Ecological Reserve in Naikoon Provincial Park.

In addition, while Masset was able to overcome its resource dependency when the army moved in, it has not managed to attract any major industry since the army moved out, and suffered the loss of close to 40% of its population in the 10 year period from 1991 to 2001. Census data on employment by industry show from 1981 to 2001, primary industries employed only 5-7% of the population (Broadhead 1995, Appendix, Table 13; www.resilientcommunities.ca/), which is only half of those employed in these industries in Charlotte. The cannery and fishing packing plant are the largest employers in the community, but operate only seasonally. Despite this, New Masset has the highest rate of employment by others in the three non-reserve community sample.

In 2001, the two largest industries in New Masset in 2001 were retail trade at 24% and educational services at 16% (www.resilientcommunities.ca/). The first reflects the increasing reliance on the tourist trade for income, the second is less easy to pinpoint, but likely reflects that New Masset has four learning institutions located in one small town – an elementary school, a learning centre (for continuing studies), a large secondary school...
which caters to the entire north end of the Island, and a satellite campus of Northwest Community College. Other areas of employment in New Masset were health care and social assistance, and accommodation and food services, each of which employed 8% of the population in 2001. This reflects New Masset’s role as a service provider for the north end of the Islands, and their increasing reliance on the tourism industry (www.resilientcommunities.ca/). Perhaps because of this, Masset respondents have the lowest incomes of the three non-reserve communities.

Masset respondents also show the lowest levels of trust, with the least trusted groups being First Nation leaders and young people. New Masset respondents trust First Nation leaders and young people less even than the politicians who represent their community. Combined with the perceptions of crime, which are the highest in the sample, and safety, which are the lowest, and the overwhelming indictment of the school system, it is obvious New Masset is struggling with some very serious social issues.

Therefore, in terms of its contribution to this study, New Masset represents a community that overcame its resource dependency but then had to deal with the loss of its main employer and nearly one-third of its population. The collapse of the resource industry along the coast dealt it several more economic blows, but the community has managed to survive despite geographical isolation and an unstable economy. To date, New Masset has not been able to attract a another large-scale employer, and relies mainly on the seasonal tourist industry for income, but is working to diversify its economy. As it tries to reinvent itself from army base to a business and tourist friendly community, it faces several challenges, both with infrastructure and residual social tensions such as the lowest levels of trust (particularly between the civic and native communities) and highest levels of crime among the three non-reserve communities.

Given all of this, it may seem surprising 65% of respondents indicated they were satisfied with their community as a place to live, and only 33% indicated they would be willing to move away if a good job came up elsewhere while nearly one-half stated they would not. The question has to be: what keeps people in New Masset, given the economic instability, social tensions and lack of industry? Why hasn’t New Masset become the ghost town so many predicted it would when the army base closed? The
focus in subsequent chapters will be on the answer to that question, and particularly on the contributing role of women in the community.

**Old Massett**


Old Massett is the fundament, the wellspring. This place, with its weather and its moods, is where a man can carve deep into a cedar log, can carve deep into his own reserves of lore, and write a poem in wood (Gill 2004: 76).

This is also the place where people can still find time to sit awhile in the sun – to tell the yarns in the Haida tongue which is so difficult for the white man. The visitor comes away wondering what all the rush is about in the rest of the world (Dalzell 1968: 315-316).

Old Massett, quite literally, is the town at the end of the road. It is only five minutes by road (4 km) from New Masset, and yet seems worlds away. Old Massett is a Haida reserve community, population 707 (2001 Census). In 1966, Dalzell described it thus,

Stretched along the shoreline on the ancient site their forefathers chose is the Masset Reserve, the second largest in B.C. Comfortable homes, many of them attractively painted – and all with a superb view of the Inlet – replace the totem poles of yesterday which were a focal attraction for visitors (1981: 315).

Twenty-three years later, Haida artist Bill Reid, in his foreword to George MacDonald’s 1989 book on ancient Haida villages, describes this scene as a little less picturesque,

Today, where the villages exemplifying this style of life once stood, there are in the two remaining inhabited communities only clusters of sometimes neat and well-built, sometimes run down and untidy, uninteresting little conventional cottages and the inevitable mobile homes (1989: 7).

Jump forward another seventeen years, to 2006, and the ravages of high unemployment due to an unstable economy and a failing resource industry are now glaringly evident. There are still many homes on the stretch of shoreline memorialized by Dalzell (1981), but far too many of them are abandoned, burnt out shells overgrown with weeds; fishing boats sit idle in driveways and yards or rot near the shore, forgotten. The view is still superb, but many parts of the village bear obvious signs of poverty and neglect. What

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33 As noted above, in order to avoid confusion, the non-reserve Masset is referred to as New Masset, while the Haida Village of Massett is referred to as Old Massett.
has happened in Old Massett is not an uncommon story in Haida Gwaii, nor in many First Nation villages along the BC coast.

The decline has been swift. It is said the Haida lived on Haida Gwaii for over 10,000 years before first contact. Since then, Gill notes,

…it is a mere 125 years since the first missionary arrived on the islands, since the islands were “civilized.” The early signs are not encouraging. The record so far: the near extinguishment of the indigenous people, and a terrible and sustained attack on the islands’ resources. Whether or not one can put it down to inbreeding, the European settlers – and, it must be said, some Haida, have conspired in the liquidation of sea otters and whales, and a reckless exploitation of salmon stocks and old-growth forests. God knows what they could do with another 9,875 years (2004: 12).

It is not known when the Haida first came to the village now called Old Massett, but oral history relates there was an ancient village on the very northern tip of Graham Island called Point Town Village. A group of people living in the village became restless and left to build a new village they called Uttewas (“white slope”) which is known as Old Massett today. Not too long after this group left, the remaining Haida abandoned Point Town Village and split into two groups – one group moved south and eventually ended up in Skidegate. The other group went to join the others in Uttewas, but relations soon broke down and they moved across the inlet to build another village which they named Yan. The two villages continued their feud for many years until the outbreak of smallpox, which decimated the small village of Yan (Dalzell 1981: 321-322). The survivors moved back to Old Massett.

The first explorer to enter Masset Inlet and have contact with the Haida who lived there was Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil in September 1817. Roquefeuil recorded in his memoirs,

We passed the southeast point, and soon after, being opposite to a large village, we were surrounded by canoes...As far as we could judge, the huts composing the four villages on the two sides of the entrance are better built, and in better order, than those to the north. There is something picturesque in the whole appearance of this large village. It is particularly remarkable for the monstrous and colossal figures which decorate the houses of the principal inhabitants, the wide gaping mouths of which serve as a door...(quoted in MacDonald 1989: 69).
Between 1836-1841, John Work, a Hudson’s Bay employee, carried out a census of Haida villages. He estimated a population of 2,473 people living in the three villages on Masset Sound – Old Massett, Yan and Kayang. However, by 1884, mineral surveyor Newton Chittendon found that,

*There are three villages near the entrance to Masset Inlet. Yan – abandoned – with 20 houses and 25 carved poles, on the west side, and Ut-te-was – now Masset – and Kayung (sic), situated about a mile below, on the east. Masset is the principal village of the Haida nation, now containing a population of about three hundred and fifty Indians, 40 occupied houses, 50 carved poles, and the ruins of many ancient lodges* (quoted in MacDonald 1989: 69).

MacDonald (1989) notes the last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a drastic decline in the population of Old Massett, despite the influx of Haida from more remote villages on the north coast of the Island. This led to the mixing together of chiefs and families who were formerly fiercely independent (traditionally, the two main clans of the Haida, Raven and Eagle, did not live together in the same villages) – the resulting turmoil led to divisions existing to this day in Old Massett (MacDonald 1989: 71; Gill 2004: 77).

In 1852 the Chief of Old Massett (7wii.aa) and his warriors captured a Hudson’s Bay ship and ransomed the captain and crew for blankets. They also looted and burned the ship, and word of this act spread along the coast and underscored Haida dominance among coastal First Nations. However, this was to be one of their last raids, as small pox was decimating the population, sparing only 10% of the population who came to live in the two remaining villages of Old Massett and Skidegate (Stearns 1981: 6).

The first white missionary, William H. Collison, arrived in Old Massett in 1876. Despite widespread suspicion of his beliefs and motives, the Chief of Old Massett gave him a place to live and membership in his Eagle clan, by way of protection. Collison and his church had an enormous impact on the life and culture of the people of Old Massett. Gill notes,

*By the early 1880s, 7wii.aa was baptized into the church, totem poles were cast upon fires and the eradication of Haida traditions was in full swing. This was hugely abetted in 1884 by the enactment by the federal government of the Potlatch Law, which outlawed the Haida’s most significant means of ceremonial and cultural exchange* (2004: 78).
MacDonald (1989) notes it took less than a quarter century for missionaries to
exert their influence completely over the people of Old Massett, and convince them to
pull down their totem poles and longhouses and construct European style houses instead
(71). Pictures of Old Massett taken in 1881 show a beachfront community covered with
dozens of skilfully carved totem poles and traditional communal dwellings (MacDonald
1989). Sadly, Bill Reid, master Haida carver, notes,

*Of course, when these pictures were made, the great days of the Haida were
already over. The occasional human to be seen was one of a tragically small
remnant to survive the destruction of their people. What we see are the ghosts of
villages, homes of ghost people. Even the great heraldic beasts, monsters, and
humans of the totem poles are now ghosts. But what lively, powerful ghosts those
old demigods still are, and the raven at least seems alive, well, and waiting*
(footword in MacDonald 1989: 7).

Stearns notes by 1962, every single totem pole in the village had been taken down. She
states, “*In 1966 a visitor strolling down the streets of the village could not find a single
cultural object to identify Masset as an Indian settlement*” (1981: 38).

In 2007, this is no longer the case. In August 1969, Robert Davidson followed in
the footsteps of other famous Haida carvers such as Bill Reid, his great-grandfather
Charles Edenshaw and his grandfather, Robert Davidson Sr., and carved the first totem
pole to be raised in Old Massett in 80 years. This signalled a resurgence in Haida
traditional arts and practices and led many more artists to pursue cultural skills and
knowledge. Today, Haida artists are known to be among the best aboriginal artists in the
world, and Haida art commands much respect and admiration.

But while the arts are flourishing, the economic and political situation remains
unsettled. Traditional Haida society was matrilineal, meaning lineage was determined by
the mother’s clan status. As such, a chief would pass down his authority to his sister’s
eldest son, to maintain the clan lineage and power (because his own sons would be of
their mother’s clan, not their father’s). Each village, family and clan had a chief, and this
was determined through status and lineage. Blackman (2000) notes traditional Haida
society was stratified into three categories: nobles, commoners, and slaves, which was
reinforced by the ceremonial distribution of wealth and food in potlatch and feasting (24).
The nobles were “*the chiefs, the holders of high-ranking hereditary titles, the house
owners, the wealthy, the ambitious, the clever and the lucky*” (Blackman 2000: 24). They
gave potlatches and feasts to make good their names and to ensure their children would also be of high status in the community. MacDonald notes,

_The potlatch was the most important Haida ceremony and accompanied the progress of high-ranking people through the social order to mark the giving of names, marriages and deaths. Years of preparation were required to amass the food to feed invited guests and the wealth to distribute gifts to pay for the witnessing of events_ (1996: 7).

Commoners, then, were those who had not had potlatches given for them, or who did not own houses or major property (MacDonald 1996: 7). They were outnumbered by the nobles. Finally, the slaves were captives taken in warfare with neighboring tribes or persons purchased as slaves from other bands. They and their descendants were without status (Blackman 2000: 24).

This system remained in place until 1910, when the _Indian Act_ essentially made all First Nation people “wards of the state” and put all regulatory power into federal hands. First the federal Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND) and now Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) maintain control over many facets of First Nation life, including operating funds and transfer payments, economic development, lands claims and treaty processes, infrastructure and housing, and self government. Stearns, in her 1981 book on the Old Massett Band, notes,

_The concentration of power on the federal level has had other serious consequences for the conduct of community life. No longer is the cultural group a coherent community providing a full set of services for its members. No only has there been a loss of functions, which has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the native society, but there has been a separation of “operative” and “regulative” institutions. Only kinship and marriage, the subsistence economy, hereditary chiefship and ritual are “internal institutions” carried on by within the Haida village_ (54).

The 1910 _Indian Act_ created the band council system, which “wrested traditional authority from the lineage and placed it in the hands of an elected group of band councilors” (Blackman 2000: 48). The band council system has been controversial from the start, due to its undermining of traditional governance and allowing people who traditionally would not be in power in the hierarchical system, and perhaps do not have the skills necessary, to be given control of band operations. This system has led to a division in community power as the hereditary Chiefs (who would have been in power in
the traditional matrilineal system) still maintain some of their authority in a more informal capacity, and are often sought out for decisions regarding clan issues as well as land and resource issues. Band councilors, on the other hand, are elected, and any candidate who can get enough residents to vote for them can therefore become Chief or councilor.

The Old Massett Band Council is comprised of one Chief councilor and seven councilors who are elected to two year terms. Elections are staggered so only half of the council is up for election at one time. This means, however, there is an election every year. Band council elections are generally not well-attended in Old Massett. According to one interviewee, it is common knowledge candidates with the biggest families are the ones who repeatedly get voted into power, regardless of whether or not they are qualified for the position. The interviewee noted it was common and expected practice for councilors to help out their families once in power, through getting them jobs with the Band or finding other ways for them to access the resources of the Band (such as by moving their names to the top of the housing waitlist) (MAS Interview 011, Female).

This opinion is supported by the qualitative data from the Old Massett Community Survey, where several respondents stated they felt elected councilors put their families before the community in terms of band resources. In response to *The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful people.*, 60% agreed and 29% disagreed. When asked why they agreed, several noted,

*When they are elected they do more for their family than anyone else. They don’t represent the community as a whole* (OM Interview 5-001).

*They are the ones that seem to get what they want, they use their power for family and friends* (OM Interview 5-004).

*Because most times, it is families that are represented - such as jobs, housing, social assistance* (OM Interview 5-003).

Another common complaint was potential band councilor candidates are not required to have minimum educational qualifications, and as such, do not have the necessary skills and experience to run the complex governance of the band. In response to the statement, *The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.*, only
25% of respondents agreed, and 46% disagreed. When asked why they disagreed, some noted the following,

- *I think they are good people but I don’t think they are capable* (OM Interview 1-003).
- *They all don’t have the proper schooling and aren’t getting educated* (OM Interview 3-001).
- *A lot of them do not have their Grade 12 and a lot have no education at all...* (OM Interview 999).

On a related question, 43% of Old Massett respondents indicated they had little or no interest in band council politics. When asked why, respondents stated that,

- *They are not doing what is wanted by band members, but what is wanted for themselves or their families* (OM Interview 1-010).
- *Too much of a clique, based on family/friend basis- no platforms to run on. Basically a popularity contest. Community hasn’t changed in the 9 years that I have been back* (OM Interview 5-018).
- *No matter who gets in - nothing changes* (OM Interview 4-004).

Trust also appears to be lacking between the community and its leadership. In response to *I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs*, only 22% agreed, while 58% disagreed. Similarly, in response to *The elected leaders (i.e. Band Council) of this community can be trusted*, only 16% agreed, while 57% disagreed.

The above quantitative and qualitative data show some of the residents of Old Massett are disillusioned with the band council system and feel they have little say in the governance of their community. However, despite their stated disengagement, 70% of respondents still noted they voted in the past band council election, and 79% expressed they were planning to vote in the next one.

Accountability is also an ongoing issue. The perception is the community has little input into council policies or decisions even though the majority of council meetings are open to the public. Elections tend to be controversial, and the election of December 2005 was no exception. The new Chief Councilor was elected with only a five vote advantage; the top three candidates for Chief were separated by only seven votes. Two of the candidates promptly appealed the results, but an appeal board denied their request for a re-election. A month and a half later, the appeal board met again and this time, the
results of the election were declared void due to the fact the fourth candidate for Chief was found not eligible to run due to unmet candidate residency requirements. However, the newly elected Chief maintained since the appeal process was not conducted properly, a re-election could not be held. A marathon community meeting was held to discuss the issues, during which a new Electoral Officer was appointed and the decision to hold a re-election ratified.

The re-election was held April 24, 2006, and the same person was elected to the position of Chief, but this time by a landslide 258 votes, a full 172 more votes than her closest competitor, leaving no doubt she was the community’s choice for Chief Councilor. However, throughout her term, she dealt with deep internal divisions; the band manager resigned immediately after the election, along with the only other female councilor, leaving the council short-handed until the election of December 2006, where three new councilors were added, changing the composition of the council once again.34

In 2007, she ran for Chief again, and this time, barely held onto the position, with only 12 votes separating the top three contenders out of total of 221 votes. The results of this election were again appealed, but the appeal committee ruled there was no valid basis for the appeal, and thus the results stood.

Economically, Old Massett was traditionally dependent on the fishing and forestry industries for its economic stability and, to some degree, still is. However, the collapse of the fisheries and the drastic decrease in the allowable cut in forestry, as well as the ongoing aboriginal right and title court case has effectively stopped any new resource industry economic development projects until it has been decided to whom the resources belong, has resulted in an unemployment rate of close to 55% in 2006, up considerably from 35% in 1991 (Broadhead 1995, Appendix, Table 10; Minutes of Community Meeting, March 20, 2006) and 24.6% in 1996 before the closure of the base

34 Three seats were up for election: one incumbent decided not to run again, and was replaced on the council by his mother, another was voted out and replaced by a fairly young resident who ran primarily as a joke and was more than surprised to find out he had been elected to council. The third position was actually a re-election of a council member who had run in 2005 for only a one year term due to a resignation, and he was voted in again.
in 1997. This can be compared to 16.5% for the Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional District as a whole and 9.6% for the province of B.C. in this same year.\footnote{Old Massett has had the highest unemployment rate in the Haida Gwaii since 1986, when it jumped to 48% with the closure of the crab cannery. The lowest rate in recent history was 1981 when it dropped to 6% from 20% in 1976 (Broadhead 1995: Appendix, Table 10).}

1996 Census data show the top three industries by employment were government services at 23%, fishing and trapping at 13%, and logging and forestry at 11% (the combined total for primary industries was 25%) (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/ Retrieved March 11, 2006). This is actually an increase from 1991, when only 10% of the labour force was employed in primary industries and the main industry was government services which employed 29% of the labour force (Broadhead 1995). This reflects the downsizing of the army base at Masset, and the renewed reliance on the resource industry.

One interviewee noted only 20 years ago, the Old Massett Band had 54 fishing boats operating. At last count, there were only two commercial fishing licenses in the community (MAS Interview 011, Female; MAS Interview 013, Male). This is supported by 1986 Census data, which shows 26% of the labour force were employed in primary industries, which represented the highest employment category at that time (Broadhead 1995).

Seasonal and part-time work tends to be the most common type of employment in the village, and tends to take place mainly in the summer months when the cannery and the tourism-related businesses are operating. In 1990, only 17% of the Old Massett workforce worked full-time/full-year, and 83% worked part-time or part year (Broadhead 1995). Census data from 1995 show only 25% of the workforce were working full-time, full-year while 73% were working part-year or part-time (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/ Retrieved March 11, 2006).

The data collected in the 2005 Old Massett Community Survey show a similar pattern. The question asked respondents to list all of the people in their household who were currently working and then asked them to describe the type of work being done. Of 102 people who were listed as working, 54% were working at part-time or seasonal positions. Respondents were also asked if there were any people in the household over the age of 18 who were not working, and 53% of households noted at least one member...
of their household (over the age of 18) was not working. Of these, 28% were looking for work and unable to find it.

In 2004, the Old Masset Village Council (OMVC) revealed it was in considerable financial trouble, having accrued $8.8 million in debt, and was forced to lay off more than half of its employees and drastically restructure its operations (MAS Interview 011, Female). What happened is indicative of the disconnect between the federal government and the First Nation bands have been put under its purview by the Indian Act and how that has all but destroyed the traditional leadership structure and governance in First Nation communities. An interviewee describes the situation thusly,

*The trouble was that the money’s coming in and it’s going into the general account all the time and coming in and coming in. And so what happened, suddenly, it was just crazy mismanagement stuff…the main administration was just being run wrong for years, and years, and years, and a mindset, everything, there was a whole bunch of things built up and eventually they ruined their line of credit and then they went over it, and then eventually the bank said “hang on a minute”, bang, they lowered the boom, said “no more, you’ve got to get your act together.” Because they’ve been saying for a year and a half, get your act together, they didn’t, they didn’t – they’ll never cut us off, well, guess what, they cut us off* (MAS Interview 013, Male).

After allowing the Band to go considerably over the debt threshold established for determining when to intervene, INAC finally stepped in and required the Band to submit a five year Debt Remediation Plan which outlined the steps to be taken to recover from the deficit. As part of this plan, the Band reduced its workforce considerably, cut many post-secondary students’ funding, and reduced or removed their financial support for many community services and projects (MAS Interview 011, Female). These changes have been successful for the most part; the Band has considerably reduced its debt and has hired back many of the employees who were laid off.

Old Masset relies on New Masset for many of its services and, unlike Queen Charlotte City and Skidegate, the two communities are well integrated. This means the fortunes of one affects the fortunes of the other; with the high levels of unemployment in Old Masset, the businesses in New Masset are suffering as well. There is some good news on the horizon. A new hospital and medical complex is being built on the road between New Masset and Old Masset to replace the aging and obsolete army-built
hospital, and will service the north end of the Island, bringing more people into the two communities, and providing employment for locals both in construction and to work in the new facility.

**Demographics**

Data from the CCP Old Massett Community Survey show the average age of respondents was 54 (Table 5.12). Among the 68 respondents, the average length of time lived in the community was 24 years. Twenty-one percent of respondents have some university and 5% have a Bachelor’s degree. None of the respondents had any education higher than a B.A. The largest category for education was some secondary or high school (not graduation) at 43%. In terms of individual income, only 3% made $50,000 or more per year (and no one in the sample made more than $60,000 or more per year). Of note, 54% made less than $20,000 per year. For household income, 15% made $50,000 or more per year (with only 3% in the top three income categories), and 39% made less than $20,000. In comparison to the other non-reserve communities, Old Massett respondents had the lowest individual and household incomes as well as the lowest levels of education.

*Table 5.12 – Old Massett Demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Massett</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income - $50,000 or more</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – some university</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – BA</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – MA</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education – Ph.D.</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seventy-one percent of respondents indicated their owned their own home, while 25% were renting and 5% were leasing. While such high home ownership may seem like

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36 Note that those respondents who work on reserve do not have to pay taxes on this income.
a positive achievement, land ownership is another area where First Nation reserve residents are often disadvantaged. Land ownership on a reserve is not as simple as off-reserve, where a person simply legally purchases land, is given a deed for it and as such, owns that land. Because of Canada’s colonial past, First Nations are essentially “wards of the state” under the Indian Act, which regulates almost every facet of life in a reserve community. Land on reserve, therefore, is not “owned” by the band, it is only in their “possession”, which is a critical distinction for re-sale and equity purposes.

A First Nation person on reserve, therefore, does not hold the deed to their land and home. What they have instead is a “Certificate of Possession” (“COP”) which gives them the right to possess and occupy the land and any buildings on the land, but not own it. However, in order for a First Nation person on reserve to acquire a COP for the land, they must first have the approval of the Band Council and the Minister of Indian and Native Affairs Canada (“INAC”). Should the First Nation person cease to become a member of the band or cease to be entitled to reside on the reserve, he or she has six months to transfer the COP to another band member (with the permission of the Band Council) or the land automatically reverts to the band. A person holding a COP to a particular piece of land cannot sell that COP outright, they must first get the approval of the band to sell the COP, and it must be to another band member. Thus, First Nation people on reserve do not “own” their land per se, and it is very difficult for them to borrow against the land or the equity they hold in and on the land for that very reason. What most people consider to be their greatest financial asset (i.e., owning their own home) is therefore denied to First Nation people living on reserve (www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sj5_e.html Retrieved May 22, 2006).

COPs are generally passed down along family lines, and this can cause issues in terms of validity if the transfer process is not followed, which, given the requirement to gain approval from both the Band Council and INAC, often isn’t. The need to keep land in the family also leads to some confusing situations if the family does not want to transfer the COP but also does not want to live in the house. It is often the case the person living in the house does not have the COP for the house, as it may belong to a distant family member or relation, or someone not even related to them. The problem arises should repairs or renovations be required, as the COP must be presented in order
for the person inhabiting the house to access band funding for the renovations. On the other hand, should the house fall into disrepair, the Band Council cannot do anything about it without the permission of the COP holder (www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sj5_e.html Retrieved May 22, 2006). This is why it is a common sight on some reserves to see abandoned, decrepit buildings in prime real estate areas. This is a particular problem in Old Masset, where there are some 47 lots, many of them with prime ocean views, with unoccupied houses in varying degrees of dilapidation. There is a process by which the band council can legally reclaim these lots, demolish the houses and build new ones to give to band members on the lengthy housing waiting list, but it is complicated and costly, and can cause bad feelings in the community.

For residents of reserve communities, the decision to leave is not simply to put one’s house on the market and wait for a buyer and then take the money and go buy another house in another community. It is considerably more complicated than that. Because they do not actually own the house and land, and can only transfer the property to another band member with the Council’s permission, the COP holder cannot ask market price for the home. The price is considerably lower than market price, as the new COP holder has only the right to occupy the house, and nothing else. Thus, the person wanting to move would not gain equity to put into another house elsewhere, and without that, it is also very difficult to secure a bank loan for a new residence. Add to this the pressure to keep the COP in the family and the potential problem of obtaining Council permission for the transfer, not to mention close ties to family and traditional territory, and often a lack of education and skills and the accompanying opportunities, and it becomes clear why many First Nation residents find it difficult and sometimes even impossible to move off-reserve. What this creates is the sense residents are not there because they choose to be, but because they have to be.

Perceptions of community

It would be not unexpected, then, for First Nation reserve residents to have a different view of their community in terms of their commitment and satisfaction, and this is supported by the quantitative data from the survey. Old Massett respondents show the lowest levels of community satisfaction, with just over one-third agreeing they are very
satisfied with their community as a place to live and the same percent disagreeing (Table 5.13). This is considerably lower than the other three non-reserve communities. In addition, Old Massett respondents show the highest level of agreement to moving away if a good job came up somewhere else. Old Massett residents were very clear and evenly split on this issue, with the same number agreeing as disagreeing and only 2% remaining neutral. However, when asked If you were to move away for a good job, would you consider moving back if a good job came up in the Village?, the majority of respondents stated they would.

Table 5.13 – Old Massett Satisfaction and Commitment Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Massett Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%Agree %Neutral %Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</td>
<td>36 27 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere.</td>
<td>49 2 49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community ratings

Old Massett respondents are very similar to New Masset respondents on their rating of their communities as a good place to raise kids, but considerably lower than Charlotte or Quadra on this measure (Table 5.14). All four communities are quite similar in their ratings of the employment opportunities in their communities, with Old Massett respondents and New Masset respondents nearly identical in their agreement their communities have poor employment opportunities. Interestingly, on the rating of safe/dangerous, Old Massett respondents have the lowest agreement on safety and the highest agreement on dangerous of all four communities, rating their community as considerably less safe and more dangerous than New Masset respondents, despite their geographical proximity. Also notable is the measure of community isolation; Old Massett respondents are nearly identical with Quadra regarding their agreement their community is not isolated. This is particularly notable given that Old Massett is located on an island some seven hours by ferry from the mainland, whereas Quadra is only a 20 minute ferry ride, and given the much higher ratings by Charlotte and New Masset on this
measure, with 85% of Charlotte respondents and 89% of New Masset respondents rating their community as isolated, compared to only 43% of Old Massett respondents.

Old Massett respondents rate their schools more highly than do New Masset respondents, and are more decisive than Charlotte respondents in their ratings. Less than one-quarter rate their schools as good, while nearly half rate them as poor, compared to three-quarters of New Masset respondents. This rating may be confounded by the fact that the only school in Old Massett is a band-operated elementary school with kindergarten through Grade 4; the rest of Old Massett students attend school in New Massett. We are unable to tell from this measure if Old Massett respondents are including the New Massett schools in this rating.

Interestingly, given that they showed the highest level of agreement their community was dangerous, Old Massett respondents do not rate their community as having the highest crime, and are nearly identical to New Masset on this measure. It appears from this it is not necessarily crime that is earning the dangerous ratings from Old Massett respondents. Finally, Old Massett respondents were more similar to Charlotte than New Masset regarding their ratings of the health care system, which is notable given Old Massett residents utilize the same hospital as New Masset residents. There is, however, a health clinic in Old Massett available only to reserve residents, which may be the reason for the higher rating.

Table 5.14 – Old Massett Community Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ratings</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Community identification**

With regards to comparisons on identification with community measures, Old Massett respondents once again show very different responses than the other three communities, agreeing to a much greater extent than Quadra, Charlotte or New Massett people in Old Massett have a weak sense of community, and it is hard to make close friends (*Table 5.15*). It is obvious from these measures there are some interpersonal tensions in Old Massett. Old Massett respondents also agreed to much lesser extent their community was doing well economically, which is not surprising given the high unemployment rate, lack of community businesses and proliferation of seasonal, part-time work. Old Massett respondents did, however, agree to a greater extent than any of the other communities using their culture and history was a good way to promote economic development, with a full three-quarters of respondents agreeing. This is notable in that this is the only time this measure was used with a First Nation population, and shows they are not wanting to close their culture off from the rest of world and would be amenable to sharing it to a greater extent to economically benefit their community.

*Table 5.15 – Old Massett Community Identification Measures*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Massett Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in this community have a weak sense of community.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other communities on the BC coast, this community is doing pretty well economically.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Community leadership**

Two-thirds of respondents agreed they did not have any say in the political decisions in the community, considerably higher than the level of agreement on a similar
measure for Quadra, Charlotte and New Masset (Table 5.16). Nearly one-half of Old Massett residents indicated they did not believe their leaders were good, capable people, once again considerably higher than the level of disagreement for the other three non-reserve communities. Two-thirds of Old Massett residents agreed their political leaders represented the few as opposed to the many, which is twice as high as the level of agreement in the other three communities on a similar measure. Finally, nearly half of Old Massett residents disagreed their leaders played an important role in the social life of the community, which is again much higher than the level of disagreement in the other three communities regarding the social role of First Nation leaders. It can be seen from these measures Old Massett respondents hold considerably more negative views of their leaders than do the respondents from Quadra, Charlotte and New Masset.

Table 5.16 – Old Massett Leadership Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Massett Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful people.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leaders in this community play an important part in its social life.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust

The generalized trust questions reveal some serious issues in the community (Table 5.17). Old Massett respondents show the lowest levels of generalized trust of the four communities, with well over one-third disagreeing most people can be trusted, and over two-thirds agreeing you can’t be too careful in dealing with people, more than twice the number of Quadra respondents who agreed.
Table 5.17 - Old Massett Generalized Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The generalized community trust issues reveal the same issues as the above measures (Table 5.18). More Old Massett respondents disagreed (42%) than agreed (38%) in response to the statement *Most people in this community can be trusted*, which is considerably more than in any other community. In addition, nearly 50% of Old Massett respondents indicated they felt others in the community would take advantage if given the chance, which is more than twice as high as New Massett at 21%, nine times higher than Charlotte and 23 times higher than Quadra. However, Old Massett respondents did not differ much from the other three communities on the measure looking at whether they trusted outsiders less than insiders, with 44% agreeing they trusted people inside the community more, and 38% disagreeing. It appears while they do not necessarily trust others in the community, Old Massett respondents trust people outside even less, which is supported by their responses to the two general trust measures. Old Massett responses to the question of whether they should leave their homes without locking up are very similar to responses from New Masset, with close to two-thirds of respondents from both communities noting doors should always be locked.

Table 5.18 – Old Massett Generalized Community Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try to take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the social/institutional trust measures, Old Massett respondents once again show consistently lower levels of trust than respondents from the other three non-reserve communities (Table 5.19). Nearly three-quarters of respondents agreed there are groups in the community they do not trust. While Old Massett respondents indicated they trusted young people to a greater extent than New Masset respondents, they showed much lower levels of trust in the police and business leaders. The very lowest levels of trust however, are held for community leaders and elected leaders, with only 22% agreeing they trust community leaders to respond to community needs and only 16% agreeing the elected leaders could be trusted. This is a strong indictment of community leadership in Old Massett and shows there are some very deep-seated issues of leadership and trust existing in this community.

Table 5.19 – Old Massett Social/Institutional Trust Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The elected leaders (i.e. Band Council) of this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social participation

Fifty-four percent of Old Massett respondents indicated they were currently involved in an artistic or craft/hobby group, followed by 50% in a cultural or ethnic association (Table 5.20). Given the importance of art to the Haida culture, and the importance of the Haida culture to the residents of Old Massett, these results are not surprising. Old Massett has many artisans in a variety of different areas, some who do it for a living and some who do it part-time during the tourist season or teach it to the younger generation to keep the art-form alive. While sports or recreation groups were the most popular activities for the other three communities, it was the third most popular in
Old Massett, with 41% of respondents indicating they were currently involved, followed by youth groups or activities (39%) and church related activities and community service groups (35%).

Despite the low community ratings, and the lowest levels of satisfaction, commitment and trust, Old Massett respondents are still quite active in their community, with high numbers involved in social activities and volunteering. Old Massett respondents show the highest level of social participation in the study, with over 50% indicating they are currently involved in an activity within the community. Old Massett respondents also show the second highest level of volunteerism, second only to Quadra Island. It appears from these measures that despite their lack of trust in one another, they are still willing to participate in activities with other people and help out in the community. The quantitative data does not give more insight into this finding, which will be explored in much greater detail using the qualitative data in the following chapters.

Table 5.20 – Old Massett Social Participation by Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Activities</th>
<th>Old Massett Respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cultural or ethnic association</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Youth groups or activities</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Church-related activities &amp; community service groups</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% that volunteer</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary

Old Massett is a community on the edge, in many different aspects. Geographically, it is situated at the water’s edge on an island at the edge of the western world; financially and economically, the situation is precarious at best; and artistically, its artists represent the cutting edge in the field of aboriginal art and skill. Economically, it has been unable to recover from the decline in the resource industry and the majority of residents work seasonally or part-time and live on low incomes. Politically, the community still suffers from the effects of colonialism and the loss of their traditional
governance structure, and puts little trust in its elected leaders. Socially, while community involvement and participation is high, residents demonstrate little trust in general nor for one another, and over one-third of respondents to a community survey indicated they were not satisfied with their community while one-half noted they would move away if they could find a good job elsewhere. However, given the difficulty of moving away from a reserve community, it could well be this is expressing wishful thinking, not considered intent.

This community has seen tremendous loss; a culture decimated and all but destroyed. The traditional ways of living have changed so completely in such a short amount of time many are still finding it hard to adjust; deep divisions and long-held tensions abound between families who are simply not used to sharing the same space. And while some of the old ways have not been forgotten, the few that can teach them are slowly disappearing, leaving the next generation bereft of its hereditary leaders and storytellers, forced to adapt to a system as foreign to them as the government that imposes it.

The changes have been too swift, the losses too great, and many with the ability to lead often simply choose not to. They choose instead to leave the community and the painful memories of what it once was to live elsewhere, without the visual reminders of a powerful culture still infected by diseases that slowly destroy them; now no longer physical but rather economic and social. Dependence, unemployment, poverty, lack of education, drugs and alcohol, family and spousal abuse – these are the new diseases now decimating the once ‘invincible’ Haida.

In a reserve community, the residents’ connection to the community is different in terms of their ability to stay or leave. It is not as simple as putting one’s house up for sale and finding a home and job elsewhere. Their people have occupied this land since time immemorial, and family ties are as closely woven and tightly binding as the cedar hats and baskets made by Haida weavers. What ties them to community may well be different than for residents of non-reserve communities who make the determined choice to ride out the economic storms rather than abandon a lifestyle to which they are deeply committed.
For First Nations residents, lifestyle is not always a choice; it is hereditary, passed down through generations. Should they move away from their community, they are not just leaving a house built with wood and nails, but a traditional homeland, an ancient and revered culture, a way of life that is all they have ever known. And no matter where they go, they will always be Haida, and their true home will always be Haida Gwaii, the islands of their people. Regardless of the social and economic problems, regardless of the often-unsatisfactory political and governance processes, regardless of the poor perceptions of community, as one respondent put it, when asked why she would move back to Haida Gwaii given the chance, “...it is still home no matter how dysfunctional it is.”

However, what all the problems contribute to is a sense of learned helplessness, a perceived lack of alternatives. Where residents of other communities are staying because there is nowhere else they would rather be, some residents of Old Massett are staying because they feel they have nowhere else to go. While other communities are facing continual out-migration, the population of Old Massett has been steadily growing, increasing 10% in the period 1991 to 2001 (http://www.haidanation.ca Retrieved May 28, 2006). This has led to a severe housing shortage in the Village, with over 200 names on the waiting list for housing and many having to crowd in with relatives or live off-reserve in New Masset. And while there are some 47 abandoned houses on reserve, the band council has been unable to take control of the situation and reclaim these lots, choosing instead to start a new housing development in an entirely different part of town, some 15 minutes drive away, effectively isolating those residents from the rest of the community.

All of this contributes to a very different sense of commitment to and satisfaction with community, which is the lowest of the four communities. Likewise, so are levels of trust. Unlike the other three communities, Old Massett residents did not indicate they trusted people in their community more than people in general. The majority of this distrust is aimed at community and elected leaders, whom nearly two-thirds of respondents indicated could not be trusted.

There are some positive aspects as well. Old Massett respondents show a high level of volunteerism and participation in social activities, particularly in artistic and
craft-related activities. There is also a high degree of participation in traditional activities, from food gathering and preparation to cultural expression. Despite the divisions and the distrust, when a community event is held such as a potlatch or wedding, it is well-attended, and when a resident is in need due to the death of a loved one or a health emergency, the community rallies to help out.

In Old Massett, as with many other coastal reserve communities, economic instability is not a new experience – it is something they have been dealing with for as long as the reserve has been established. While there may have been years when some members of the community were doing well financially due to a thriving resource industry, the failure of this industry and the resulting unemployment is simply another hurdle to face since the forcible loss of control over their land and its resources made them “wards of the state” and dependent on federal assistance. They will overcome this hurdle as they have overcome many before it, as they wait for the courts to restore their land and title and once more make them the stewards of the land they have lived on since time immemorial. The focus of this study, therefore, is on how they are facing this current downturn in the economy, and what they are doing to hold out in the long run, with a particular emphasis on the role of women in promoting adaptive capacity in the community.

Final Summary

While the communities that are the subject of this analysis are all facing or have faced similar circumstances, their ability to adapt to these circumstances is greatly influenced by the social factors existing within each community. As can be seen in this chapter and the previous one, even communities that share a geographical location (such as New Masset and Old Massett or New Masset and Charlotte) often vary widely in their opinions, attitudes and perceptions of community. Thus, each community represents a unique opportunity to study the operation of social capital and its relationship to adaptability and resilience in a different social and economic setting, and in particular, what role gender plays in these processes.
CHAPTER SIX
Women In Rural, Resource-Based Communities

First Nation (Haida) Women

The women also to a great extent share the good qualities of the men...They are exceedingly strong and can cut firewood, sail and paddle canoes, and work equally as hard as the men (Harrison 1912, as quoted in Blackman 2000:22)

Most Raven families are traced back to the goddess She-of-the-Powerful-Face, or Foam-Woman, a name which has almost exactly the same meaning as Aphrodite, “Foam-born.” As the land gradually emerged from the waters of the Flood, she was found sitting on a reef...This marine goddess, many-breasted like the Diana of Ephesus, bore and suckled the women who were to become the ancestresses of the Haida Raven families (Newton 1972: 84).

Historical overview

The history of Haida women who have lived and do live in Old Massett is considerably different from that of the other non-First Nation communities that are included in this study. The history of this community and its people goes back to time immemorial, but because of the oral tradition of the Haida, there is nothing written about them before the first explorers arrived in Haida Gwaii in the 18th century. Fortunately, many of the explorers and traders who were to come over the next 100 years kept meticulous diaries of their experiences, and we are able to get some idea of Haida life and culture at that time from these published records.

The first recorded encounter between the Haida and an explorer was in 1774, when Juan Perez sailed into sight of Langara Island at the far north-east corner of Haida Gwaii and was met initially by three Haida canoes, and many more as the expedition progressed. This is also the first mention of Haida women, who also paddled out in canoes to meet with Perez and oversee the trading, and whom Perez described as “all good looking, white and fair. They are of good build, like the men. Finally, they show evidence of docility and a good nature, because it was manifest in their actions” (Wright 2001: 19). From a priest on board Perez’s ship we also get the following description of Haida women,
In a short time we saw ourselves surrounded by these twenty-one canoes, which contained more than two hundred persons, between men and women, boys and girls – for in the greater number of canoes there were some women. Among the canoes there was one containing only women, some twelve in number, and they alone paddled and managed the canoe as well as the most expert sailors could (Wright 2001: 24).

The women’s skill at weaving elaborate robes, hats and clothing from mountain goat wool, cedar bark, and sea otter fur was commented on by the explorers, who were eager to trade for such items. Explorers following Perez continually noted the presence of women in the canoes and their participation in the trading. In fact, it was considered a bad sign if there were no women approaching the ship or if the women’s canoes were being sent back to shore, as this often signalled an attack was imminent (Wright 2001: 44). As Lillard (1995) notes, “everyone knew that the Haida did little trading without their women” (96). Margaret Blackman, in her biography of Florence Edenshaw Davidson, expands on this by stating that early maritime traders’ accounts from the late 1700s suggest that Haida women played a significant and authoritative role in trading activities. She quotes the following from Joseph Ingraham’s journal,

> Here in direct opposition to most other parts of the world, the women maintain a precedency to the men in every point insomuch as a man dares not trade within the concurrence of his wife. Nay, I have often been witness to men being abused by their wives for parting with skins before their approbation was attained (Ingraham 1971 as quoted in Blackman 2000: 35).

The men on the ship Columbia Rediviva also remarked on the dominant role of Haida women in the trading process,

> The women in trade, as well as in everything else which came within our knowledge, appeared to govern the men; as no one dared to conclude a bargain without first asking his wife’s consent; if he did, the moment he went into his canoe he was sure to get a beating…and there is no mercy to be expected without the intercession of some kind female (Howay 1941, quoted in Blackman 2000: 35).

Captain Ingraham’s journals give further hints as to the strong nature of Haida women when he notes the following about a Haida chief,

> Far from being dead, he said, Cow was very stout and had three wives, which many would suppose was enough to kill him in a short time (Wright 2001: 63).
Captain Bishop of the *Ruby* was trading in Haida Gwaii in 1795 and noted the following in his journal, referring to the same Haida Chief as Ingraham,

*They mostly have one wife, however the Chiefs tread out of the Common road and Kowe has his trio. The women seldom have more than four children, scarcely ever five and Six is a Prodigy. When told that the Queen had borne 16 they would hardly credit the assertion, and being told that myself was one of eleven they surveyed me with great attention repeating the account to each other for some time.*

*...this Tribe both Men and women possess more native modesty than we have hitherto met and are infinitely Superior to the Southern Tribes both in Manners and Persons* (Wright 2001: 76).

Blackman (2000) notes that traditionally, the Haida preferred female to male children because they signified the expansion of the matriline, and their marriages brought males into the household to assist their father-in-law in making canoes, fishing and hunting (26). Many aspects of Haida culture were based on its traditional matrilineal structure. A child was born into its mother’s lineage, and was of her clan thereafter. Sons did not inherit their father’s wealth and authority; this was passed down to the son of their father’s sister, his nephew, because a son would be of a different clan than his father and thus the authority would pass out of that clan’s keeping. Thus, nephews were considered very important in Haida culture, and when a boy reached ten or eleven, he left his mother’s house and became the responsibility of one of his uncles to raise and train (Blackman 2000: 27).

Blackman notes that a common theme running through the analysis of matrilineal societies is that women enjoy, if not external authority, culturally favourable status simply by virtue of the fact that descent is traced through females who are seen as the focus of the entire social structure. In the case of the Haida, the decision-making powers women had in lineage councils, their property-holding rights, and the potential for female succession to chieftainships can all be related to an ideology of matrilineal descent. Blackman notes, however, that although Haida women occupied a relatively high overall status as demonstrated in their access to numerous domains of the culture, Haida society was still a male-dominated one (Blackman 2000:50). She states,
Men were the final authorities of the household and the holders of positions of political authority. They alone were the hosts of the most important types of potlatches, the owners of the most important property (houses and totem poles), and the performers of the most prestigious rituals (dances), the creators and monopolizers of an art form whose symbols represented the matrilineal groups they dominated (Blackman 2000:50-51).

Traditionally, a Haida woman married early, and the prescription of moiety and lineage exogamy required that she marry someone not of her clan. Marriages were often arranged by parents and uncles. Polygyny was practiced but was not very common except for recognized chiefs. While large families were not in the norm in the late 1700s, they had become so by the early 1900s, as Blackman notes, and the inability to conceive was invariably blamed on the woman (2000: 30-31). Regarding the status of wives, Dawson, a late 19th century geologist, notes,

...the women appear to be well-treated on the whole, are by no means looked upon as mere servants, and have a voice in most matters in which the men engage (as quoted in Blackman 2000: 32).

Unlike their non-native counterparts at the time, a married Haida woman could hold property independently of her husband and often received property from her parents as endowment for her marriage. At her death, the property was passed on to a daughter (Blackman 2000:32).

Despite their importance in the matrilineal culture and their involvement in trading and community decision-making, Blackman notes that this perceived equality did not transfer into the economic and domestic sphere, where the division of labour was marked. Lillard (1995) notes that the traditional Haida society followed a yearly cycle that took advantage of the rich natural food sources of Haida Gwaii. Many of the villages were not permanent settlements, but rather “winter villages”; they were only inhabited during the winter when people settled in to pass the stormy weather. Winter was feasting and potlatching time. It was also when men were able to devote time to carving and canoe building, while women were able to focus on their weaving.

Come spring, the families in the villages went their own ways, to fish, hunt, and gather berries and wild plants in the areas traditionally owned or used by each group. Much of this food was prepared for storage to last through the winter months, when only
shellfish were traditionally gathered (Lillard 1995: 16). While men were primarily responsible for fishing and hunting, the majority of fish drying, preservation of game meat, seaweed gathering, berry picking, eulachon oil extraction, plant gathering and preparation and storage of all these provisions was the women’s responsibility, as was the gathering of spruce roots and cedar bark for weaving and providing primary care for children and elders (Blackman 2000; Fiske 1996a). Blackman notes that, in particular, these food preparation and storage skills were vital to the survival of the family,

_The ability of a woman to process foods, particularly fish, was of considerable concern to all. A woman adept at slicing and drying fish was greatly admired for her skills. Furthermore, the limitations on the quantity of salmon a household could garner for winter stores was dependent not on the number of fish that men could catch but on the number that women could practically clean, slice, and dry. Thus females skills were critical to the ability of a household to provision itself and to lay aside a surplus for feasting and potlatching_ (Blackman 2000: 36).

Newell (1999) notes that the foods that the Haida traditionally held in the highest esteem were those that were scarce, seasonal and socially or geographically restricted – those such as salmon that came from lineage controlled territories and those that were offered to guests at feasts. They also deeply valued foods that required intensive labour ‘organized by a person of rank’. Newell argues that this pattern emphasizes the way in which wealth and status were inextricably entwined, since foods were a source and measure of wealth in feast-oriented societies. As women organized the processing and storage for fish and most types of seafood and in many cases were solely responsible for the harvests, these duties gave them an importance and status within their communities (Newell 1999: 123).

With regards to community leadership, Blackman notes that house, lineage and town chieftainships were regarded as male positions, although aboriginal examples of women chiefs are not unknown, and this became more common in the late post-contact times. Due to the depletion of the population from small pox, women would assume chieftainships when there were no male heirs or if the heirs were too young. Women also regularly participated in lineage councils and accordingly had a voice in the selection of successors to the lineage and chieftainships (Blackman 2000: 38-39).
Fiske (1996a) provides support for this by noting that two early accounts of northwestern native bands acknowledge some women held hereditary titles and acted as equals among male chiefs of the matrilineal clans. Further, she notes that while women on the whole were represented as subservient to men and community authority and spiritual leadership were ascribed to men, “...we now know that women were routinely acknowledged by their own communities as chiefs, prophets, medicine women, and herbalists” (Fiske 1996a: 667).

Blackman notes that contact with other cultures brought many changes to traditional Haida gender roles. To begin with, since the main item of trade was sea otter pelts, and the hunting of sea otter “was a prestigious and ritually imbued activity of high-ranking males” (while women processed the pelts), as dependence on those trade goods developed, women became less involved in the formalities of trading. Blackman notes,

As the foreign demand for otter pelts grew, the Haida diverted increasing amounts of energy from other activities into hunting, processing and trading sea otter furs. This demand probably affected males more than females as the former were both the hunters and the primary traders (Blackman 2000: 42).

Blackman further notes that the trading had another deleterious affect, in that “it may have contributed to the degradation of Haida and other Northwest Coast women” (2000: 42). She states that women’s status dropped when they were seen as sexual objects or possessions and offered to white traders as part of the ritual exchange between parties. There is some debate as to the rank of these women; some argue that these women were, in fact, slaves and not relatives of the chiefs as recorded by the traders. However, prostitution in the form of Haida women visiting the ships of traders is clearly noted as a problem by a missionary who visited the islands in 1829, just after the decline of the sea otter trade (Blackman 2000: 42-43).

Blackman states that by the late 1850s, the Haida were increasingly frequenting Victoria where they traded at the Hudson’s Bay Company post, as well as with other local and northern native groups. Instead of wintering in their traditional villages in Haida Gwaii, many spent the winter camping near Victoria instead, which Blackman refers to as “urban squatting” (2000: 44). This was very disruptive of the traditional life cycle in Haida Gwaii.
Blackman notes that many northern native women “spent much of their time within the town limits where they staffed the dance halls or houses of prostitution” to earn money for trading goods to take back home with them (2000: 44). She states that while in some instances the economic wealth from prostitution allowed women to gain some financial independence, the reality for most of the women was exploitation by both native and white men. She states that, “In the long run, the effects of prostitution were disastrous, for the tolls exacted in population costs far offset any immediate economic gains” (Blackman 2000: 44).

Large-scale prostitution came to an end in the years following the small-pox epidemic of 1862 which wiped out entire villages of vulnerable, unvaccinated natives while leaving the white population virtually untouched. Blackman notes that by 1885, the Haida population was down to only 13% of its former numbers and this reduction had a significant effect on the status of women. To begin with, their traditional roles of childbearing and rearing were ever more critical as numerous lineages were threatened with extinction, and they also began assuming more positions of authority outside of the domestic sphere, including chieftainships (Blackman 2000: 45). Blackman notes, however, that this ascendancy was short-lived. She states,

\[
\text{The combined effects of the Indian Act, which allowed for a system of elected band councilors, the Indian Reserve Commission, which divided up lineage land holdings, and the missionaries, who persuaded several leading chiefs to forgo potlatching, conspired to reduce the power and authority of the hereditary chiefs. Furthermore, a woman chief was regarded as an anomaly and every effort was made to transfer the position to a male} \quad \text{(Blackman 2000: 45).}
\]

When the missionaries arrived in 1876, they brought with them a domestic structure that was representative of the acculturating society, and a culture and religion based on patriarchy. The government agents and officials that followed further enforced a patriarchal system that eroded the status of women granted through matrilineal descent. Until Bill C-31 was passed in 1985, the Indian Act was flagrantly biased against native women, revoking their band membership and status benefits if they married whites or non-status natives and denying band membership to their children in such circumstances (Blackman 2000: 47-48).
Blackman notes that the introduction of the male-dominated band council system further undercut traditional lineage authority and women lost the formal input they once had into the political realm of lineage councils. The majority of elected band councillors have almost invariably been male, resulting in a considerably decline of female input into the community. The introduction and then reliance on trade goods and prepared foods led to a decreasing reliance on native foods, the gathering of which had both given women status in society and freed them from their homes to collect seaweed, berries and other foods. Women became more homebound and domestically isolated than traditionally when they moved from place to place, following the cycles of nature. In addition, the emphasis on raising large families decreased the time women had to devote to these gathering activities (Blackman 2000: 49).

One group of women that did benefit from the changes, however, were the older women of the community. As Blackman notes,

*The status of older women, always high, was both intentionally and unintentionally elevated with acculturation. Their ceremonial and symbolic status has become increasingly important in the present day, as by virtue of age and survivorship they have become the final repositories of the native language, of ceremonial etiquette, of kinship, and a heritage fast disappearing*…(2000: 51).

The respect for elders and their knowledge continues into the 21st century, where “Nonnies” (grandmothers, female elders) are held in high esteem in the community for their traditional wisdom and knowledge of clan and lineage patterns. Unfortunately, as Blackman notes, matrilineal descent is now for the most part acknowledged only by the older generation, while many younger people do not know their lineage membership. Moeity affiliation (i.e., raven or eagle clan) is generally known and functions on ceremonial occasions such as potlatches, feasts, weddings and funerals, but does not play the same role that it did in the past. Villages used to be complete and self-supporting units inhabited by only one clan. However, the smallpox epidemic led to the subsequent abandonment of the traditional villages in favour of the two remaining communities, Skidegate and Old Massett. This means that families and clans who would always have lived separately now come in contact far more often than they would have before, when the Haida followed the food cycles and only lived in permanent villages in the winter. Lillard (1995) notes that traditional Haida life was not peaceful, and often clans and
villages were either in competition with one another for resources or openly feuding; this means that former enemies are now neighbours, and the echoes of the past are still heard in the present.

Traditional Haida life was also strictly hierarchical, and ordered by rank; those of high status (chiefs and nobles) had different roles than those of lower status (commoners and slaves). In addition, there were three types of chiefs; village, house and family, who stood independent of one another and there was no one chief to whom every Haida looked up (Lillard 1995). Chiefs were determined by lineage and authority that had to be constantly affirmed through potlatching and ceremonial duties. This system has now been surmounted by the band council system, where a village Chief is elected along with several councillors, and anyone can be nominated for the position, regardless of lineage, authority, rank or even leadership or administrative experience. The imposition of this system into what used to be a stratified society where everyone knew their place, added to the enforced mixing of families that formerly would have been at odds or even at war, has led to the variable social situation that exists today.

Newton (1972) details an interview with Chief Weah, Chief of the Eagle clan of Old Massett, then one of the last surviving chiefs from the days when traditional leadership was still followed. Newton refers to the days of “discipline, decorum and virtue” and compares them “to our own time, in which commoners rule with the support of the Indian Affairs Branch, and the opinion of the chiefs is never solicited” (1972: 136). Chief Weah’s words vividly describe the changes that had occurred over his lifetime, and still resonate today.

And then the Indian Department comes in here, and they appoint so and so without asking older people living here, asking their opinion if so and so – is he reliable and trustworthy? Or anything like that. They come in here, and they appoint anybody. We saw those young people grow up in front of our eyes, and we know who’s trustworthy, who’s reliable, who’s dependent, and all that.

You see, we’re absolutely helpless now, because the Indian Affairs Department has done away with the old chiefs. I’m the last one (Newton 1972: 136-137).

Fiske (1990) notes rather than village ties, family loyalty is now at the heart of the kinship system and community politics on reserve. Large families are able to achieve representation on the Council through voting as a block, and small, economically weak
families and individuals form alliances through claiming kinship or friendship ties. Since most families are related to one another in some way or another, such allegiances are ambiguous and negotiable (125). Fiske notes that local relationships are “multiplex” and states that “individuals are bound together by an interweaving of multiple kin relations and common interests that create contradictory obligations and personal affiliations” (1990: 136).

Fiske confirms that while both women and men can occupy elected and appointed office, it is common to find more men than women on council (1990: 125). She notes that the chief and council function as mediators to the federal government and its funding agencies. Jobs and community funds derive from the federal government and are distributed by the chief and council and the administrators. In effect, the chief and council publicly manage resources that in other circumstances would be private property, and as those resources are limited, this creates a situation of competition between band members for a share of the funds and services. As a result, Fiske states,

*Given that desired goods are insufficient to meet everyone’s needs, allegations of unfair distribution abound. Accordingly, chiefs, councillors and administrators are drawn into factional disputes and regularly denounced for favouritism* (1990: 126).

Fiske notes that traditionally, native women in northwest coastal bands assumed a lot of family responsibility, and this continues today. She argues that women’s domestic responsibilities are undifferentiated from community obligations; women are expected to share surplus food, assist young people and to intervene in the domestic disputes of others in an effort to restore harmony. In addition, women are to provide care through the assumption of community service roles such as health workers, drugs and alcohol counsellors, child care workers and the like. Those in politics and thus with access to power and resources are expected to be able and willing to support others through sharing scarce goods and providing job opportunities. In essence, women in power are expected to use this power to carry out their traditional roles in the context of the new political system (Fiske 1990: 126-127). This is supported by Cooke & Belanger, who, in their investigation of reasons for migration to and from reserve communities, noted the following,
Some people had left their communities because they believed that they could not find employment because of nepotism and others felt that people who were likely to return were those who were able to access band resources such as housing or employment through relatives in government (2006: 154).

Therefore, given the nature of the council system, Fiske argues that women in reserve politics cannot avoid factional infighting. Disputes are created and maintained by the state administrative structure and thus support the local fight for scarce resources. Access to state-controlled resources permits women to fulfill their primary responsibilities to their families through provision of jobs and resources such as housing. Those women that seek political office require the support of their family and relations in order to garner enough votes to win. Once in, they must deliver favours unequally in order to maintain their support base for subsequent elections. Thus, Fiske concludes, factional interests take precedence over their broader responsibility for community well-being (1990: 136).

The political system is not the only area of life on reserve that has changed drastically for Haida women in particular, and many northwest native women in general. As noted in Chapter 5, traditionally Old Massett was primarily a fishing community, and, similar to so many other resource-based communities, the economic life of the community centered around the fishing season. As a result, men dominated both in politics and economics, and women were primarily in charge of the social well-being of the community. The downturn in the fishing industry has meant that Old Massett has had to undergo significant changes. This has led to very different opportunities for men and women living in the Village. Census data from 1995 shows that the unemployment rate for men was 31% compared to only 13% for women (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/). Unfortunately, Census data on educational attainment are not broken down by gender, but several authors (Cooke & Belanger 2006; Fiske 2006a; Gerber 1990) note that in general, First Nation women living on reserve have attained a higher level of education and this is related to their lower unemployment rates.

This is supported by 2001 Census data on aboriginal reserves in British Columbia as reported by BC Stats (see Table 6.1). The unemployment rate for on-reserve females is lower than that for males, and their educational achievement is higher. While 85.9% of
all on-reserve aboriginals with post-secondary completion are participating in the labour force, women in particular appear to receive higher returns for their education, as they are less likely than men to be unemployed if they have completed their post-secondary education. In addition, while women have lower labour force participation rates, they are more likely than men to be employed in management or professional positions, and those that are employed in these positions earn 95% of what men in the same positions earn.

BC Stats reports that one-third of on-reserve residents are still working in primary and goods-producing industries, and the other two-thirds are working in the service industry, including education, health, social services and public administration. In fact, 24.1% of on-reserve residents work in public administration, compared with only 5.3% of the non-aboriginal population in B.C. On-reserve women are twice as likely to be working in service industries than on-reserve men. They are also more likely to be working part-time.

Table 6.1 - BC Stats 2001 Census Data on Education and Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>On-reserve population</th>
<th>Non-aboriginal population (BC)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed post-secondary</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed with completed post-secondary education</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour force participation rate</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>79.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management or professional position</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of earnings compared to men by women in management or professional position</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working 40+ weeks per year</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working 1-26 weeks per year</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working part-time</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of labour force in service industries</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All data in this table from BC Stats (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca Retrieved October 17, 2007).
Cooke & Belanger (2006) note that migration from reserves is more common for aboriginal women than for men and that as a result, aboriginal women are underrepresented on reserves. They argue that this gender differential in migration can be interpreted in light of women’s family status, with women tending to move as heads of single-parent families. Since women are more likely than men to have post-secondary education, they are better suited to an urban job market (Cooke & Belanger 2006: 145). The result of this, of course, is that there are fewer educated women on reserves.

However, Cooke & Belanger also note that gaining education also tends to increase women’s likelihood of moving back to a First Nations community, while tending to reduce a man’s mobility. They suggest that this may be due to labour markets in which employment for men may be concentrated in resource industries or construction, while women might work in band administration or clerical positions requiring more formal schooling. They note that Aboriginal communities with more “institutional completeness” including educational and economic opportunities, as well as administrative structures, tend to have lower out-migration rates (Cooke & Belanger 2006: 146).

Fiske (1990) provides some support for these conclusions where she notes that many aboriginal women living on reserve feel responsible not just for their families but also for their communities, as this was part of their traditional role in the community. As such, they tend to get involved in the administration of the community by working for the band in positions as health workers, teachers, child care workers, counsellors, housing coordinators and other service provider positions (Fiske 1990). Many First Nation women choose their educational direction carefully so that they can return and work in their communities after they have completed school. The fact that so many have done so is illustrated by the high numbers of educated women working in service provider positions on reserves, and the lower unemployment rates for women with post-secondary education (see Table 6.1).

There is very little information available on First Nation women’s participation in social groups and organizations on reserve (see Fiske 1990). Most activities on reserve are informal social gatherings such as weddings, anniversaries, potlatches and funerals,
which are very family-oriented. Women are generally in charge of the planning and organization of these events, particularly in terms of providing the food, service and clean-up afterwards, and there is an expectation that resident female family members will be involved in most aspects of carrying out these activities. In the case of Old Massett, there are very few formal social organizations for women that operate on-reserve; most such groups are located in New Masset or one of the other non-reserve communities on Haida Gwaii. What groups there are tend to be culturally-based, such as weaving and traditional dance groups. As such, it is difficult to postulate the relationship between social participation and workforce participation for women on-reserve, and it is likely that every reserve community varies to some extent in this regard. Many women in Old Massett are involved in the activities associated with self-provisioning (traditional food gathering) and the informal economy, and this takes up a considerable amount of their time, particularly in the spring and summer months. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11.
Non-First Nation Women

Sisters are doin' it for themselves.
Standin' on their own two feet.
And ringin' on their own bells.
Sisters are doin' it for themselves.\(^{37}\)

Many near impossible things were expected of a woman who married a pioneer. One old timer put an ad in the paper for a housekeeper and it read: ‘Housekeeper wanted by 60 year old bachelor. Must be able to sharpen her own saw’ (Taylor 1999:56).

*The Log, 1906:* Mrs. Smith is, in fact, a typical woman of the West, able to turn her hand to anything; can handle a boat and tackle the most lively of Campbell River Salmon. She is a first-class shot and the finest buck of the last season fell before her unerring aim. Her skill as a housekeeper everybody in these parts knows and will be ready to congratulate Mr. Smith on his good fortune in having a life partner so well-fitted to be a help meet for him (Taylor 1999: 71).

As far as wives are concerned, most of them have a wonderful time. They find all sorts of outlets – if they mix, and if they are energetic. They have a tremendous number of problems to solve – they have to set up a school organization, they have to look after a library, they have to be active in church work. Once the problems of the community are settled, and as the children grow older, they become more sociable…(Lucas 1971: 55).

**Historical overview**

Caucasian women were latecomers to Quadra Island and Haida Gwaii. The earliest non-native people to these regions were explorers and traders. As it was considered bad luck to have women on such ships, it was exceedingly rare for them to be on board. In fact, the first non-native women to the Discovery Islands did not arrive until the 1880s, while trading had been established in this region for over a hundred years. It was the establishment of logging camps on Quadra that brought the white settlers and their wives to the region, as there were now roads for them to use to access different parts of the island (Anderson 1979).

The first non-native women to live in these regions were wives of settlers, missionaries or workers in the resource industry (i.e., loggers, fishers, and miners). As more and more men left England to make their fortune in the thriving resource industry, the number of marriageable men decreased drastically, and many single women with

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means emigrated in hopes of finding a husband. Those that came had to face a seven month sea voyage fraught with squalor, seasickness, disease and disgruntled crews who did not like having women on board their ships. Once arrived, the living conditions were harsh and comforts were few. Many women experienced a “comedy of contrasts” or culture shock when they realized what they had let themselves in for (Silent 1992). The land did not often cooperate with the settlers’ efforts to clear it and set up successful homesteads. The trees were too large, the terrain too rough, the undergrowth too dense, and the weather recalcitrant. As Knapp (2005) notes,

*On nearly every one of the major inlets and islands, men, with the help of their wives and children, have tried to homestead, to wrest a living from the generous land. But the weather and the isolation doomed most of their attempts. Only one industry besides fishing had a good chance at survival, and that was logging (13).*

Thus, in addition to having to adjust to living in the wilderness, the early pioneer women also had to adjust to having their husbands gone for long periods of time. It was hardly a situation conducive to marital bliss. As Taylor notes,

*With the male to female ratio at about fifteen to one, family life was the exception not the rule. First Nations women were urged into casual relationships and prostitution, which seldom benefited them or their children. In a society on the outer fringes of “civilization” it was easy to flout Victorian morality. The terms ‘housekeeper’ and ‘cook’ were often code for common-law spouse. No matter what the legal basis of the relationship, a pattern emerged in which women took care of the children and the farms (serious work, if everyone wanted to eat through the winter), while the men laboured away from home when they could, in order to earn cash (Taylor 1999: 55-56).*

The earliest women settlers were often confined to their homes and gardens, isolated and often lonely. Living in such remote areas, with no medical facilities within easy reach, one of the greatest threats to these women was childbirth, which was one of the main causes for death among women of child-bearing age right up to the 1920’s (Silent 1993). As the video *Silent Partners, A history of the women of Northern Vancouver Island to 1920* (1993) notes,

*Limiting the number of pregnancies was not legal, and nor were there safe medical procedures. In the typical coastal scenario, women maintained the homestead and raised their ever-increasing families alone for large parts of the year. The poverty and hardship of their circumstances drove many women to the extreme risk of primitive abortion techniques. Jumping from hay wagons, falling down stairs, knitting needles or chemical cleansers took many lives.*
As more settlements were formed along the coast to support the booming resource industry, more women began to arrive, and communities began to form. Taylor notes that,

*In the very early years of settlement by non-Native people, you didn’t have communities until you had women arrive on the scene and then you began to see the growth of communities because what women did was stabilize settlement – people stayed longer, they started to put down roots, they needed to have the amenities like community halls and a postal service and little stores and so it literally was the arrival of women and families that formed communities (Taylor Interview March 2005).*

Taylor notes that while resource-based economies limited women’s independence in some ways, it enhanced it in others. While opportunities for employment tended to be scarce in the male-dominated resource industry-based communities, the fact that the men were often away for a good part of the year meant that the women had, in some ways, a bit more freedom. They also had a considerable amount of responsibility and were often forced to become very self-sufficient and independent, which was not always a good thing for their marriages (Taylor Interview March 2005). As Taylor notes,

*It gave them more freedom, but it gave them more freedom in chunks, because what typically happened is that the man would come back from the logging camp or from being away and he wants to be in charge again and the women have been used to being in charge and so there is friction...(Taylor Interview March 2005).*

Taylor states that in the 1940s and 1950s, doctors in Campbell River were treating what they called the “10 and 4” syndrome. This was an actual medical syndrome that women suffered as a result of their husbands going off to camp for 10 days and then coming home for 4, and the problems that this caused for their wives and families (Taylor Interview March 2005).

Taylor states that women’s involvement in their communities in terms of formal civic positions within their communities was limited until after the First World War; for example, women were not eligible for school board positions until after 1918. But she notes that, as the man who held this position “would still be going away to logging camps, the woman, his wife, would become the de facto participant because of his absence.” In sum, women worked hard behind the scenes to secure and manage services such as schools and hospitals for their families (Taylor Interview March 2005).
Another threat to these women’s security was the type of work that their husbands did. Many women had to learn to fend for themselves and their families when their husbands failed to return home from work. Logging, fishing and mining were highly dangerous jobs, as safety standards were not a consideration and the accident rate was extremely high. Employee protection and resource sustainability were largely unknown. As Taylor states,

*The simple, daisy-filled cemeteries on Cortes Island and Quadra Island contain the unmarked graves of loggers who shipped upcoast from no known address to meet untimely deaths. There were also no protective measures to ensure the continuing viability of the forest and fish habitats. A grab-and-dash mentality prevailed in the rush to exploit the rich stands of timber* (1999: 58).

Hans Knapp, who emigrated from his native Austria in 1951 and spent the next 40 years in logging camps on the BC coast, recalls that during the “boom” years of logging, men were all too aware of the safety hazards they were facing, and yet too afraid to speak up – job security did not exist, and should they complain, they would be fired, sent packing and “blackballed” in the industry. Men wanting to work in the camps were plentiful, and anyone could be replaced within a few day’s notice. The realities of the job, however, were grim. Knapp notes,

*...sickness, terrible injuries and accidental death were always just behind the next tree. It has been calculated that a soldier had a better chance of returning alive and uninjured from any of the last two World Wars, than had a logger of working safely a lifetime in the woods* (2005: 6; 10).

The goal was simple: cut down and load up as many trees as possible, regardless of terrain, weather, wildlife habitat, or safety considerations. Men worked 10 hours a day, six days a week, and only took time off for Christmas, shutdowns and fire season (Knapp 2005). Knapp notes that, on average, he saw his wife and children for a weekend once every three to four months (Knapp 2005: 151).

John Valliant, in his book entitled *The Golden Spruce* (2005), supports Knapp’s contentions and notes that even in the 21st century, logging is still a highly hazardous occupation. He states,

*Even today, despite the advent of elaborate safety regulations and state-of-the-art equipment, the odds that a logger will be killed on the job are approximately thirty times greater than those of the average North American worker* (Valliant 22).
Reed provides support for this where she states,

*Contemporary work standards and technological capacity has not alleviated this sense of danger. For example, hazards related to repetitive use injuries affected the necks, backs, hands of their partners and friends; injuries to body parts had led to job losses for friends and loved ones. Women described new hazards resulting from new methods of logging such as helicopter logging or new company policies. These dimension’s of men’s work had added to family stress and heightened worries about...health and safety (2003b: 383).*

These statements are also supported by statistics from the BC Forest Safety Council which note that in 2005 alone, 43 people were killed and 110 seriously injured in the BC forestry industry ([http://www.bcforestsafe.org/] Retrieved June 25, 2006). In the period 2001 – 2005, Work Safe BC reported 114 fatalities and 492 serious injuries in the BC forest industry ([http://www2.worksafebc.com](http://www2.worksafebc.com) Retrieved October 6, 2007).

By comparison, the fishing industry appears somewhat safer, although it is generally known to be equally as dangerous. Work Safe BC reports 26 fatalities between 2001 and 2005 (including seven fatalities in both 2001 and 2004) and 48 cases of serious injury ([http://www2.worksafebc.com](http://www2.worksafebc.com) Retrieved October 6, 2007). The BC Seafood Alliance notes that 85% of fishing fatalities are from drowning or being lost at sea, and about 50% of these result from vessels sinking or capsizing ([www.bceseafoodalliance.com](http://www.bceseafoodalliance.com) Retrieved June 25, 2006).

The trade-off, of course, is that today these positions are often very highly paid, and require very little formal education. Valliant notes that, until recently, a faller working for MacMillan Bloedel in the forests of B.C. was making $800 per day, working only 6.5 hours per shift (2005: 128). A successful commercial fishing operation can net hundreds of thousands of dollars, and provide six figure incomes for the deckhands. But for the wives of these men, the long separations, the constant safety concerns, and the heavy responsibilities of raising a family alone were, and are, ever-present.

As communities sprang up in resource-rich areas, other jobs also became open to women. These tended to be one of three types: working in one of canneries or fish-packing plants that sprang up in the many inlets and bays along the coast; domestic work of some sort (i.e., cleaning, laundry, home nursing); or clerical work for one of the major employers (i.e., mill, plant, railroad) (Taylor Interview March 2005; Lucas 1971). The
problem, however, was that in a male-dominated workforce, there were never enough clerical jobs for the single women and daughters who did not want to work in the canneries or as domestic help. They were then left with the alternatives of getting married or leaving town to either obtain further education or look for employment. This, in turn, led to the problem of there not being enough girls of marriageable age for the young men, the majority of whom followed their fathers into the resource industry (Lucas 1971: 95).

During the fishing boom of the early to mid-20th century, work in canneries was plentiful and women with craft skills were well-suited for this type of work, which required fine motor skills and dexterity. For those women who were willing to work hard and were fast with their hands, cannery jobs brought decent returns, and for some, economic independence. Since there were no daycare facilities, canneries were also willing to hire young children to work alongside their mothers, delivering baskets of empty cans to be filled for 15 cents per hour (Taylor 1999: 143).

Women’s options for work opened up even more during the Second World War, although jobs such as logging, fishing and ranching were classified as essential services and thus relatively few of the men working as such were allowed to enlist (Taylor 1999: 137). Both men and women were relieved to be employed again after the long stretch of the Depression, but for many women, this relief was short-lived. After the war ended, many women were sent back into domestic obscurity. As Taylor notes,

“Nice girls” became nurses, teachers or secretaries. Young people who couldn’t afford advanced education took jobs as shop clerks or domestic servants at a very meagre income. A few found creative means to skirt these limitations (1999: 168).

During the heyday of the resource industry on the coast, after WWII, mills and plants were being built and running at full capacity, and logging and fishing remained lucrative careers. Mill and plant workers were able to make large salaries with very little formal education, and it was common for young men to drop out of school to go work with their fathers. Many married women in mill and plant-based communities did not have to work, as their husbands were able to support them. For those that did have to or wanted to work, however, resource-based communities presented challenging
employment conditions for women. In her book, *Green Gold: The Forest Industry in British Columbia*, Marchak notes women were as affected as men by dependence on resource industries, as they had an equally important, if not greater, role in the community’s stability. She states,

*Tracing the employment records of the women who live in these towns, it becomes apparent that they provide the social services on which the towns depend and for which they are paid very low incomes* (Marchak 1983: 28).

*Though women are not employed in the forest industry in these towns, their presence is an important part of the context for these industrial processes. Women do the maintenance tasks in the homes and the service tasks in the offices, stores, shops, schools, and hospitals. In their absence, the forest company employers could not maintain company towns*... (Marchak 1983: 211).

Marchak notes the jobs available to women in resource-based towns are particularly restricted because the resource companies are the major employers, the commercial sector is small, and there are few if any secondary industries. Therefore, women are restricted to employment in tertiary and non-surplus producing jobs, both in the core economy and the peripheral sector, including public service positions (Marchak 1983: 213-214). Randall & Ironside support this conclusion, noting,

*Primary job are commonly filled by white males being paid high wages and experiencing greater job stability and opportunities for advancement. Females and visible minorities are relegated to the secondary labour market, where they are faced with low wages, few fringe benefits, poor working conditions, high labour turnover, and little opportunity for advancement* (1996: 23).

Reed, in her book entitled *Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities* argues that, despite the obvious contribution of women to the success of industry in a resource-based town, as noted by Marchak (1983), the male-dominated nature of occupations within these communities emphasizes the importance of men’s work while ”*rendering less important and in some cases invisible the nature and extent of women’s employment*” (2003a: 83). She notes the classification of “primary” then denotes not only occupations based on extraction of raw materials but also those holding primary importance in the local culture and economy. She states,

*In short, jobs in “primary” (extraction) industries have “primary” importance to local communities and policy makers. Women’s employment within these communities is viewed as secondary or tertiary, not only because women are more likely to be in manufacturing and service sectors, but also because they are*
seen as being of second- and third-order importance to the overall workings of the community (Reed 2003a: 83).

In addition, Reed notes traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity are strong in rural resource communities, reinforced by a dominant ideology that relegates women to the home environment and thus contributes to a lack of employment prospects for them outside the home. She summarizes,

The impacts of geographic and social isolation, lack of employment opportunities, financial and emotional dependence on spouses, company domination of social life, dominant ideology and limited social services have generally been viewed as limiting women’s opportunities to take up paid employment in rural resource communities (Reed 2003b: 377-378).

As noted earlier, in the mid 1980s, the boom turned to bust, the fisheries collapsed, the logging scaled down, canneries and camps closed, mills and plants started laying off workers or shut down, and economic instability became the norm rather than the exception. Barnes & Hayter note that the “recessionary crisis” which struck B.C.’s rural resource communities in the early 1980s “signalled the existence of longer term forces of structural change” (1994: 298). In other words, this time, the boom was not to return. What did happen was a period of “economic restructuring” as formerly prosperous communities were forced to accept a new economic reality. Part of this new reality is making the transition to a more diverse economic base that creatively utilizes available labour resources, including women (Egan & Klausen 1998: 36).

As high-paying resource jobs disappear and the economy is based more on the public and private service sector (i.e., education, health, government services, tourism) education becomes a more important commodity in the community and regional workplace. Women, who are more likely to stay in school at least until grade 12 (Marchak 1983: 202), are more qualified for such positions. In addition, during this boom period, women were more likely to leave the community to obtain post-secondary education or skills training (Lucas 1971) and for the ones that returned, more jobs were available in the changed economy.

Davis (2000), in her investigation into changing gender roles in fishing communities in Newfoundland, notes in times of a successful fishery, fishermen and their families dominated the local social hierarchy. She notes they were valued for their
abilities and the nature of their work, and for their higher incomes. However, they shared similar educational backgrounds with other community members, which mostly amounted to some years of primary school; thus, social stratification was largely based on occupational prestige (Davis 2000: 349). Davis states as the fishery began to decline, the social hierarchy changed. Those with dependable salaried jobs replaced the unemployed and uneducated fishers. Education became more valued as people realized how poorly prepared fishers were in finding alternative employment that would provide them with equivalent levels of income and work autonomy. The residents with the most education were women (Davis 2000: 350). Binkley notes the erosion of fisherman’s incomes and the increased participation of their wives in the workforce led to a greater dependence on women’s wages (Binkley 2000: 332). The result, state Davis & Gerrard (2000), is “women are taking the lead in trying to find solutions to the problems affecting their families and communities and hard-programmed gender patterns will be moderated” (282).

In her investigation of forestry-dependent communities on Canada’s west coast, Reed (2003a) presents a similar situation, noting the most vulnerable group in these rural communities undergoing transition are middle-aged men with low levels of formal education who are facing few opportunities and many barriers. Reed notes investment in recreation-based tourism, and especially eco-tourism, is often promoted as the replacement for job losses in the resource industry, but such jobs require specialized skills and rarely provide the kind of incomes of resource jobs (Reed 2003a: 110). Reed presents the following quote from an interviewee,

>You’re dealing with a man, probably in his mid-forties, late thirties, never mind the older generation like us (fifty-five plus), who’s done nothing but log all his life at eighty thousand, a hundred and twenty thousand, dollars a year, you’ve taken away his job, he’s bitter. He feels useless. He knows he doesn’t have an education, so he’s already intimidated. And you tell him, come on in, we’ve got all these computers for you…(2003a: 111-112).

For the men who had spent most of their lives in the resource industry, jobs are now more scarce. Retraining for the new economy is difficult with a low level of education. Even if they can qualify for service jobs, salaries are much lower than in the primary industries. In this new economy, women find themselves in a reversed role; they
are now working in the ‘primary’ sector, in that these positions now comprise the primary employment in the community, while the resource sector takes a more ‘secondary’ role.

Thus, as noted by Little (1994), the patterns of change associated with rural restructuring have implications for the realities and practicalities of women’s involvement in paid work and also the broader operation of gender relations in rural communities (15). A movement from a male-dominated resource-dependent economy to one based on the service sector and self-employment greatly expands the employment opportunities for women within rural communities, and thus also signifies a shift in gender roles and expectations within those communities.

Tigges, Ziebarth & Farnham (1998) support this argument, noting “it was clear that a reciprocal relationship existed between the restructuring of employment relations and the restructuring of gender relationships in the family and the community” (217). They state increasing labour force participation brings women more visible economic roles and forces couples to adjust traditional notions of “breadwinners” and “dependents”.

The problem, as stated by Allen (2000), Little (1994), and Morris & Little (2005), is employment in the new rural economy tends to be mainly non-standard; part-time, seasonal, contract or temporary. With the collapse of the profitable resource industry, the transition to a service economy means the loss of many full-time, full-year jobs. However, as noted by Lorber (1994), Pupo & Duffy (2007), Yodanis (2000) and Reed (2003a), women have always been more likely to be employed in non-standard work, due to occupational sex segregation and gender inequality, and in particular, women’s roles as primary caregivers. Lorber sums it up thusly,

*When employers convert jobs into part-time work, their rationale is that they want to attract women with small children, but their real reason is that they want to have a flexible supply of workers and to save money on training, health and disability insurance, vacation days, sick pay, and pensions (1994: 212).*

BC Stats reports part-time employment has grown twice as fast as full-time employment in the province since 1976 and women have a much higher incidence of part-time employment than men. The two industries with the highest part-time employment rates are retail trade and accommodation and food services, which together
accounted for nearly 35% of all part-time employment in BC in 2001. Because women are more likely to be employed in these sectors, their part-time employment rates are at a much higher level than men’s (http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/ Retrieved October 13, 2007).

Reed (2003a) notes women in resource communities are more likely than women elsewhere or men generally to work part-time (89). Allen (2002) states while the number of rural women in paid employment has increased, their jobs tend to be casual, part-time or non-employee (35). The community descriptions in Chapters 4 and 5 show female respondents in three of the four communities that are the subject of this study had significantly higher rates of part-time employment than male respondents.38

Thus, while women in rural, resource-based communities now have greater opportunities to work and in many cases need to work to support their families, the work available is still mainly non-standard and not full-year, full-time. This is supported by the data, which shows one-third of the men are employed full-time (whether self-employed or for others), compared to less than one-fifth of women. On the other hand, only 1 in 10 men works part-time (whether self-employed or for others), compared to one in five women.

The difference is not in the type of work women are doing, but rather the quantity available. In addition, several studies (Yodanis 2000; Vosko 2007; Pupo & Duffy 2007; Bird, Sapp & Yee 2001) note the importance of self-employment as a type of flexible employment for women, particularly in rural communities where full-time work is scarce. Bird et al. (2000) state “the importance of small business to rural communities is indisputable” and note women are one of the fastest-growing groups of small business owners (507). These businesses “take up the slack” in employment created by job losses in key economic sectors (Bird et al. 528). Yodanis notes in the small fishing villages of the eastern coast of Canada, women often start their own small businesses, including hair salons, craft shops, landscaping services, day care centres and bookkeeping services (2000: 280). This is also common in the resource-based rural communities along B.C.’s coast.

38 The data from Old Massett did not allow for a gender analysis of employment.
Due to the downturn in the resource industry, this type of work is now most common in rural communities, and residents have had to learn to survive in a very different economy. The transition is more difficult for men than for women, who have always faced uncertain employment opportunities in resource-based communities, and have learned a variety of “livelihood strategies” (Tigges, Ziebarth & Farnham 1998: 217). One of those strategies, according to Pupo & Duffy (2007), is multiple job-holding. The authors note the number of multiple job-holders in Canada has more than tripled in recent years, and the number of women working two or more part-time jobs is higher than men (Pupo & Duffy 2007: 305).

Another of these strategies is involvement in the informal economy, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11. Little (1997) notes that, while it is extremely difficult to get reliable information, nearly all rural communities have a “shadow” or informal economy providing child care and casual sources of income for women, without which many women would not be able to live in their communities (146-147). Pupo & Duffy (2007) state that consumption of services often takes place primarily through informal networks, with exchange and barter as tender. They note,

*Low-wage women, particularly those who are sole-support parents, are likely to use bartering as a way of expanding their resources. Working-class women in these circumstances are very resourceful, sometimes drawing on a huge network of friends and family members to create a 'patchwork' of interchangeable arrangements* (Pupo & Duffy 2007: 314).

Another area of community life where women have an integral role is in the volunteer sector. The involvement of women in the civic life of their communities has long been a feature of rural life, and one integral to its well-being. As Coakes & Bishop (1998) state,

*Newcomers to rural areas are seldom familiar with this feature of rural social life, where the formal infrastructure of urban areas is replaced by an informal voluntary community network of caring people contributing countless unpaid hours. Women, in particular, have a major role to play in rural community life* (250).

Taylor (2005), Lucas (1971), and Coakes & Bishop (1998) all note the plethora of community organizations existing within rural communities, the majority of which are run by women. Taylor notes it was primarily after the Second World War women
became more involved in their communities, as the men came home and reclaimed the resource jobs, and women now found themselves with more time to commit to community activities, something they had been unable to do during the lean Depression years (Interview March 2005). Lucas also notes the presence of these organizations within resource-based communities during the boom period, where many women were not working outside the home and thus had more time to organize and be involved in many clubs and associations, such as church clubs, Red Cross, Hospital Auxiliary, craft and hobby groups, and community service groups (1971: 169).

However, despite their involvement, Taylor notes at the formal organizational level such as School Board Chairperson, Regional District Director, Member of Parliament, Member of the Legislative Assembly, there were still very few women involved. One of the reasons for this is these positions would take women out of their communities, and away from their families, whereas involvement in community organizations such as the community centre, and school and church functions are more locally-based. Taylor notes this pattern of leadership has always been the case in small rural communities. She states before the new community center was built on Quadra Island, there was an old community center that functioned from 1917 on, and was almost entirely run by women. She notes,

*There were men involved too – usually, there were men as the president of the association, and the rest of the people on the association were women and they did the work and let the man have the token leadership and public spokesperson role* (Taylor Interview March 2005).

Lorber (1994) states that this pattern of male leadership at the formal level and female leadership at the more informal level is the result of gendered concept of authority and leadership potential. She argues that women are seen as legitimate leaders only in areas considered of direct concern to women, such as health, education and social welfare, whereas their accomplishments in men’s fields tend to be invisible or denigrated by the men in the field, with the result that women rarely achieve the status to be considered formal leaders. This was certainly the case in rural, resource-based communities, where both work and formal leadership were male-dominated due to men’s primary position within the economic life of the community. However, women
dominated the social and informal leadership of the community, which was accepted by both men and women as legitimate, as such areas were considered their domain.

Teather provides support for this argument where she notes the differences between men and women’s voluntary organizations in rural communities. She argues that men’s voluntary organizations serve a different role than women’s, being more likely to be formally focused on business or economic concerns. She states that such organizations operate to reinforce male gender identity, even when membership is open to both genders. In addition, Teather notes that male service clubs, such as Rotary and Lions, until recently exclusively male, are seen as more prestigious than women’s voluntary organizations (1997: 227). This is further supported by Warren, Thompson & Saegert (2001), who note that when community organizations remain small or informal, men tend to predominate (Warren et al. 2001: 21).

Lorber further argues that when a leader is chosen among colleagues, women are often overlooked by the men of the group, and there are usually too few women to support one another or put each other forward. Even where women are the majority of workers, men tend to be favoured for positions of authority because both women and men will accept men leaders as representing their general interests but will see women as representing only women’s interests (Lorber 1994: 226). While this has been the case in most rural, resource-based communities, as noted by Taylor (2005), Marchak (1983) and Lucas (1971), and women are still overrepresented in the informal, social leadership positions, due to the changing economy and the opportunities this has given to women, more women are now moving into formal leadership positions.

Coakes & Bishop (1998) note the voluntary associations existing in rural communities supply or supplement services, and also fill in gaps left by inadequate government funding. The “manpower” for these organizations is generally the women of the community, who spend countless hours helping to maintain vital communities facilities such as playschools, daycare centres, community centres and libraries. This role not only adds to the women’s value as citizens, but also gives them the opportunity to make decisions and improvements regarding the functioning and growth of their
communities, often leading to an expanded role in the leadership of the community as well. In addition, such involvement gives them the opportunity to meet people outside of their own immediate circle of family and friends, and expand and diversify their social networks (Erickson 2003; Putnam 2000).

Allen (2002) states such activities help create a ‘close-knit’ community; one where there are multiple ties between actors. She notes this interconnection produces close-knit networks of overlapping social ties linking many community residents and allows for certain conventional divisions to be recognized, such as between locals and newcomers (Allen 2002: 37). Little states women’s involvement in community activities helps to assimilate newcomers into the community, offering them a way of becoming accepted which is particularly important for those moving in without knowing anyone (1994: 27; 1997: 152).

Little (1994) argues women’s activities within the community “are clearly a very important part of the dominant rural ideology” and notes in many rural areas, “expectations surrounding women’s willingness to participate in such activities are particularly high” (27). She notes such participation is an important aspect of what women see as their “rural identity” or gender roles within the rural context. This contention is supported by Little (1997), Morris & Little (2005), Allen (2002) and Little & Austen (1996).

In particular, Little (1997) argues while not all rural women share a common identity, there are a number of characteristics that have assumed a central role in the expectation and assumption of rural women’s identity. She states,

*There is an image of ‘the rural woman’ to which, clearly, not all women conform – and to which, perhaps, no woman conforms totally – but which nevertheless influences the behaviour, values and expectations of all rural women...The idea of women as ‘community-makers’ has...assumed a central role in the identity of rural women. This idea has been reflected in a number of ways including the participation of women in voluntary work and the organization of women of village events...(Little 1997: 155).*

Little (1997) notes this gender identity as related to the rural community goes beyond the issue of voluntary work to include a much broader interpretation of the *spirit* of the rural community. She states,
Women were seen, and saw themselves, for example, as in many ways responsible for the protection, preservation, and continuation of the village community, both in general and in highly specific ways (Little 1997: 153).

Little & Austin (1996) provide support for this contention where they note rural communities have specific characteristics which have a large impact on women’s roles, and in particular, in their involvement in the community. They state,

*What is interesting is the relationship between women’s involvement in social/fund-raising activities and the rural community. Their participation, it seems, was encouraged partly by the scale and accessibility of the activities, but more importantly through the belief that not only was it expected of them as member of the community, but that it was also part and parcel of what ‘rural life was all about’* (Little & Austen 1996: 108).

Allen (2002) refers to this rural community identity as the “rural idyll”, stating the notion of community in the rural idyll is a powerful one, emphasizing not only a way of life but also a way of gender relations. She notes,

*It engenders notions of a tight-knit, supportive, friendly, caring community in contrast against the impersonality of city life. The rural idyll emphasizes that in the community there is a sense of responsibility amongst people: an ability of village people to ‘pull together’ and look after one another in times of need or crisis. Women, as ‘natural carers’ are expected to be visible within the community as the bearers of this responsibility (Allen 2002: 37).*

Little supports the idea that these expectations are very gender dependent where she states,

*...while the expectation was for women to help out in the community (with both more formal voluntary activity and ad hoc village ‘events’) whenever possible, men were given much more opportunity to ‘opt out’ (and hence were seen as particularly heroic when they joined in) (Little 1997: 152).*

While some authors (Allen 1998; Pupo & Duffy 2007) suggest women’s increased participation in the workforce has led to less free time and thus less time spent in community activities, others (Teather 1997; Coakes & Bishop 1998; Morris & Little 2005) emphasize the link between commitment to rural life and community involvement by women. In particular, Little (1997) states voluntary work is regarded “very much as a female preserve” by both women and men and the notion of voluntary activity is deeply embedded within cultural constructions of the rural community (152). Little notes,
To some extent the two issues cannot be separated in the sense that the way in which voluntary work has become constructed within the village is as a part of the female identity in the community.

...almost by definition, voluntary work was undertaken by women, and that active participation in the community necessitated some degree of involvement in voluntary work (Little 1997: 152).

Teather (1997) argues such organizations represent several kinds of space for members and play a vital role in affirming rural community cohesion. They are an emotional refuge for like-minded women who share values; a political niche because of their lobbying activities on behalf of rural women; an organizational focus in that members choose to spend their limited time in this organization rather than others; a geographical space beyond the local; and finally, a rural geographical space in that they name themselves as rural organizations and keep rural issues on the agenda despite the changing nature of “rural” (228). Teather concludes,

...this implies a particular significance to voluntary organizations in the rural sector: through membership, participants may be defending the very existence of particular places with their distinctive community life (1997: 228).

Morris & Little (2005) provide support for this conclusion, noting despite increased labour force participation, women still remain committed to contributing to rural community life as well. They conclude,

Although it seems to be the case that it is now more acceptable for rural women to undertake paid work, that working women are no longer so contentious or in opposition to rural family and community life, this does not appear to be impacting upon their other, more traditional roles, as women are now doing both (emphasis added) (Morris & Little 2005: 24).

Summary

Whether native or non-native, women living in rural, resource-based communities have experienced significant changes to their traditional roles. While their occupational opportunities have increased as a result of the imposed transition from resource-based to service economy, their traditional social roles as caretakers of family and community well-being have not changed, and they are now having to find ways to do both. As their increasing educational attainment and need for financial stability leads to more positions in the economic, business and political life of their communities, trying to maintain a
balance between work, community, and family often means that women are employed in non-standard work, either by choice or by default. An increasing number of women are using their skills to open their own businesses, as self-employment allows for the flexibility they need in order to defend and maintain the rural life they have chosen, which includes active participation in the informal economy.

The following four chapters are community-based gender analyses of the social dimensions that are the focus of this study. The emphasis is on the social factors existing in each community that contribute to its resilience, and particularly on the gender differences existing in these dimensions that influence the role women play in contributing to the adaptive capacity of these communities. Chapter 7 investigates the role of women in Quadra, Chapter 8 in Charlotte, Chapter 9 in New Masset and Chapter 10 in the Haida village of Old Massett. Chapter 10 turns the focus to the informal economy, and the importance of participation and involvement in this “other” economy to adaptive capacity and the ability of residents to stay in their communities even during times of great economic instability.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Quadra Island Gender Analysis

Well, all I can say is you have got some very strong women on this island. No matter what group you’re in, it’s the women that are the strong ones, I mean, even in the Fire Department…(QUA Interview L21, Female).

Quadra Island is a community that overcame its resource dependency and completed the transition into a service economy. It’s favourable location has also attracted retiring baby boomers and seniors, many of whom are getting involved in Quadra’s vibrant social scene as well as choosing sides in the ongoing battles over land use and development on the island. These changes have led to an interesting situation for the operation of gender. The traditional roles dictated by resource dependency are no longer necessary for a functioning economy, providing much more social, economic and political freedom for both genders. The degree to which they are taking advantage of these expanding roles and the effect this has had on the social factors under investigation is the focus of this chapter.

Demographics

Quadra male respondents are significantly older than the female respondents, and have also lived in the community significantly longer (Table 7.1). While men were somewhat more likely than women to be self-employed full-time, they had equal rates of part-time self-employment. For the most part, the self-employed men and women on Quadra work alone, with only approximately one-third employing at least one other person. Men and women also had similar rates of full-time employment by others, but women were significantly more likely to be employed by others part-time. This result regarding part-time employment by others follows the trend found by Enns et al. (2008), whose research was conducted with 22 communities in the sample.

With regards to marital status, there are few differences other than that women are more likely to be divorced while men are more likely to be separated. The female respondents were more likely to have children at home, with 45% indicating they had at least one child living at home as compared to 37% of men. Men were more likely to
have school age children, with 81% indicating they had at least one child in school as compared to 68% of women.

While the respondents in the sample were equally likely to be not working or laid off, Census data for Quadra shows women have a lower unemployment rate than men and have since 1991, when the female unemployment rate dropped to 6% while the men’s increased to 10% and then hit an all-time high of 12% in 1996 (compared to the women’s rate of 7%). In 2001, the women’s unemployment rate was only slightly lower at 8% as compared to men’s at 9%. These rates are identical to the unemployment rates for men and women in B.C. in 2001 (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca).

Table 7.1 – Quadra Demographics, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence</td>
<td>11-20 years</td>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed full-time</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed part-time</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0.911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of self-employment (mean)</td>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>0.260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many others employed (mean)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others full-time</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>0.418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others part-time</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working or laid off</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>0.687</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at areas of employment, there are very few respondents employed in the primary industries (Table 7.2). Interestingly, there are proportionally more women employed in forestry than men, with 12% indicating employment in this area as opposed to 7% of men. Men are, however, more likely to be employed in the trades, construction, and fishing, while women are more likely to be employed in health care and the service industry, where one-third of female respondents indicated employment as compared to 17% of male respondents. Similar percentages of men and women are employed in education and government services.
Table 7.2 – Quadra Areas of Employment by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Men</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forestry or logging</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/service industry</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government services</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These employment figures may obscure the true reality of employment on Quadra, however, as they do not reveal location. As noted in Chapter 4, a considerable number of Quadra Islanders work in Campbell River, a short ferry ride away. Since these people cannot be identified and removed from the data, they are unable to provide an exact picture of the nature of work on Quadra.

Education

Quadra female respondents have significantly more higher education than the male respondents (p=0.029) (Table 7.3). While men do show a higher number of post-graduation degrees, women are significantly more likely to have gone to university or acquired a university degree. What is notable is that 92% of women and 77% of men have at least completed high school, which are the highest proportions attained among the four communities that are the focus of this study. This level of educational attainment for women is also higher than the 2006 provincial average. While post-secondary achievement is somewhat lower for Quadra men as compared to provincial averages, women’s achievement is nearly identical. However, while women’s post-graduation achievement is slightly higher than the provincial average, Quadra men’s post-graduate achievement is more than twice that of the B.C. average.
Table 7.3 – Quadra Education, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduation</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university/graduation</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduation</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Quadra female respondents are more likely to have attended and/or completed community college while men are more likely to have taken and/or completed trades training (Table 7.4). Forty percent of female respondents have a community college certificate, diploma or degree. While equal numbers of men have taken some trades training, only 26% have actually completed it. Another one-third of all respondents have completed a skills training certificate or gained a diploma of some kind.

Table 7.4 – Quadra Island Trade and Skills Training, By Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage Males</th>
<th>Percentage Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some community college</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>0.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community college certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>0.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some trade training</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed trade training</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some job skills training</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>0.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills training certificate or diploma</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>0.488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-level crafts/skills</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>0.091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Income

Men make significantly more money than women \( (p=0.002) \) as their mean individual income falls within the $30,000 - $39,999 category as opposed to women’s
mean income in the $10,000 - $19,000 category. There are no significant differences in household income, as both men and women’s mean household income falls in the $40,000 - $49,999 range. While the men’s individual income falls into the same category as average individual income for men in British Columbia ($36,258 in 2001), women are making less than the average for women in B.C. ($23,154 in 2001). Average household income is lower than the average in B.C. ($57,593 in 2001) (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca Retrieved October 2007).

The only significant difference in sources of income is that men are more likely to be receiving a work pension than women ($p=.019) (Table 7.5). One-third of men and one-fifth of women cite personal investments and government-based income such as CPP, OAS and GIS as their sources of income, while only approximately one-half indicate income from wages or salary. This lends support to the contention that Quadra is becoming a retirement community.

Table 7.5 – Quadra Sources of Income, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ninety-two percent of male respondents indicated that they owned their own home, as opposed to 77% of female respondents. Twenty-one percent of female respondents were renting or leasing, as compared with only 8% of male respondents.
Community commitment and satisfaction

Interviewer: Are you pretty identified with the community? Like people, you know, say “I’m a Vancouverite, I’m a …”

Interviewee: Quadriplegic?

Interviewer: You’re a Quadriplegic? What does that term mean?

Interviewee: Lived on Quadra for a while. A local.

Interviewer: Does it cripple you, or…?

Interviewee: No, it’s just a term (QUA Interview 220, Male).

Men and women show equal, and extremely high, levels of agreement with the statement, I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live (p=.357) (Table 7.3). They also show high levels of agreement with the statement, I would move away from this community if a good job came up somewhere else (p=.131). However, when this measure is controlled for age (i.e., age<65), women are significantly more likely to agree than men (p=.047). Given their significantly higher level of part-time employment, this is perhaps not surprising.

Table 7.6 – Quadra Commitment & Satisfaction, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</td>
<td>97 M</td>
<td>94 F</td>
<td>3 M</td>
<td>4 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere.</td>
<td>9 M</td>
<td>11 F</td>
<td>79 M</td>
<td>66 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere. (Age &lt; 65)</td>
<td>7 M</td>
<td>14 F</td>
<td>81 M</td>
<td>62 F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perceptions of community

Given the divisions on Quadra, it is not surprising that the male and female respondents had different perspectives on the political situation in the community (Table 7.7). Men agree to a significantly greater extent that they don’t have any say in what the political leaders do (p=.014). Only half of all respondents agreed that their political
leaders were good, capable people and one-third agreed that their local leaders represented the interests of the few instead of the many.

Table 7.7 – Quadra Leadership Perceptions, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2 tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me don’t have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful groups.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualitative data give some insight into these results. Quadra Island is unincorporated, and part of the Comox-Strathcona Regional District. Therefore, the only local political representation Quadra has is the Regional District Director, who has represented “Area J” continuously since 1988, often running uncontested for the position. As with everything on Quadra, his effectiveness at representing the residents of the island on the Regional District board is an issue which divides the community, and everyone has a different opinion. His most vocal opponents are a group of business owners who formed a group called the Quadra Community Association in response to a controversial community planning process. They are frustrated with the Director’s stance on community development (they feel he is too far on the “green” side) and feel he is not properly representing all of the interests on the island (QUA Interview L05, Male). In a community where women are very involved in community organizations, there are only two women on the 11 member board of the Quadra Community Association; one as the secretary, and one as the aquaculture representative, and she is the wife of the Quadra Island cannery owner.
The root of these divisions are expressed well in the following excerpt from an interview with one of the people who oppose the Regional Director. It generally represents the views of many of the men interviewed,

...there is a polarization here. Between the group that are environmentally conservative and the business community. Yeah, there’s two. And you can’t represent both. Unfortunately [the Regional Director] sits much closer to this group, and consequently the business community doesn’t feel they’re well represented. ...some who have small business here and home occupations; they don’t feel that they’re well represented because [the Regional Director’s] personal philosophy tends toward that side (QUA Interview L05, Male).

Many of the women interviewed, however, saw the Regional Director’s role in the community somewhat differently, often expressing their respect for someone who is in a very difficult position. Interestingly, not a single female interviewee “categorized” the Regional Director into a particular group, instead seeing his role more as trying to represent all the interests on the island.

Well, he more than anybody has his finger on the pulse; he has to because we have the, you know, community plan that we all worked on in the mid 1990’s that, we had piles of meetings and committees and then that was forwarded and refined at the regional district level and basically that’s supposed to be a reflection of how Quadra Island wants their community; more specifically land use – how people want it. [The Regional Director] always been very good and very available to talk to people on the phone and so on about any issues that come up and he will willingly go uninvited to meetings if there are any contentious issues that he could possibly help with, help mediate, and he does big public meetings, too; we have a few contentious ones. ...he’s done, I think, a very good job in a very difficult situation (QUA Interview 135, Female).

Community ratings

Female or male, the respondents from Quadra Island agreed on most items, and appear to share similar perceptions regarding these aspects of their community (Table 7.8). While there were extremely high levels of agreement that Quadra is safe, a good place to raise children, and has low crime, only 10% of men and 3% of women rated the employment opportunities in the community as good. Quadra respondents did not show the same levels of agreement regarding their level of isolation nor the quality of their
health care. It appears quite obvious that Quadra Islanders are aware of, yet not always in agreement on, the challenges of living on their island community.

Table 7.8 – Quadra Island Community Ratings, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust

Female and male respondents show similar levels of generalized trust, with nearly three-quarters of women and 80% of men agreeing that most people can be trusted (Table 7.9). However, the agreement is not so resounding on the second measure, where nearly one-third of women and 36% of men agree that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people.

Table 7.9 – Quadra Responses to Generalized Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the generalized community trust measures, again we see a high level of agreement between female and male respondents on most measures (Table 7.10). The genders show an even higher level of agreement on trust of most community members than of people in general, although the same ringing endorsement is not found on the second measure where they are asked if they trust people inside the community more than
those outside, and a full half of women and 41% of men agree that there are groups in the community that they do not trust. Despite this, 96% of women and 90% of men disagreed that most people in the community would try to take advantage if given the chance. Interestingly, women were less likely than men to agree that doors should be locked.

Table 7.10 – Quadra Responses to Generalized Community Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try and take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.11 gives some indication of what groups Quadra respondents were referring to in Table 7.10. While young people, the police, business leaders and community leaders were for the most part trusted, lower levels of trust were shown for First Nation leaders and politicians. The response to the First Nation leadership trust measure is notable in that it has the highest levels of neutral responses, suggesting that there are some existing tensions that respondents do not want to openly admit. In terms of gender differences on these measures, women were significantly more likely to agree that community leaders could be trusted ($p=0.040$), and also showed a significantly higher level of trust in politicians as well ($p=0.015$).
Table 7.11 – Quadra Island Responses to Social/Institutional Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualitative data give some insight into some of these differences, in particular, the differences between men and women on the measure looking at local leadership. When asked to name the leaders of their community, men and woman gave somewhat different answers. Women, when asked, named a total of 22 male leaders and 21 female leaders. The majority of the people named were not political or economic leaders, but informal or social leaders; the people who ran the community centre, the arts club and the many other community organizations on Quadra. The men, on the other hand, named 24 men and only 11 women, and their answers tended to focus on formal leaders: political, economic (business owners and those involved in economic development projects). Men tended to name people who were of high visibility in the community and thus were known to them in that way, whereas women tended to name people who were friends or with whom they worked in a given group or organization. This likely explains why they indicated higher levels of trust for these people.

that men are less likely to see women as legitimate leaders except in areas that are of
direct concern to women, and Teather (1997) and Warren et al. (2001) argue that women
are more likely to be seen as leaders in smaller, more informal, and gender-specific
organizations. The data from Quadra Island confirm this pattern for the men, as they are
less likely to see women as leaders, and more likely to name as leaders the men in charge
of the economic and business-related organizations.

The women, on the other hand, named equal numbers of men and women as
leaders, and focused more on informal, social organizations. This provides further proof
of Quadra Island’s transition away from a resource dependent community and towards a
service-oriented and retirement community status, as there are now more men available
to be involved in the social organizations on the island. The social participation measure
(see Table 7.12 below) shows that men and women are equally involved in organizations
on Quadra Island, and so it follows that there would be more male leaders in
organizations that traditionally would be female-dominated, as shown by female
respondents naming equal number of male leaders in social organizations. However, data
on the types of organization that residents are involved in show a gender-specific pattern
of women more involved in domestic-related organizations. Thus, this pattern of
leadership perception supports Lorber’s (1997) argument that even when women are the
majority of workers, both men and women will accept men leaders as representing their
general interests but will see women as representing only women’s interests.

Men and women also responded to the leadership question differently. Many
women found it difficult to answer the question, because they did not see the community
as being led by a few people, but rather as a “team” effort. As one interviewee noted,

*Interviewee:* And you see sometimes it’s like small groups or a committee.
...because I think of people who are involved in the clubs, well they really do a lot of things. I think maybe people work in small groups to lead rather than individual leaders. Which works better, and then you’re not held responsible as the only person responsible, you know?
Interviewer: Yeah, I’m hearing a lot of that. People are having a really hard time identifying any one particular leader because there are so many people in so many different areas.

Interviewee: Yeah, and I think that’s a very healthy way, because then it means more people are involved (QUA Interview L20, Female).

Another interviewee provided support for this view,

You know, I think there’s a lot of people in the community who make things happen.
Leaders, I just don’t see our community that way, you know.
People with a lot of strong leadership skills don’t really rise to the top in the sense that I see “a” leader as an individual leader. But there’s people who organize around things that affect me, which are like home schooling, and artistic ventures and stuff, but they’re not really leaders (QUA Interview 027, Female).

One male interviewee perhaps put it best,

If, I don’t know, if you name an area, I could probably tell you, I might be able to tell you somebody who is the most knowledgeable or the person I would recommend you go see if you have a question about it. I could probably give you a name... but I think each person has their own niche. I don’t think we have a, I’ll use the expression “general leader.” We’ve got a lot of subcontractors but not too many contractors. A lot of people who have their own specialized field that they’re into (QUA Interview 085, Male).

Perhaps this lack of community cohesion is part of the problem on Quadra; with so many different groups and organizations, and each one with its own leader, there is nothing to unify the population. However, the responses to the trust measures seem to contradict this, and imply that there is community cohesion to some degree (Tables 6.10 and 6.11).

Despite the many divisions, Quadra Island residents express high levels of trust for one another. This is one area where the qualitative data supports the quantitative data, as interviewees, both male and female, continually expressed their trust in their fellow residents, despite their differences of opinion. In answer to the question, Do you think most people in this community can be trusted, only one interviewee out of 20 answered no. The majority indicated they did not lock their doors at night (or even when they went away so the neighbours could get in if needed), and many noted they left their keys in the ignition of their cars. The general follow-up answer was that, in such a small community, untrustworthy acts or people would quickly become known – many noted there was a
high level of visibility due to the small population, and this visibility created a certain level of accountability, as demonstrated by the following story told by one interviewee,

_There was a fellow here who, he may have had great credentials as a [tradesman] but as a person and a businessman on this island, he didn’t stay long. Because he couldn’t do business. People, the word spread that this fellow has, an awful lot of work he does just doesn’t measure up. And it doesn’t stand the test of time so after awhile, people just – they wouldn’t deal with him because they wanted something that they could, somebody or something they could count on. And it, as I say, word does spread and stuff like that because people are, I don’t think, it’s people here are more concerned, I think. Like I know all my neighbours, or at least I know of them, we talk and say “hello” to each other. Other than in the city, I couldn’t have told you, I couldn’t have pointed out my neighbours in the same story of my apartment building, you know? Whereas here, you are more inclined to know the people around you more (QUA Interview 085, Male)._  

Other interviewees confirmed the point that, in such a small community, people tended to put aside their differences for the most part, simply because they saw each other all the time. Several noted that, in the city, if you have an argument with your neighbour, you can easily avoid them for long periods of time. Not so in a small island community with only two grocery stores and one post office. One interviewee stated she finds this reassuring, as opposed to the anonymity of living in a big city,

_The cities, there’s too many people. Like a traffic jam here on Quadra is two cars going in the same direction, right? And I like going to the store and knowing everyone, and I like working and knowing the people that I’m working with. I like the knowledge of the people that I’m dealing with. You can’t go to the grocery store and – I mean, going to the grocery store doesn’t take 15 minutes, you can’t just run in and run out (QUA Interview 054, Female)._  

One interviewee noted residents had to work harder at getting along simply because of the context in which they live. She notes,

...it is a community where it could be isolated and has to depend on each other. And we have to work harder to maintain that friendship. If not friendship then civil relationship. Because we know that one day when it comes down to it we have to trust that person. In Oyster River there was the main highway on the island and you could get out and meet anybody new if you didn’t like your neighbour. Here if you don’t like your neighbour, you have to work it out (QUA Interview 025, Female).

This same interviewee noted even after having an argument with her neighbour and taking some time to patch it up, that same neighbour still went out of his way to protect
her from a potentially dangerous situation. In her opinion, the divisions keeping residents on opposite sides of an issue are less important than the commonalities drawing them together. She noted,

*We see these disagreements as events and not as a state of being, you know, its something that can pass.*

*I just think it’s not islandness and independency but perhaps kind of people who are drawn to an island, who are willing to be more self-sufficient. You know, perhaps they already have these values acquired. And the ones who don’t, leave (QUA Interview 025, Female).*

This is supported by another interviewee who shed some light on why, despite the many divisions on the island, people still trusted one another to such an extent. He stated,

*Yeah, I mean if you went to a public meeting that was about a zoning or logging issue, you would get a different impression, because people get all hot under the collar and yell at each other at these meetings. And it does seem very polarized versus people who are, you know, the old-timer logging folk...at lot of them who have a lot of land that they want to develop as well. And newcomers who don’t believe in logging and all that. You know, Sierra Club-type versus the loggers. You get the impression it was like that, but then I think those people also are friendly to each other when they meet at the farmer’s market and at the coffee shop and all that. There’s a lot of mixing in that way... So I think it’s polarized in one way, but in another it’s friendly on another level (QUE Interview 154, Male).*

Therefore, in the case of Quadra Island, we can see constant interaction and high visibility due to a small population and fewer amenities leads to higher levels of accountability among the residents for whom being labelled as untrustworthy can be extremely detrimental both personally and financially, which in turn leads to high levels of trust as people know if someone was not trustworthy, they would certainly hear of it. This supports the contentions of Govier (1997), who argues trust is formed through constant interaction between people; as interactions proceed, and positive results are achieved, people begin to see others as more similar to themselves and trust is created and sustained. However, if the results of the interaction are negative, trust is lost, and is very difficult to regain (Govier 1997).

**Social participation and social ties**

Analysis on the formal social activities measure shows there is no significant difference between men and women; the mean is three for both genders, meaning that, on
average, Quadra respondents are involved in a total of three activities (*Table 7.12*). Looking at the activities by where they are located, again there are no significant differences between men and women; both men and women are more involved in activities inside the community than outside. Given Quadra is an island community connected by ferry to Campbell River, this is not a surprising result.

There are also no significant differences in the number of hours spent at these activities; for both genders, the average number of hours spent in the past 30 days was 11 to 15 ($p=.985$).

*Table 7.12 - Quadra Island Formal Activities, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Inside</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>0.966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Outside</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Both</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES TOTAL</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>0.753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the different types of activities, there are only two significant differences – more men are involved in cultural or ethnic associations ($p=0.005$) and work-related groups ($p=0.052$) than women (*Table 7.13*). Men tend to be more involved in environmental groups and sports or recreational groups, while women tend to more involved in artistic or craft/hobby groups, health, and spiritual or religious groups. This follows the pattern noted by McPherson & Smith-Lovin (1982) as women tend to be more involved in domestic and community-centered groups, while men tend to be more involved in work-related, service clubs and recreational or sports groups.
Table 7.13 – Quadra Island Civic Participation, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby group</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-related activities</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Service Group</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or ethnic association</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help or support</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service club</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social club</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/religious group</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The informal activities measure shows predictable differences; men are more likely to attend a sporting event, play games or cards, or go sports fishing or hunting, while women are more likely to go shopping or be involved in a craft or artistic activity. Men and women are equally likely to participate in a sports or recreational activity, have a meal at home or at a restaurant, attend a church social function or religious service, or participate in a First Nation activity.

Data analysis on the Position Generator measure, which looks at the number, type (either to acquaintances which are considered weak ties, or to close friends, which are considered strong ties), and location (either inside or outside the community) of ties show no significant differences between male and female respondents in terms of their access to resources through the composition of their social networks (Table 7.14). Both genders have more weak ties than strong ties, and more strong ties inside than outside.
Table 7.14 – Quadra Island Summary of Ties, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties - Inside</td>
<td>9.85</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>0.493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties – Outside</td>
<td>9.69</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>0.358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Inside</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>0.185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Outside</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>0.902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIES TOTAL</td>
<td>24.11</td>
<td>18.83</td>
<td>0.286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results do not support the findings of other studies (Moore 1990, Lin 2000, Smith 2000) where men were found to have more weak ties than women, and they are contrary to the findings of Enns et al. (2008) using the same dataset, but with 22 communities as opposed to the three under investigation here. Enns et al. (2008) found that women have more weak ties overall than men, and in particular, more weak ties inside the community. However, Enns et al. (2008) also found women were more socially involved in their communities in terms of their participation in social groups and organizations, and this involvement was significantly and positively related to the number of ties to resource-rich positions within their networks. The Quadra Island data shows men and women are involved in the same number of activities, and so it seems likely they would also have relatively the same number of ties to resource-rich positions as well.

What is interesting is other research studies would lead us to predict women would have fewer weak ties than men, based on their higher level of participation in domestic-oriented organizations, which brings them into contact with other women and thus do not allow them to make the sort of weak ties that provide them with beneficial information (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982; Moore 1990; Lin 2000). Enns et al.

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39 Old Massett was not one of these 22 communities. After this analysis was completed, two more communities were surveyed, bringing the total to 24.
(2008) found where women were involved in more diverse organizations, they also had more weak ties.

As noted in Chapter 3, many of the positions listed on the Position Generator measure are related to the resource-industry, and thus more likely to be filled by men. Seven of the twelve positions are typically male-dominated, either through the resource industry (three positions: aquaculture or fish plant manager; mine manager; pulp mill, paper mill or sawmill manager) or through custom and tradition (four positions: elected or hereditary First Nation Chief; manager or administrative officer of First Nation Band or Tribal Council; police officer; pastor, priest or other church leader). Given this, and given research states women tend to have more ties to other women and fewer ties to men (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000), we would expect men to have more ties to these positions, both weak and strong.

However, this is not the case on Quadra, where men and women have equal numbers of weak and strong ties (Table 7.14). One reason for this is five of the twelve positions listed on the Position Generator measure (see Appendix B) do not actually exist on Quadra, considerably reducing the potential number of weak and strong ties inside the community and also reducing the gender disadvantage for women. The Position Generator measure was created in order to measure the structure of ties to resource-rich positions within resource-based communities, but as noted in Chapter 4, Quadra has long since overcome its resource dependency, and so the majority of those positions no longer apply to its residents. Many of these positions do, however, exist in Campbell River, which still maintains strong links to the resource industry. This is another factor influencing the higher number of weak ties outside the community and is likely the reason why men have more weak ties outside the community than women, though not significantly so.

As noted in Chapter 3, the Position Generator measure is limited in that while we can get some information on what types of ties people have, and where they are located,
it gives us no information about how they may use those ties to their benefit in their daily lives, which is the essence of social capital. This is critical information regarding whether there is a difference between weak ties and strong ties in this context, and the relevance of location.

Once again, context is a key element in understanding the utility of social ties. As noted above, people in small rural communities are considerably more “visible” to one another based on frequent interaction and closely intertwined social networks. In this context, the more known someone is, the more accountable they are as well, as their actions and behaviours are viewed by so many and social malfeasance may be publicly penalized. This accountability also leads to a certain degree of trust, as people know they can count on others they know well. This is supported by the trust measures shown above, where trust for others in the community was higher than generalized trust and over 90% of all respondents disagreed most people in the community would take advantage even if given the chance.

Social ties in this context also take on a different meaning than in a more urban context where people are far less visible and as such, less accountable to one another. It is less likely such weak ties would perform the function argued by Lin (2000) and Granovetter (1976) of providing unique information not found in strong ties where everyone shares the same social network. In an isolated community, where people come into constant contact with one another and share dense, overlapping social networks, weak ties inside the community are less likely to be bridges to other networks and other information. In fact, as argued by Leonard & Onyx (2003), weak ties are likely very similar to strong ties in this context, as both types of ties are found in the same networks. The main difference between them is strong ties are characterized by long-term relationships and thus greater degrees of trust, while weak ties are to people less well known, and therefore not trusted to the same extent (Leonard & Onyx 2003: 197).

In this interpretation, weak and strong ties outside the community would provide a very different source of information and resources. These are the so-called “bridging” ties referred to by both Leonard & Onyx (2003) and Burt (2001). However, once again, we must consider context in determining the utility of these ties. While it may very well
be the case these outside ties do provide access to different social networks and therefore different information and resources, these may be of little utility to residents of isolated communities who wish to stay in those communities. Should they wish to leave their communities, then these ties may be a source of useful information and resources.

In the case of Quadra, however, respondents have just as many weak ties outside as inside and there are no gender differences in this regard (*Table 7.14*). In addition, in comparison to the other two communities, male and female residents have the least number of weak ties *inside* but the most number of weak ties *outside* the community. Quadra is the least isolated of the communities, being only 20 minutes by ferry from Campbell River, and the majority of Quadra’s employed residents work there. As such, these ties outside of the community may very well provide a beneficial source of information and resources for Quadra residents.

The qualitative data provide support for this interpretation of social ties within this particular context. Many interviewees noted the importance of “being known” in the community in order to be accepted, which was often necessary in order to find work, and to become part of the informal economy (discussed in detail in *Chapter 11*). One interviewee, who had just moved to Quadra Island a year and a half before her interview, noted when she first moved to Quadra, she couldn’t get a job because no one knew her and it wasn’t until she started making contacts in the community she was able to find work. She stated,

*…you have to get known. It does have a lot to do with people knowing you and making your way* (QUA Interview 232, Female).

This is supported by several other interviewees, including a long-time resident of Quadra Island, who stated,

*…if you don’t have a network of people around you, be it friends or family or workplace even, those people don’t get any help in small communities* (QUA Interview L19, Female).

The importance of being “known”, as noted above, is the more visible a person is in the community, the more accountable they have to be to their fellow residents, and therefore the more they are trusted. This, as argued by Leonard & Bullen (2003) is the essence of the difference between weak and strong ties in small, rural communities.
While most residents will have both types of ties in their networks, the difference is how well they know the person, and thus how much they trust them, and this will determine how much they will be willing to help them.

On Quadra, these strong ties apply particularly to people who have lived there for a long time. Several interviewees noted the difference in how residents were treated, based on how long they had lived on the island, underscoring the importance and benefit of long-term, strong ties. As one interviewee put it, *If you weren’t born here, you’re a newcomer* (QUA Interview 124, Male).

Other interviewees noted it took a little while before they felt accepted by the community, as if there was a period of probation to see if they were really going to stay and become part of the community. As one interviewee noted, “I know a lot of people come here, they fall in love with the place and they only last a year because the employment doesn’t work out* (QUA Interview 100, Male). A long-time resident of Quadra sums it up as follows,

Interviewer: Do you think that when new people come in it’s sort of like, we have to make sure they’re really going to stay before we sort of allow them to be part of the community? Or are they instantly welcomed, come on in, here you go, sit down, welcome to the community?

Interviewee: *I feel that way. I think most people feel that way now, they didn’t ten or twenty years ago. I think pretty much very quickly you prove, a person will prove whether they’re a person that can live within this environment or not* (QUA Interview L19, Female).

Thus, in this context, we see weak ties may not represent the same level of social capital as strong ties, for the simple fact weak ties are to people less well known or who have lived on Quadra for a shorter amount of time and have not entirely “proven themselves”.

In addition, the visibility of certain people in the community, particularly social leaders and those people whose positions are represented by the Position Generator measure, means the majority of people in the community will have some connection to them. Such overlapping social networks means nearly everyone in the community may consider such people as a weak tie, but they cannot possibly represent social capital to
everyone in the community, as they only have so many resources to share. In this context then, it would be assumed people in these positions would be most likely to share their resources with their strong ties – people they know best, such as family and close friends.

The mail-out survey provides some support for this contention. In response to the question, *How did you find out about your main job?*, one quarter of all respondents noted they had used their strong ties (family member or close friend), while only 10% had used their weak ties (neighbour or acquaintance). Notably, there were no gender differences in this regard. While research (Moore 1990; Lin 2000, 2001b, 2003; Smith 2000) suggests women are disadvantaged because they have fewer weak ties and weak ties are the most advantageous for status mobility or attainment, this was not the case on Quadra.

**The importance of social participation to making beneficial social ties**

Another important question that cannot be addressed by the Position Generator measure is how people *make* those important ties to resource-rich positions, particularly in small communities like Quadra where, as noted above, newcomers are viewed somewhat warily until they have proven their dedication to the community. The social capital literature (Granovetter 1973, Putnam 2000) and Enns et al. (2008) emphasize the important of social participation to the formation of beneficial social ties, and this is supported by the qualitative data.

A relative newcomer to Quadra, when asked how she made contacts in the community that allowed her to find work, said this was made possible through getting involved in the many social groups and organizations on Quadra. She noted,

> That’s been the way, really the way, that we’ve sort of become part of the community. I can measure it in the store because I told you my partner is born and raised here. Everyone knows her and she is a very approachable person. And so for the longest time, probably the first, I don’t’ know, maybe ‘till Christmas, maybe even you know – people, some people would come in and they come in the door and they’d say is Linda here? And I’d say no, and they’d say, okay, bye. And that doesn’t happen very much anymore. People now come in to see me or to ask my opinion about something, so it tells me that we’re being accepted *(QUA Interview 232, Female).*
When asked whether people were instantly accepted into the community or whether it took a while to become integrated, one interviewee noted this was often determined by the attitude toward community involvement of the people arriving. He stated,

*I known people who have come to the island, and in a matter of weeks they’re fully engaged. They join groups, they become involved in fundraising projects. They join a club or organization and in the matter of a short time they’re involved* (QUA Interview L07, Male).

One interviewee noted, however, it was not always easy for newcomers to join certain groups in the community, some did have a tendency to be cliquish and one might need to know someone in the group first. She stated,

*But if you’re new to the community and you’re not in these groups, that’s another kind of a – a bit of a weakness is that sometimes I think these groups, not on purpose, but it’s hard for an outside person to come into them* (QUA Interview L19, Female).

However, she noted volunteering and getting involved in social groups and organizations was a “really good way to meet people” regardless. This supports the work of Putnam (2000), who argues civic participation is integral to the formation of social networks built on trust and reciprocity.

One interviewee told a cautionary tale about the wrong way to make ties on Quadra and the associated consequences. The story has a subtext about unwritten “rules” of conduct in the community this person was breaking through his behaviour.

*I’m just thinking about a fellow that moved here and started breaking all the rules. Building a bunch of stuff that – in the water and all that kind of stuff and he was pretty rude and demanding every time he came into my store. And in other people’s stores he was really like the king, you know. And that’s not the way small communities work – there is no king. There are people that are king for a day. And you get the big fish and the small pond stuff happening. But you can’t just come here and be the big fish, that kind of thing. He’s gone now actually but he just didn’t make very many friends and he didn’t seem to have the camaraderie or anything. So I think if you come with an attitude that you are it and this is the way it’s going to be, yes, the community might shun you* (QUA Interview L019, Female).

This story, and the above quotes, suggest there is a “right” way and a “wrong” way to attempt to be accepted into a small community, and particularly, into Quadra. As noted, the right way is to adopt a cooperative attitude and be willing to get out and get
involved with the many social groups and organizations in the community and the wrong way is to adopt an attitude of superiority, or even perhaps attempt to lead before you first have become part of the group. It underscores the arguments of Putnam (2000), Govier (1997) and Granovetter (1973), who emphasize the importance of civic participation to the formation of beneficial social ties and social networks based on trust and reciprocity. It also lends support to Coakes & Bishop (1998), Wall et al. (2003), and Enns et al. (2008), all of whom emphasize the vital importance of social participation in helping residents of rural communities build strong supportive networks through constant, positive interaction.

**The role of women in the community**

Quadra Island provides an interesting study of a community that has overcome its resource dependency to a great extent, so factors that existed to influence community functioning based on that resource economy are now no longer prevalent. It has become more a retirement and summer home community than a resource-based community, meaning both men and women have the time to be active in community organizations and thus make the type of beneficial social ties to which Putnam (2000) and Granovetter (1973) refer. However, Quadra Island’s resource-based past is still noticeable in terms of the role of women in the community, in that they still make up the core of people who are running the social groups and organizations.

As noted in *Chapter 6*, women’s participation in social organizations and activities in rural, resource-based communities is not only encouraged, but expected, and is considered by many rural women as an integral part of their identity (Little 1997; Morris & Little 2005; Allen 2002; Little & Austen 1996). This participation is vital to the continued social functioning of the community, particularly as funding to key social services is cut and government programs are removed. Coates & Bishop (1998) argue that this role allows women the opportunity to make decisions and improvements regarding the functioning and growth of their communities.

This is supported by the data from Quadra Island, where more than one interviewee agreed “women are the key to keeping this a healthy community” (QUA Interview L04, Female). As one interviewee noted,
I think women take the lead role in this community to ensure that social concerns are taken care of. Not to say that men don’t participate and help in having those be accomplished but I think, for the most part, it’s women.

...you know, when you go to the Town Hall meetings, there’s a large group of – a large percentage of them are women. It’s not just men sitting around talking and giving their opinions. Women here on the island will stand up and say what they think. And if they see an injustice, they will do something about it (QUA Interview L04, Female)

Another interviewee noted the integral role of women in running the community centre, generally considered the “hub” of the community (QUA Interview L10, Female). Several interviewees noted the community centre had been built by community members with funds raised in the community. One interviewee noted that the local realtor often brought prospective buyers to the community centre to show them the “heart and soul of the island.” She stated,

I look at the community centre and I look at the courses they are giving...things like whether it’s gardening or a lot of the committees. They’re women. They’re running them. So, certainly that way. I haven’t thought of it that way but yeah, they are – I’m just visualizing the people on a lot of these committees that are running them. They are definitely the women (QUA Interview L24, Female).

This confirms Allen’s (2002) contention that social activities help to create “close-knit” communities made up of social networks of overlapping ties linking many community residents and also Little’s (1994) assertion that women’s involvement in community activities helps to assimilate newcomers into the community by offering them a way of becoming accepted. On Quadra, the community centre provides a place for people to come and get involved and meet others, and it is primarily run by women, who offer a different view of life on the island than do men, as noted by an interviewee. She stated,

...you get a totally different view of it when you’re with the loggers and the mechanics and the fishermen and all that stuff. It’s a whole different view, a whole different, you know, perspective on the island. But for me, because I deal with the community centre, 80 percent of the people here are women – just because women are into community, you know; it’s the women who form community and make it, and make sure it happens. And plus women just seem to know that community is the most important thing, because it doesn’t matter what is going on out there, if you don’t have community, you’re [expletive removed], you’re hooped. So if you’re an isolated being, forget it (QUA Interview L10, Female).
This supports Little’s (1997) argument that the role of “community-maker” is one that is taken very seriously by rural women, and is central to their identities (155). She notes that this identity goes beyond just social participation for rural women; they see themselves in many ways as responsible for the continuation of their communities in ways that men do not (Little 1997: 153). This is confirmed by a Quadra interviewee, who stated,

*I mean that’s who comes out, that’s who volunteers, that’s who, you know, of course there are a few really good key men who are doing it, but it seems to me that the men are – most men are – I don’t know whether they’re working...off-island, or what it is but – yes, the people who are doing the classes and volunteering to be on the Board and stuff – we have to go and make sure that men are on the Board, right, work on it to get them there* (QUA Interview L10, Female).

This contention is supported by the qualitative data on social participation on Quadra, which shows that men are less likely to be involved in the type of social groups that have the community centre as their base. This confirms Little’s (1997) argument that voluntary work is regarded as a female preserve by both men and women, as well as Teather’s assertion that rural men and women tend to be involved in different organizations that serve different purposes (1997: 227). One interviewee related these differences to the resource industry, noting,

*Interviewee: This is the problem with men everywhere, particularly men in resource industries, right? Their work is their life. They don’t have, other than their drinking buddies, or their hunting buddies, their life really falls apart if they lose their job, right? Women are very different because they’re just your social critters in a different way.*

*Interviewer: And they’re not involved in the resource industry to the same extent. You don’t meet a lot of women loggers or women fishers or women who work in a mill so their identity doesn’t tend to be wrapped up within that resource.*

*Interviewee: Yeah, it’s an identity thing. It’s, their identity is spread out all over the place and they tend to run everything in the community that’s not resource related or work related* (QUA Interview 135, Female).

This supports the idea that resource communities provide men and women with different opportunities for involvement, with men’s involvement being more work-related and women’s involvement being a key aspect of their rural social identities (Teather
1997; Lucas 1971; Marchak 1983; Little 1997; Morris & Little 2005; Allen 2002; and Little & Austen 1996). This contention is also supported by the quantitative data, which shows that while men and women are involved in the same number of activities, they are not involved in the same type of groups. Men are more involved in environmental groups, work-related groups and sports or recreational groups, while women are more involved in the domestic and community-based groups. Even though Quadra Island is no longer resource-dependent, the patterns established during that period of time carry through to the current day,

There is some indication, however, that things are changing on Quadra, mainly due to the increasing retirement population. One interviewee noted that retired men are now becoming more involved in activities generally associated with women, mainly due to the urging of women. She noted,

A lot of them are, you know, have careers as well. They’ve probably got more interest in keeping communities together. I mean – I think of things like the potlucks that go on and the May Day and all that type of thing. You know, but again, the community kitchen and that. It is run with the women but you certainly are seeing more men involved with these things now that some of them are – a lot of the retired men. The one’s I’m seeing at the community level – the committee levels that are coming into the rec society are the women that are doing that, too. And then they get the men out there and they’re doing the volunteer work on it and they’re doing all of that as well (QUA Interview L24, Female).

This quote also supports Morris & Little’s (2005) assertion that despite increasing labour force participation, women are still committed to running the social life of their communities, and that it is now acceptable for them to do both (24).

Summary

Interviewer: Would you say that Quadra Island has a personality, like a person? How would you describe that personality?

Interviewee: It’s a combination of... somewhere in between a hippie and a yuppie. It’s right smack in the middle.

Interviewer: So that would make like a yippee... or a huppie? (QUA Interview 220, Male).

Quadra Island is an excellent example of the inability of quantitative data to tell the whole story. While the quantitative data do provide some insight and understanding
of the social structure of Quadra, they fall short of being able to describe the processes characterizing social interactions among its residents. The qualitative data, on the other hand, provide a much better picture of the complex social circumstances existing on the island.

To begin with, from the qualitative data, we know there are some very deep divisions centring mainly around what kind of place residents want the island to be. Business people want to develop, environmentalists want to protect, resource workers want to harvest, artists want a quiet and creative space in which to work, and no one wants to be told what to do on their own land. In short, it’s a very unique and diverse community, as noted by one interviewee:

Interviewer: If somebody was thinking of moving here how would you describe this place?
Interviewee: It’s an island with a moat around us.
Interviewer: Why would you say that?
Interviewee: Because the ferry is like our drawbridge. It goes up at night and we have as a result a little bit of a unique community. It comes apart. Or it comes as a result of that. And it’s diverse.

Interviewer: In what way?
Interviewee: There’s a lot of different groups here. It’s not a single community. There’s a lot of different opinions here. A lot of different types of people here, which is one of the reasons why a lot of us were originally attracted. It’s not the same now as it was then.

Interviewer: Right, it has changed.
Interviewee: Oh, definitely. We have had way too many people move here who want to bring all their baggage with them from the city. Just the need for rules, regulations, lights, the need to tell other people how to conduct their lifestyles (QUA Interview 053, Male).

Another interviewee offered support for the claims of difference. Islanders, he explained, are an independent bunch, which impacts on their ability to work cooperatively with one another. He stated,

These islands were settled by people who, I mean in the larger scheme of things they – the people who were restless in Europe came to the east coast of America. The people who were in North America, the people who were restless on the east coast moved west, and then the people who got to the west coast and hit the Pacific Ocean couldn’t go any further so they found remote places to go.
There’s a certain character that tends to arrive on islands like Quadra…and they are more what? Anarchistic people, not to be pejorative, but they’re more independent. And so the strength of that independence can, I think, subvert some of the cooperative things that happen (QUA Interview L07, Male).

In more recent times, as noted by Jeanette Taylor and several other interviewees, Quadra still attracts people who are looking for a rural lifestyle, and who do not want the island developed and turned into “another Saltspring”. The influx of wealthy baby boomers looking for retirement and summer homes has led to further divisions on the island as these new residents are looking for a “recreational lifestyle” with golf courses and more facilities for seniors, which would require more development on the land. One interviewee noted,

*Well, we all came here because we didn’t want the city and all the rules and regulations and tension, and safety, and all that, you know, that’s in the city, and now all those people from the city come here and bring all that with them. They want the rules, they want – you know, there’s now whole security systems on the island, there’s people trying to put bylaws in that the islanders don’t want. And also when they build real big fancy houses then everybody’s taxes also go up and it makes it difficult for our young people to come here. And people came here because they wanted an alternate life, they did not want the city, and now it’s, the city’s come – the city’s come to Quadra* (QUA Interview L20, Female).

It is very apparent Quadra’s residents are a very diverse population; the island has, as one interviewee put it, a “split personality” ranging from billionaires living in enormous waterfront mansions to people literally living in the bush and off the land (QUA Interview 220, Male). The question is then, how does this community manage to work as well as it does? The quantitative data show the highest levels of community satisfaction, commitment, and trust of all the communities in the sample and this is supported by the qualitative data as well. In such a divided context, why is this the case? One interviewee provided part of the answer when asked to describe his community’s pros and cons:

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41 Saltspring Island is the largest of the Gulf Islands, and the most developed. In a relatively short time, Saltspring went from a quiet rural community mainly inhabited by artisans and summer residents to a condo-covered suburb, with all the commensurate issues. It is generally referred to when other Gulf Islanders want to give an example of what they do not want for their communities.
Interviewer: What are the best things about this community and what are the worst things about this community?

Interviewee: The people. That’s the answer to both. Because we’re highly independent and highly collaborative and, in most cases, cooperative. It’s hard to explain that until you become part of the community. You may not agree philosophically but when you work together for a common cause, it’s magic. It’s magic here. We’re very strong when we work together and then when things don’t go quite right, there are issues that drive people into rifts. Our community can be like a fault line during an earthquake which is dramatic. It’s very apparent and very frightening to see it happen because we basically want the best for the community. We just have different ways of looking at it and different ways of going about it (QUA Interview L14, Male).

The key here is the idea that people on Quadra can and do work together when necessary, and because of their love for the island and the lifestyle it provides, they also get involved in the community groups to enhance that lifestyle. A myriad of social groups and organizations exist on Quadra; as one interviewee noted,

> It’s a place to live where there are lots of choices. If people want to be engaged in the community, there are dozens of things happening. You could spend all of your evenings out practically, every week, I think, every week, every night of the week out doing something (QUA Interview L07, Male).

More importantly, as noted above regarding leadership, it is not the same people organizing all of the events, but rather, many people involved, each with their own particular “niche.” This plethora of options draws people in, and once they are involved, they meet other people from the community. While people in the city may have more options of groups to join, they also have the option and opportunity to meet others just like themselves, and given the choice, people tend to prefer to be with people similar to themselves (Lin 2001). In a small rural community, however, the small population dictates rural residents will come in contact with many diverse others, and thus form more diverse networks as a result (Erickson 2003). On Quadra Island, with its array of groups and diverse population, this is especially the case.

This diversity not only allows them to meet people unlike themselves, but also to work with them and get to know them and trust them. Putnam (2000) and Govier (1997)
both note the importance of civic participation to building reciprocal networks of beneficial social ties and fostering trust among the participants. Govier (1997) argues the more people interact with others and the interaction is positive (such as on a fundraising committee or community event), the more they learn to trust the people they are working with, and find common ground with them.

This process of bringing people together and creating trust is particularly important in a context such as Quadra Island, where people hold strong opinions that may often be different from their neighbour. However, constant interaction with others, regardless of their particular stand on the issues, builds accountability among people, creates trust, and helps them to focus on what they have in common versus what they disagree upon. In a small community such as Quadra, this process is magnified by the fact that if someone turns out to be untrustworthy, the word will spread very quickly, and will have detrimental consequences, adding increased incentive to cooperate with one another.

This is supported by several of the interviewees, who noted, despite their differences, people on Quadra did get along and did work together. One interviewee explicitly attributed this to the presence of the community organizations, stating, “I think they – they bring stability to the island, they are a few things you can count on” (QUA Interview L04, Female). Another interviewee explained it like this,

Interviewer: …is there still a decent level of trust between those groups even though they disagree on kind of worldview, or how to run things?

Interviewee: Oh yeah, in fact I housekeep for the leader of the Sierra Club and we never see eye-to-eye. But when we get together he says, what have you done this week, and I ask him, well, what have you done this week. And we have a good conversation then we carry on. Yeah, so we don’t have to agree, but we do get along (QUA Interview 158, Female)

Another interviewee argued the reason why people actually do get along, despite their differences, is people are actually more alike than they would ever want to admit. He states,
...if you take both ends of the scale and could separate them, which I have done, and ask them the same questions, they will give you the same answers, but if one pushes the other one’s buttons, then away it goes – it all starts and this happens constantly in this community. We are here for the same reasons – like a quiet, unobtrusive lifestyle, and whether you are hard-line environmentalist or a hard-line redneck, that is the reality and when push comes to shove, you know, the hard-line rednecks will go and take the bottles and throw them in the bottle deposit. You know, it’s not a lot of difference and even though they won’t agree on anything and they will make a point that they won’t agree but you separate them, and they agree on just about everything. But that’s just part of being on an island – it’s just a community like this and that’s just the way they are...(QUA Interview L08, Male).

Finally, in terms of the role of women on the island, it was mentioned by several interviewees that women are the ones that “make the community.” They run the many social groups and organizations that are the heart and soul of Quadra Island, and bring the people together so they can build diverse networks based on reciprocity, trust and an understanding of their commonalities as opposed to their differences. The women’s role, then, is absolutely critical to the functioning of the community; without their ongoing efforts to provide Quadra with a variety of community-based social groups, people would not have the opportunity to meet other residents and form ties with them in a friendly context as opposed to a contentious one, and the community would be more fractured and divisive, and might lose the essential element that attracted the majority of residents in the first place – its rural character. One interviewee, while discussing how people can be drawn into the community, also noted the importance of doing so, both in the short and long run. She noted,

*I personally want to see as many people who move here come in here and be part of it. Because if they don’t become part of it, then we’re really hooped because – and a lot of them are well-off people sitting – on waterfront and stuff like that and, if they’re going to be isolated, then there’s really going to be a return to a class system here, which really sucks. I know that doesn’t work for community. The community has to be really... integrated and well-networked... Because it doesn’t matter – when you come to the community centre, who you are, what you are, or where you live (QUA Interview L10, Female).
CHAPTER EIGHT
Charlotte Gender Analysis

This is a town run by women (Personal communication, July 2004).

Charlotte is a community that is undergoing a transition from resource dependency to a service-based economy. Along with this economic shift comes considerable social and political change as gender roles in the community are also in transition. Women in resource-based communities have always had to be flexible and adaptable; does it follow that they are finding it easier to adjust to the ongoing changes? What about the impact of these changing roles on the other social aspects of community? These are the questions this chapter sets out to answer.

Demographics

Charlotte male and female respondents are very similar in age distribution. Female respondents have lived in the community somewhat longer than the male respondents. Respondent’s marital status showed a few gender differences; men and women were equally likely to be married, but men were more likely to be separated, divorced or never married, and women were more likely to be living with a partner or widowed. Women were more likely to have children at home, with 42% of women indicating they had at least one child living at home as compared with 35% of men. Men were more likely to have school age children living with them, with 73% indicating they had at least one school age child living with them, as compared with 62% of women.

Data on employment show no significant differences except for part-time employment where, similar to Quadra and the results of Enns et al. (2008), women are more likely to be employed than men (Table 7.1). Men and women show the same levels of self-employment and full-time employment by others. Seventy-two percent of self-employed respondents noted they did not employ any others.

There are no gender differences in terms of who was not working or laid off. However, looking at the unemployment rate over the period from 1986 to 2001, the female unemployment rate was consistently lower than the male, except for 1996, when it doubled from 5% in 1991 to 10%, as compared to 6% for men. By 2001, however, it had decreased
drastically to only 1%, as compared to 5% for men (www.resilientcommunities.ca). These rates are considerably lower than the 2001 provincial rates of 8% for women and 9% for men (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca).

Table 7.1 – Charlotte Demographics By Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Men</strong></th>
<th><strong>Women</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sig.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0.537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average length of residence</td>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>11-20 years</td>
<td>0.335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed full-time</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0.186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed part-time</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>0.334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average length of self-employment</td>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>0.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many other employed (average)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others full-time</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>0.157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others part-time</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working or laid off</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0.732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data on areas of employment show Charlotte has still not overcome its resource dependency, with half of all male respondents indicating they work in forestry and fishing (Table 7.2). Another one-third (35%) of men indicate they work in construction or the trades. Women, on the other hand, show a very different pattern of employment, with 83% of respondents indicating they work in health care, education and the tourism/service industry as compared with 35% of men. Equal numbers of males and females are employed in government services.
Table 7.2 – Charlotte Areas of Employment by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Men</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forestry or logging</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/service industry</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government services</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education

While overall, there are no significant differences between male and females in terms of higher education ($p=0.200$), there are some notable differences between the categories of education. Over one-quarter of male respondents indicated some high school (not graduation) was their highest level of education achieved, as opposed to only 11% of females. This was nearly twice the B.C. male average for 2006. Looking at high school graduation, one-third of women indicated this to be their highest level of education achieved, as compared with one-fifth of men. In this category, women were lower than the 2006 BC average. For post-secondary education, both women and men Charlotte respondents reported having less education than the provincial averages except in terms of post-graduate degrees, where both sexes had considerably higher achievement than the provincial averages.

Table 7.3 – Charlotte Education, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education achieved</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>B.C. (2006)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduation</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university/university graduation</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-grad</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While there are no significant differences in community college education, men are significantly more likely to have some trade training ($p=.017$), while women are more likely to have some professional-level crafts/skills training ($p=.034$) (Table 7.3). While men
indicate significantly more trades training, equal numbers of women indicate they have completed trade training as men.

Table 7.4 – Charlotte Skills and Training by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some community college</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community college certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some trade training</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>9.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed trade training</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some job skills training</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills training certificate or diploma</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-level crafts/skills</td>
<td>8.80</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Income

Male respondents indicated a mean income of $40,000-$49,999, which is significantly higher than the individual mean income of $10,000-$19,999 for women ($p=0.000). The discrepancy was not as great for household income, however, with male respondents reporting a mean income of $50,000-$59,000 and female respondents a mean income of $40,000-$49,000 ($p=0.099). Individual male income is considerably higher than the 2001 provincial average of $36,258, whereas individual female income is somewhat lower than the provincial average of $23,154. For household income, Charlotte males are in the same category as the 2001 provincial average of $57,593, while women’s household income is somewhat lower (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca Retrieved October 2007).

Charlotte men and women have very similar sources of income, with the only notable difference being men are more likely to be receiving income from a work pension (Table 7.5). Women are just as likely as men to be receiving income from self-employment and wages or salary, although as noted above, they are more likely to be working part-time, and thus are not earning as much as men.
Table 7.5 - Charlotte Sources of Income, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Mean or Percentage</th>
<th>Two-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, 72% of women indicated they owned their own home, and 28% indicated they rented or leased their home, as compared with 54% of men who owned and 44% who rented or leased ($p=.097$). This is an interesting result, given that women are more likely to be employed part-time, and have individual incomes significantly lower than men. There is little in the quantitative nor qualitative data to explain this, although women are likely to have lived in the community longer, are less likely to be employed in the resource industry and in more secure employment, and also make up a large percentage of the leadership and business ownership in Charlotte.

**Community commitment and satisfaction**

Quadra men and women show similar levels of community satisfaction, although women are somewhat more satisfied than men (Table 7.6). Women and men show similar levels of agreement when asked if they would move away from their community if a good job came up elsewhere, and this does not change when controlled for age. Over one-third of all respondents note they would move away if a good job came up elsewhere.
Table 7.6 – Charlotte Commitment and Satisfaction Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere. (Age &lt; 65)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualitative data provide some insight into these results. Many interviewees noted the changes to the logging and fishing industries have deeply impacted their community. One in particular noted he had lived in the community since 1972, and had watched the boom and bust of the resource industry in Charlotte. He noted,

In the past, you go, okay, you know, things like lumber prices are way up and blah blah, housing starts are way up here and then, oops, it’s the downturn now. You go, okay, we’re down here but we know that next year or two years from now, we’ll be back up here again. Because this is the trend, we see what’s coming, you know, but since 1996, there hasn’t been anything to say what’s going to make it come back up.

And I think people are very, you know, positive in that same way of “boom and bust”, but yes, it’s come back, don’t worry, you know, this will happen or that will happen and we’ll get on with it. You know, and then – that was kind of at the peak of the silviculture period. So, people weren’t too concerned about it, I mean, there’s concern but no like, anything more out of the ordinary. By 2000, I think, just estimating timelines here – by around 2000, it was getting pretty obvious that this is not like the past anymore. (QUE Interview L04, Male).

Another interviewee noted the changes had been drastic and dramatic, both economically and socially. She stated,

Interviewee: In the summer we would have 300 or 400 gillnetters. We’d have 40 or 50 seine boats. We had a hundred trollers that – and more probably – that worked out of here all summer. When it came to forestry, kids left school, they hardly ever finished, because as soon as you were strong enough and old enough you could get out there in the woods and you can earn $60,000 a year. So though we’ve always had a
mixed community when it came to business, to employment, that was the most dramatic decline. I mean we went up and down with what was happening in the fishing industry, prices were up, people spent more, if there was long closure, the loggers went on strike, everyone suffered and now it’s just, it’s much more flat.

Interviewer: Were there accompanying social changes as well?
Interviewee: Well, I think there’s the respect for those industries and the respect for the people that worked in them has changed and people – children are scrambling to find a model in which to follow. Education was not the big push. I hear people talking about it’s necessary to get an education but they’re in transit right now, in transition, who are trying to figure that out and to promote it because they themselves didn’t do it (QUE Interview L10, Female).

Many interviewees noted there had been a “mass exodus” of resource workers leaving the community, followed by the government workers as the government downsized the Ministry of Forestry and Department of Fisheries offices and other services as the resource industry shrunk. The consequences of this out-migration are numerous, as noted by one interviewee,

But from that on down you’ve seen whole organizations disappear or go from offices of – you’ll hear stories in the last five to ten years – offices going from a dozen, two dozen people to two. So yeah, in a small community like this five people leaving with their families, that’s a big whack, and that leads to a downward spiral, schools shrink, clubs and volunteer organizations, scouts, karate lessons, all that kind of stuff shrinks and disappears making it then in the next cycle less attractive to anyone thinking about coming here because those things are now gone (QUE Interview L18, Male).

The majority of interviewees noted, however, things were settling down, and the people who remained were the ones who were going to stay in the long run, and those who were going to leave, had already done so. Some even noted while it was difficult to adjust to the new economy, it also had its benefits. One interviewee noted the artificial boom and bust of the seasonal work and the large amounts of money made from both fishing and logging created trouble in the community, particularly in terms of alcoholism and drug abuse, often creating situations where lack of trust was an issue (QUE Interview 179, Male).

Many interviewees also noted the transition to a new, more diverse economy created more opportunities for the people who were able to adjust to it. Some noted the changing
economy brought in new people to replace the resource workers who left, which is supported by BC Stats data that show the population of Charlotte actually increased from 1991 to 2001. The mainstay of the new economy are service jobs, which are often seasonal and not as well paid as resource industry positions, often requiring people to hold multiple jobs in order to make a living. The lack of full-time, full-year employment forces people to be more creative in finding other ways to make a living, and this is a key aspect of resilience, as noted by one interviewee:

**Interviewer:** What would you say are the most significant strengths of this community? What does it have going for it?

**Interviewee:** Tremendous resilience, the ability to survive anything, the ability to make something out of nothing; it is incredible. To be able to – the ability to rely on your own abilities, you know, talents, your own creativity. You know, all the things you can’t get. It all goes back to the economy is slow, but that’s, you know, you want something, it isn’t available, you make it, or you find another way to do it. You have to be creative and resourceful, and that’s really a tremendous ability that people have here (QUE Interview L04, Male).

There is the sense that those who have this ability to adapt are the ones who will stay, and will do anything to stay, and those who can’t adapt or accept the new economy, will leave. One interviewee mentioned some men who used to fish are now being retrained to be fishing guides for the sport fishing industry. Others talked about forestry employees or loggers getting into the trades and construction. The understanding is residents have to “create their own jobs” and not rely on the government, or the resource industry, to create them. As one interviewee noted,

*Again, if you’re flexible and have some skills you can usually find work. If you have a passion, you can definitely create a niche for yourself. There’s lots of people who have done that here* (QUE Interview 071, Female).

Another interviewee specifically outlined what kind of person could make it in the new economy,
Like you have to be...you’ve always had to be somewhat entrepreneurial and that’s like tenfold now. You have to be good with your hands, good with your head, prepared to do half a dozen different things and be prepared to be patient while something comes together. Something almost always does because this is still a bit of the Wild West, if you are smart enough and strong enough and stubborn enough there’s still a lot of money to be made here...(QUE Interview L18, Male).

Several people talked about the freedom this new diverse economy provided, in particular for women; the male-dominated resource industry provided very little employment for women, they were essentially pushed to the fringes of the economy, and filled only secondary roles, which, while integral to the functioning of the community, were devalued due to their more social focus (Lucas 1971, Reed 2003, Marchak 1983). As the resource industry declined, women found themselves needing to fill in the gaps to support their families, and their positions in education, health and the service industry became the primary focus of the new economy. The data from the RCP survey support this, showing that 83% of female respondents reported working in those three areas compared to only 35% of male respondents. Those working in government positions also found themselves needing to adapt, as the resource industry downsized, so did many government offices and services. But again, one interviewee pointed out these changes forced people to say to themselves, “If I’m going to stay, I’ve got to make a living” (QUE Interview 047, Female). And for some, that means following their passion, as noted by one interviewee,

**Interviewee:** As far as the amount of money that’s floating around, I would say there’s less money in the time I’ve been here. But in terms of people’s ability to live and survive, I would say that’s probably improved. I would say that we have more services that are necessary than we had before.

**Interviewer:** So there might be less money but that results in people actually being a lot more innovative, creative?
And independent. For instance, one of the ladies that works for me when I first came she was working for Fisheries, and her passion is building houses. And because of the lack of high paid jobs in the government area, she’s actually building houses now and has sold three of them. If the jobs have been there, and she could have maybe continued on that way, she might not have developed that passion (QUE Interview 071, Female).

The freedom was now there for women to “do whatever you want to do”. As one female interviewee noted,

There’s a lot of opportunity to start a small business if that is something you want to do. There’s not a lot of; how can I say this, there’s not that attitude that you have to keep up with the Jones’. So people are quite happy to live, however it is with whatever they need. Yeah, so there’s a lot of freedom here that you don’t have in a lot of other places. (QUE Interview 018, Female).

In Charlotte, women have seized these opportunities, as can be seen by their high level of business ownership and leadership in the community. But, as many noted, what they value about the freedom and opportunities now available to them in this new economy is not economic success, but the type of work they can now participate in that allows them to stay in the community, and maintain a lifestyle they love. As noted in the quantitative data, many women are working part-time, and many are self-employed, and as this flexibility allows them to raise their families and participate in the social life of the community while still being economically independent, this is what works for them. One interviewee noted how she had applied for several full-time positions but realized she didn’t really want them. She stated,

I don’t really want full-time in an office. There’s a nice little job going with South Moresby Air right now but they want a full-time office person dispatcher. I don’t want to be tied and I don’t need to be. And I do things like I make stuff and it sells well. I make stuff and I can – I don’t make a lot of money in a year but it all contributes (QUE Interview 047, Female).

Many interviewees noted it was possible to live on much less by participating in the informal economy and self provisioning, simply because there was much less consumerism. Several interviewees noted their main expenses were food and gas. As one interviewee noted,
You know, there’s no cell phones, there’s no shopping malls, no fast foods, no, you know, hustle and bustle, it’s a very laid back feeling, it’s a different lifestyle totally than most people live (QUE Interview 105, Female).

This commitment to community and to the lifestyle it affords runs very deep, and is predicated on a different idea of what is important in life. One female interviewee summed it up very well,

_But if you want a very simple life, I think you can do it here and it’s more accepted. ...here you’ll have people you know, very good friends that, you know, they live in a $300,000 home and their friends live in a place the size of my shed, you know, I mean it’s not uncommon. It’s not what you drive, it’s not what you wear. I mean to see a woman wearing a dress in town, it’s like, “Oh wow, you’re from out of town. Where’s your rubber boots?” Yeah, I see women wearing their gumbies in the grocery store, you know, they were out with the kids and they’re out clamming_ (QUE Interview 105, Female).

Another interviewee, who works several different part-time jobs at any given time, noted she didn’t see them as employment, but rather as “making a lifestyle”. She echoed the feelings of the majority of women interviewees when asked what keeps her in the community: _It’s never been economic. It’s always been because this is where I want to be_ (QUE Interview 128, Female).

From the quantitative data, however, we can see the male residents of Charlotte are still adjusting to the new economy, and they are not transitioning as quickly as the women. Forty percent of the male respondents to the mail-out survey were still working in the forestry industry in some capacity, whereas nearly the same percentage of women were working in the service/tourism industry. Another 45% of women were working in education and health care, as compared to only 20% of men. The unemployment rate for men was five times that of women in 2001. It therefore appears while the women of the community are somewhat further along in both creating and adjusting to the more diverse economy than the men, who remain vulnerable due to their continued reliance on the declining resource industry.
This is supported by the qualitative data; several interviewees referred to “the faithful few who cling to the traditional jobs of fishing and logging” (QUE Interview L15, Female) and thus are having a harder time dealing with the transition to a diverse economy, where part-time employment, seasonal employment, and multiple jobs are becoming more common than full-time employment. People who are not able to be, or don’t want to be, flexible regarding employment are simply going to have a harder time in this economy, as noted by an interviewee, who said,

...people say well, there isn’t work here. Well, there may not be work if you want a specific type of work. But time and time again I’ve seen people come here, start off with a menial job, move to another job because it’s recognized they’re willing and wanting to work and a year later the person is just inundated with offers to work. It’s a matter of fitting in rather than wanting to be accommodated (QUE Interview L13, Male).

Another interviewee referred specifically to the problems of retraining resource workers to work in the new service economy,

I think because it’s such a new concept, because if you look at the economics and mostly everyone was loggers or fisherman a few years ago and because of the decline in the fishing and the logging that – and the cutbacks that the companies have done with their, just their local employment – so there’s a lot of retraining. So if you have someone who’s been in the bush for 20 years right, but they love fishing, then there’s a whole education of just trying to get them how they would put that on to visitors or how would they give a visitor experience, so I think there’s a lot of training that needs to happen...

But, you know, people for the most part if they were loggers or fisherman they left school at grade 8 and then they just say like “well, I can’t do that.” But the skill set they bring with them needs to be shown that no, you actually can and this is how you go about it (QUE Interview L14, Female).

It is not surprising then, in this economy where full-time jobs are scarce (and for many people, not even desired) and the majority of work is seasonal and part-time, women are more satisfied with community and less likely to leave. Women in resource communities have always had to rely on this type of employment, as they were not welcome in the primary industries (Marchak 1983, Lucas 1971; Reed 2003a; 2003b). They thus filled the other sectors instead, the sectors that now have become the primary sector in many communities: health care, education and tourism/services. The decline of the resource industry and diversification of the economy has created more opportunities for women and allowed them to demonstrate their adaptive capacity through business ownership in areas where they have
always excelled but were not a priority in a resource-based economy. In addition, this type of employment allows them the flexibility to raise their families and be involved in the social life of their communities, because while they have adapted well to the changing economy, at the same time they have not abandoned their traditional role in resource-based communities, running the social groups and organizations that keep a community viable.

For the men, these changes have been more difficult to adjust to, as evidenced by the employment figures that show that some 50% of men are still employed in the primary industries of fishing and forestry, even though these jobs are less secure and less lucrative than in prior years. However, 35% of men report working in trades and construction and another 35% in education, health care and the service sector (as compared with 83% of women), so many men are finding ways to adapt to the transitioning economy. In addition, demographic data show that overall, male respondents have similar levels of education as female respondents, although are more likely to take trade training, and have significantly higher individual incomes than women, which is likely related to their lower levels of part-time employment.

**Perceptions of community**

Perceptions of community were similar for men and women except on three measures (*Table 7.7*). Men were significantly more likely to agree people in the community had a weak sense of community (*p*=0.013). They were significantly less likely to agree the political leaders were good, capable people (*p*=0.032), and also that First Nation leaders played an important role in the social life of the community (*p*=0.008).
Table 7.7 – Charlotte Perceptions of Community, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in this community have a weak sense of community.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears from these results the male respondents in Charlotte have some concerns with their leadership the women do not seem to share. Considering that the political leadership of Charlotte is predominantly female (of five council positions, three are held by women, including the mayoral), this is a notable result.

The qualitative data gives some insight into the question of leadership, and it becomes apparent there are gender differences in terms of who is considered a leader. When asked to name the leaders of their community, male interviewees named 21 men and only 8 women, whereas female interviewees named 21 women and 14 men. Again, as in Quadra, women were more hesitant to name individual leaders, noting leadership in the community was more of a joint effort rather than the work of a few individuals, and were more likely to name social leaders, while men were more likely to name business and economic leaders.

These patterns support Lorber’s claim that perceptions of leadership result from a gendered concept of authority (1994). She contends that women are only seen as legitimate leaders in female-oriented areas such as health, education and social welfare, whereas their achievements in men’s fields tend to be overlooked. This is certainly the case with male respondent’s perceptions of leadership in Charlotte, where there are significantly more than eight women in leadership in the community. In fact, after repeatedly being told by Charlotte interviewees of the importance of women in the community as both leaders and business owners, an informal check of this information was conducted by obtaining a list of business owners from the Queen Charlotte Island Chamber of Commerce. Of a total of 27 businesses
listed in 2006, 17 were owned by women, and 10 were owned by men. In addition, the Parks Canada office overseeing the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Society is managed by a woman, as is the Chamber of Commerce, Northern Savings Credit Union, Visitor Info Centre, Community Club, Arts Council, Charlotte branch of North West Community College, and the Village of Queen Charlotte.

While this level of accomplishment was recognized by the female respondents, who named more women than men as leaders, this was not the case with the men, who named nearly three times as few female leaders. While the women of the community acknowledged the role of women leaders in the community, particularly in the social arena, the men barely acknowledged them at all. Interestingly, however, the men were less likely to agree that the leaders of the community were good, capable people. Based on whom they named as leaders, this would suggest they are referring to the male leaders of the community! It may well be that who they were referring to on this measure and whom they were actually willing to name as leaders are not the same people, and this shows the gendered nature of perceptions of leadership of authority.

One female interviewee declined to name any leaders when asked, noting the following reasons,

Because the people whose names come to mind are the people who are on boards and are very vocal, and are that kind of person. I personally don’t think they’re any more important than the people who lead in more quiet ways. You know, aren’t in the paper all the time but give people direction in their own way. But the kind of people that first popped into my mind are people who I would consider political, and I personally think to some extent that those leaders are good and bad, but quite often we look up them in a way that’s not positive for our well-being because we want to give over our responsibility to these people who appear to be leaders, and talk a lot and therefore, I don’t think I want to name names there (QUE Interview 071, Female).

This implies that the people who are most “seen” are not necessarily the real leaders of the community. Taylor (2005) and Warren, Thompson & Saegert (2001), Teather (1997) and Lorber (1994) all note that men tend to be more likely to be in the more visible and formal positions in the community, heading up the business, economic and political organizations, while women tend to predominate in the more informal, social organizations in the community, and as such, are less noticeable as leaders. However, this is rapidly
changing in Charlotte, where women are increasingly holding both types of leadership positions, and playing a key role in the leadership of the community, although this has not been acknowledged to the same extent by male and female residents, as noted above.

For the most part, Charlotte male and female respondents rate their community similarly, except its suitability for raising children (Table 7.8). Women indicated the community was a good place to raise children to a significantly greater degree than men. While men and women were in agreement their community was safe and had a low crime rate, they were not as positive about their health care and schools.

Table 7.8 – Charlotte Community Ratings, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree M</th>
<th>% Agree F</th>
<th>% Neutral M</th>
<th>% Neutral F</th>
<th>% Agree M</th>
<th>% Agree F</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>.988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>.361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>.733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>.578</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust

There are no gender differences in terms of generalized trust, with well over two-thirds of respondents indicating most people could be trusted (Table 7.9). This result is tempered by the second measure, however, where 39% of women and 43% of men agreed you can’t be too careful in dealing with people and only one-quarter of women and one-third of men disagreed.

Table 7.9 - Charlotte Responses to Generalized Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree M</th>
<th>% Agree F</th>
<th>% Neutral M</th>
<th>% Neutral F</th>
<th>% Disagree M</th>
<th>% Disagree F</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the most part, the results from the generalized community trust measures were similar, except for the measure of insider/outsider trust (Table 7.10). While male and female respondents agreed most people in the community could be trusted, and agreed to a greater extent than on the generalized trust measure for “most people”, they did not agree on whether people outside the community could be trusted to the same extent as those inside. On this measure, men were significantly more likely than women to indicate they didn’t trust people from outside the community as much as those who live there \((p=.008)\). Interestingly, however, men were just as likely as women to agree there were groups in the community they did not trust, with nearly two-thirds of respondents indicating this to be the case.

Table 7.10 - Charlotte Responses to Generalized Community Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust people who live here.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try and take advantage of</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you if they get the chance.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.11 sheds some light on which groups are being referred to in Table 7.10, with men showing less trust than women in the police \((p=0.037)\) and First Nation leaders \((p=0.060)\). Only half of all respondents indicated they trusted their community leaders and less than half showed trust in business leaders. The responses for First Nation leaders show 68% of men and 55% of women either disagreed or were neutral on whether they could be trusted. These large neutral responses suggest that there are some existing tensions that Charlotte respondents do not want to openly acknowledge. The lowest levels of trust were shown for politicians, however, with only one-third of men and 39% of women indicating they could be trusted to do a good job.
Table 7.11 - Charlotte Responses to Social/Institutional Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For men, especially, the people they trust least are those whom they would most likely consider to be “outsiders” in their community, such as the police (who usually are posted for two year terms only and as a result, do not become part of the community), First Nation leaders (all residents of Skidegate), and politicians (not residents of Haida Gwaii). This corresponds to the measure on insider/outsider trust in Table 7.10, which shows men are significantly more likely to trust people from inside the community more so than those from outside. Women, on the other hand, show higher levels of social/personalized trust overall. In general, Charlotte residents show fairly high levels of trust, particularly for other community members, in that the same high number of respondents agreed most people in the community could be trusted as disagreed most people in the community would take advantage if given the chance.

The qualitative data provide some insight into these responses. The majority of respondents noted crime was not something about which they were concerned, given the visibility of people in the small community and the accountability that followed, and the fact that, once the crime was committed, the offenders really had no where to go to get away, and would almost always be caught. One interviewee summed it up as follows,
Interviewee: I think the fact that you know everyone in town and everyone is aware of what you’re doing, I think that tends to maybe make people think twice about what they would do.

Interviewer: So you feel there’s sort of a high level of accountability?

Interviewee: I would say that’s more it, than that people are really different. If you’ve moved to Vancouver you sometimes don’t know who lives next door to you. So, really, if you were to steal from them or they were to steal from you, it’s no different than if you lived across the city from them.

So you’re a lot less likely to have your car stolen [here]. Maybe a joy ride but they’re not getting off-island with it. And it’s likely you’ll be seen by anyone who knows you (QUE Interview 059, Female).

Another interviewee told the following story about the level of visibility, and accountability, to be found in Charlotte, that really captures what many of the interviewees said about trust in their community,

I don’t really think about locking that much, although I did get broken into about two months ago, in the middle of the afternoon. I’m not sure how that fits in but... within the next day, I knew who did it. The following day, I got a phone call, apologizing and saying that he would be right over and he brought my stuff back, apologized and didn’t realize who I was, you know, because I called, I found out who it was, I called his uncle and left a message. His aunt got back to me, somebody else called me and said “Hey, I heard someone so-and-so’s got your stuff, I told him he’d better get it back to you quick.” And so basically, half the community said “Hey, what the hell are you doing stealing off [name omitted]?,” and he had to come back, apologize, and return my stuff (QUE Interview 179, Male).

This interviewee was well-known and very involved in the community and thus able to track down the thief and contact his family. An important feature of this interaction is the lack of consequences for the thief; the matter was handled privately without police involvement. The question as to whether or not the thief learned his lesson and reformed or continued his crime spree, picking his victims more carefully, was not addressed.

This level of accountability also applies to business people in the community. As on Quadra, interviewees noted should someone display untrustworthy behaviour, it would not take long until everyone knew about it. One interviewee noted,

I think that probably what happens to have a business go under is something has happened that wasn’t acceptable to someone in the community and they told friends, and they all just supported that person and didn’t support the business (QUE Interview 004, Female).
Several interviewees noted the common experience of living together on an isolated island with unpredictable weather conditions, especially in the winter, also builds trust by bringing people together, regardless of their differing circumstances. One stated, 
...there is a definite sense of camaraderie on the Island, in the winter. You feel it, like it is all the time, for us, but if you’re here in the winter, because you know, we can get stuck here for weeks with no milk here, no dairy products, no produce, no fresh...Just because the ferry just doesn’t come and then the planes don’t fly in, you don’t get mail, you don’t get any products, you get nothing basically, so, if you’re living on canned milk or whatever...
You weather these out together, you share stuff, more you know...there’s a certain degree of camaraderie there, plus I think the camaraderie comes with the realization when you’re stuck like that, it doesn’t matter if you’re a rich American, you can’t get it either. You could be sitting on millions of dollars, but you know, can’t fly a plane in here with milk, you can’t get it because the airport is closed, the ferries ain’t moving and so, you know, so I think there is a real tightness that way in the community.
...you know, there are risk factors also, so you have to be able to trust, there’s a lot of people that hunt and hike together. So if you do this sort of thing you have to be able to trust your friends, you know, sometimes you trust them with your life...(QUE Interview 105, Male).

While this level of accountability does provide protection for residents in one way by enforcing positive behavioural norms and creating community cohesion, it also can have a negative side, as noted by one interviewee, in the following anecdote about a local doctor,

He served this community for over 20 years, conscientiously, industriously, andcompetently with all his heart and soul, but he made one comment, stupid comment and it seems to wipe out everything he’s ever done, and he’ll never be forgiven. Now I can’t recall what the comment was, it was something that could be interpreted as racist perhaps. You know he said, “Oh, the bloody Haida, they just don’t seem satisfied with this” or something like that and it was overheard and according to my doctor acquaintance, that was it. So there’s a level of care which I don’t think is necessarily a bad thing, but it’s to some extent to be about trust as well, about what you say, about really speaking your mind. I think we’re on pretty tricky ground here too (QUE Interview 180, Male).

This quote also underscores the fact there are existing tensions between the two communities, white and First Nation, that can affect the interactions between them. The interviewee noted, as a result of this incident, the doctor ended up leaving town, as he no longer felt he could practice effectively (QUE Interview 180, Male).

Another interviewee mentioned how a friend of hers had decided to leave Charlotte after her partner of five years broke up with her – going down to Vancouver for a dentist
appointment and not returning until two months later to pack up, simply because “she doesn’t want to be public anymore”, with everyone knowing all about her situation. The interviewee noted,

> If you’re not used to having everyone know who you are and what you’re doing and where your car is parked, and if that bothers you, then you’re not going to be comfortable here (QUE Interviewee 128, Female).

**Social participation and social ties**

There are significant gender differences in the extent and location of social participation (*Table 7.12*). Women are significantly more likely to be involved in activities inside the community (*p* = .020), and are involved in significantly more activities overall (*p* = .016). Women also spend significantly more time at these activities, indicating an average of 11-15 hours in the past 30 days, as compared with an average of 6-10 hours for men (*p* = .010).

*Table 7.12 – Charlotte Formal Activities, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities – Inside</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities – Outside</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities – Both</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES TOTAL</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women are more likely to be involved in community service groups, spiritual/religious groups, and youth groups (*Table 7.13*). There is an overall pattern of women being more involved in groups and activities, even in terms of sports and recreation groups and artistic or craft/hobby groups. The data do not completely support the findings of McPherson & Smith-Lovin (1982), who found women were more likely to be involved in domestic and community-centered groups, while men are more likely to be involved in business, political, recreation and service groups. These findings are more similar to the results of Enns et al. (2008). The women respondents in Charlotte are involved in a wide
range of groups, including business, political, recreation and service clubs, and to an equal extent as the men.

Table 7.13 – Charlotte Civic Participation, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby group</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-related activities</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community service group</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or ethnic association</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help or support</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service club</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social club</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/religious group</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of informal social activities, again we see the general trend of women being more involved. They are more likely than men to go to a movie in a theatre, a church social function, a sporting event or recreational activity, or shopping. In addition, women are more likely to have participated in a craft or artistic activity or a First Nation cultural or social activity. Men, on the other hand, are involved to a lesser extent, and are more likely to go to a bar or tavern or go sports fishing or hunting.

Looking at network ties to resource-rich positions, women have more ties overall ($p=0.063$) and significantly more weak ties inside ($p=0.009$) (Table 7.14). Both genders have more weak ties inside than weak ties outside, as well as more strong ties inside than strong
ties outside. Overall, men and women have considerably more weak ties than strong ties, and the majority of those ties are located inside the community.

Table 7.14 - Charlotte Summary of Ties, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties - Inside</td>
<td>13.76</td>
<td>21.20</td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties – Outside</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>9.06</td>
<td>0.320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Inside</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>0.756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Outside</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIES TOTAL</td>
<td>24.20</td>
<td>35.31</td>
<td>0.063</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Charlotte respondents have considerably more weak ties inside than Quadra respondents, and this likely has much to do with the fact Charlotte is a great deal more isolated than Quadra, with the nearest service centre a seven hour ferry ride away. In addition, as noted in Chapter 4, Charlotte is still, in many ways, a resource-based community, meaning many of the positions on the Position Generator not represented in Quadra were applicable in Charlotte and thus expanded the potential ties for Charlotte respondents.

Given Charlotte’s level of isolation, it is not surprising the majority of ties are inside the community. Unfortunately, the Position Generator data cannot reveal whether the ties outside the community are to other communities on Haida Gwaii or to communities off-island. Outside ties to communities on Haida Gwaii may provide access to resources not available in Charlotte, and thus may be an important source of social capital for Charlotte respondents by acting as a bridge between the communities. Outside ties to communities off-island are more likely to be of limited utility to life on the islands, unless someone is wishing to move away, in which case these ties may provide important resources.

As noted in Chapter 3, one of the main limitations of the Position Generator measure is it cannot show which ties are more beneficial in terms of providing access to needed
resources because it can only provide information regarding the structure of ties, rather than the actual usage of them. In this case, we need to look at the context in which the ties are being utilized, and the qualitative data on this subject. As in Quadra, interviewees in Charlotte noted the importance of “being known” in the community in order to access the resources available through other people. Portes (1998) uses the term “social chits” to refer to the system of mutual reciprocity built on frequent social interaction. As people interact with one another, they create social obligations that cannot be ignored without potential damage to their personal reputations, and this leads to greater accountability and also higher levels of trust (Portes 1998). This is supported by the trust measures above, where trust for others in the community is higher than generalized trust and over three-quarters of all respondents did not think most people in the community would take advantage if given the chance.

In the case of Charlotte, due to its higher level of isolation, it is likely weak ties inside the community are less bridges to other social networks and more likely to be ties to the same networks but to people who are somewhat less known, and therefore, less trusted. In this context, as argued by Leonard & Onyx (2003), it is very likely weak ties are similar to strong ties, and also function similarly.

There is support in the qualitative data for this contention. One interviewee noted one of the benefits of building social networks based on trust and reciprocity is someone who is involved, well-known and trusted will be more likely to get work than someone who is less well-known. She noted,

A lot of work around here is word of mouth, it’s not advertised, you know, you don’t go through the want ads, so, and people know one another. So maybe you don’t have any experience in this, but somebody knows that you are a hard worker and you’re easy to get along with, whatever, well they’ll give you a job doing that. You know, training you, explaining to you, or whatever (QUE Interview 018, Female).

Another interviewee indicated what happened to people who came to be “known” in a more negative way, as untrustworthy in the community,

And often in the past, the folks that haven’t been trustworthy have left. They’ve had to leave. They become outcasts, as I say; it’s a very small community, as I say, people know people and the news travels, that’s another thing, that’s the joke of the Island is that if you haven’t heard a good rumour by 12, start one… (QUE Interview 105, Male).
From these quotes, we can see the importance not only of having ties in the community, but of having strong ties based on positive interaction, accountability and trust. These ties will have the greatest utility for people living in small, rural communities where networks overlap to a great extent and resources are often limited. In the literature, strong ties are usually associated with the highest levels of intimacy and trust (Lin 2001b, Granovetter 1973). In this context, given the visibility of leaders (who are believed to hold the most resources) in the community, it very well may be the case the majority of residents would claim a weak tie to their community leaders but it is unlikely these leaders would be able to share their resources with everyone, preferring instead to provide access to those to whom they are closest. It may very well be the case then strong ties represent a greater source of social capital for residents.

The quantitative data do lend some support to this contention. When asked to indicate how they found out about their main job, respondents were just as likely to cite strong ties (family member, close friends) as weak ties (neighbour, acquaintance, former workmate). Given research supports the use of weak ties in order to find employment (Granovetter 1973; Lin 1999; Lin 2000; Lin 2001b; Smith 2000), this finding underscores the importance of strong ties in this particular context. Interestingly, a gender difference was found on this measure. Women were significantly more likely to use their weak ties than men, which given their greater number of weak ties inside the community, is perhaps not surprising. When asked to indicate how they found out about their main job, one-fifth of women found out from a neighbour or acquaintance (weak tie) as compared to 5% of men \( (p=0.025) \). However, men and women were equally likely to find out about employment from their strong ties.

What is interesting, however, is given Charlotte’s attachment to the resource economy, we would expect women to have fewer weak ties to positions on the Position Generator, considering their disadvantage in resource-based employment (as discussed in Chapter 6 and supported by Reed 2003a, Lucas 1971, Marchak 1983) and research that shows women tend to have smaller, less diverse networks made up of mainly kin and other women (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000; Burda, Vaux & Schill 1984). However, this is clearly not the case in Charlotte, where women have significantly more weak ties than men \( (p=0.009) \) (Table 7.14).
Part of the answer to this puzzle may be that Charlotte is in the process of transitioning from a resource economy to a more service-based economy, and as noted in Chapter 4, the majority of the business owners in Charlotte who are contributing to this new economy are women. In addition, many of the positions on the Position Generator that are traditionally male-dominated are filled by women in Charlotte and Skidegate, which given the above-noted research (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000; Burda, Vaux & Schill 1984), would mean women in the community have more potential positions for ties to resource-rich positions.

Another explanation is women are significantly more involved in their community, and in many different types of groups (Table 7.13 and 7.14). Research (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982; Moore 1990; Beggs, Hurlbert & Haines 1996; Lin 2000) states women tend to be disadvantaged in making weak ties when they are involved in mainly domestic-oriented groups, because it does not provide access to information about possible jobs, business opportunities, and chances for professional advancement. In this context, Charlotte women are clearly not just involved in domestic-centred groups, but in a wide variety of organizations, and this involvement may very well enhance their ability to make and utilize weak ties inside their community.

As noted above, Charlotte women are not only involved in significantly more civic organizations, they also spend significantly more time participating in them. In addition, female respondents were significantly more likely to volunteer in the community, with 74% indicating they are currently volunteers as compared to 50% of men ($p=0.009$). Women also put in significantly more hours than men at volunteering, with sixty percent of women volunteering more than five hours in the past 30 days as opposed to 32% of men ($p=0.035$).

In general, women are more involved in the community, in different types of activities, and therefore, have more weak ties inside the community and are more likely to use those ties to their benefit. This data supports the findings of Enns et al. (2008), who found women were more likely to be involved in the community, and this involvement was significantly and positively related to the number of ties they had to resource-rich positions in the community.
The qualitative data support the link between civic participation and social ties, confirming being involved in the community is the best way to make such ties. Given the isolated geographical location of Charlotte, and the lack of recreational amenities, if one doesn’t have family nearby, it can get very lonely, as noted by one interviewee, who moved to Charlotte with her husband and arrived not knowing anyone. She noted,

*I spent the first better part of a year without a job and that was – I found it really lonely because I don’t go out and join groups. Somebody always says, oh, come and join a community club and I go, I don’t know if I want to. Oh come on, you know, we need people like you, and then I go and then I meet people* (QUE Interview 001, Female).

Several interviewees noted getting involved is a way to combat the isolation, and for many people, it is what enables them to stay in the community despite the remoteness and lack of things to do. However, as one interviewee noted, it also takes a certain kind of person to deal with the context,

*Isolation is a really, really big thing for some people and you know it makes me wonder what kind of person they are. Are they grounded in themselves or do they make their lives so busy with all the things that you’ve got in a city like going to the gym, and going shopping, and to the movies, and to the clubs, and up here you don’t have a lot of that so what do you do?* (QUE Interview 004, Female)

Another interviewee noted, because she lived alone, it was particularly important for her to be involved in the social life of the community. She stated,

*Important contacts, yeah, yeah, it’s all important. First of all, I get a lot out of this work that I do, you know? It’s social, I can – I live alone by choice, I’m very independent and this is my way of countering some of that – the bad effects of all this independence. You know, I could quite happily never see anybody probably but it’s not good for me. And so, if I go out and do this volunteer work, and get involved in my community, then it’s good social interaction for me* (QUE Interview 047, Female).

For many interviewees, getting involved was the best way to “fit in” to the community and be accepted by the other residents. A few noted it took a while for this to happen, as there had been so much change in the community with people coming and leaving, the long-time residents were a bit wary of making connections until they knew for certain this person had what it took to stay for the long term. One interviewee noted,

*Interviewee: ...we’re all in total really friendly, or we think we’re really friendly, but if you sort of examine new people who come, you will see they have a hard time fitting in. Once they fit in, it’s a very tight group, but actually just breaking the
surface tension sometimes I’m told, is hard for people.

Interviewer: So what does it take to break in?
Interviewee: I think its trust; I think there is some level of not wanting to make friends with folk who you know are here for a short period of time. Too much investment in making the friendship and then having it broken. If they, you know, come back with the same energy it works easier... (QUE Interview 056, Male)

In terms of building trust, the qualitative data supports Govier’s (2003) contention people learn to trust each other through working together in a positive environment, through social participation and volunteerism. The data also supports Erickson’s (2003) findings that residents of rural communities have more diverse networks because small communities often have a diverse population, and there is less opportunity for people to locate themselves only with people like themselves. One resident confirmed the importance of voluntary organizations in Charlotte,

It’s a good reason to bring people together – an excuse to get out and you know, you get the, you meet some people that you wouldn’t normally meet because you’re not, you don’t work together, you’re, it makes, really makes connections. That was the best thing, when I moved here, I joined the fire department right away, I’d never been in the fire department back home and immediately, I got to know, you know, 12-15 really good guys and then I get to meet their spouses and we get to, you know, all of a sudden, there’s 20 people that you can trust and you know, they trust you and that’s a really important thing, right? (QUE Interview 179, Male). 42

As residents become more involved, they also become more “known” in the community, and more trusted as a result, and this is supported by the quantitative trust measures as well (see Table 7.7). Along with this trust comes not only accountability but the ability to count on one’s fellow residents to help out when needed, on the understanding such help will be reciprocated if and when the time comes. Several interviewees confirmed this, noting the degree to which the community pitched in when someone needed help or assistance. One interviewee likened it to the response of a family,

I could see it more as a family rather than just a personality, and you do have your bickering and you do have the incredible pulling together when something threatens anyone or hurts anyone, this town is tight. I’ve been through a few things since I moved here that just amazed me...

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42 The Queen Charlotte Fire Department is run completely through the efforts of volunteers.
...like when it’s someone that everyone knows in the community, and it’s hard not to have the community know. It’s just amazing and the support here when there’s a sudden death is unreal (QUE Interview 004, Female).

While help is available to those who are “known”; little is said about those who are not. Getting involved and becoming known in the community is key to developing vital social networks based on trust and reciprocity are there to help out in times of need.

Several interviewees talked about the big storm that hit on Christmas Eve 2003 and literally washed away a resident’s house, leaving him homeless and without insurance because of its location close to the beach. However, as one interviewee noted, “But this community pulled together. The community helped him rebuild. He’s got another house a little further up” (QUE Interview 004, Female).

Another interviewee talked about his personal experience of being helped out during the same storm, when his home on the water was threatened with flooding by an enormous tidal surge caused by a combination of wind and tide. He stated,

But I think people sort of were brought together a little bit because I know when our place was nearly flooded, all of a sudden practically everybody I knew was over there helping me out. Yes, people came over to help – my boss came over, people I worked with came over and other people from the neighbourhood came over and helped us prevent the flooding, and we didn’t get any flooding at all, we stopped it all (QUE Interview 048, Male).

A long-time resident of Charlotte whose son became gravely ill due to an adverse drug reaction noted how the community had been there to help out when she most needed them, donating funds for her son’s treatment at community dinners, raffles, draws, and depositing money into an account for him. The family did not have extended medical coverage and the community raised enough money to cover his extensive medical bills, as well as to send his mother and father to Vancouver for a month so they could stay with him. The interviewee noted it was not just the non-native community that contributed, but the First Nation community as well. She described the response as “just mind-bogglingly wonderful” (QUE Interview 128, Female).

Other interviewees commented on the amazing degree of participation in community events, and the sheer number of community events, groups and organizations, which is astounding for a small community. In the summer, there is a Farmer’s Market every
weekend; at Christmas an arts and crafts fair; in July, Hospital Days to raise money for the hospital to provide funding for the things removed by government cutbacks; frequent dances, including the Hallowe’en dance to which sometimes 500 people show up; garden tours; art auctions; loonie raffles; swap and shops; the Fall Fair; and community dinners, all of which are organized and run by volunteers and well attended by residents (QUE Interview 001, Female; 047, Female). As one interviewee noted,

*The turn-out is just absolutely amazing. If you ever looked at what the percentage of people would go out to anything in the Lower Mainland or Victoria or something, .3 percent you’d think you’d had a good turnout whereas we have 25 percent or 40 percent of the people showing up to things* (QUE Interview 047, Female).

As in Quadra, the majority of the people who are running these events and the groups and organizations that put them on (i.e., Community Club, Arts Council, events committees) are women. This is supported by the quantitative data which show women are more involved in social activities and volunteering, and are involved in a wide range of activities, many of which were traditionally the purview of men. One interviewee noted due to the downturn in fishing and logging, many older male resource workers have retired, and it was assumed they would then get involved in the community, but this has not materialized to the extent predicted. The interviewee speculated these men did not have experience in this area as their work required they were often away from home, and the social life of the community was left to the women (QUE Interview 056, Male). This supports many researchers’ (Marchak 1983; Reed 2003a; 2003b; Taylor 2005) assertions regarding the role of women in rural, resource communities, both past and present. Charlotte, being in the process of transition, now has women in both sectors, economic and social. The new economy has allowed them to pursue opportunities not available in a resource-dependent economy, yet remain greatly involved in the social life of the community. They are still filling their traditional roles, organizing and running community events, and participating in the many groups and organizations they founded in order to increase the well-being and cohesion of their community.

The men, on the other hand, have not yet made the transition to the same extent; many of them still work in resource and other related industries. However, due to the changing economy, they are not able to maintain the traditional functioning of the community, either. While they are less likely to be involved in the social aspects of
community, they are also less likely to be involved in the formal leadership of the community, which was once their exclusive domain (Lorber 1994; Teather 1997; Warren, Thompson & Saegert 2001; Marchak 1983). And while they do not acknowledge this explicitly, their lower ratings of the capability of community leaders suggest that they are not entirely comfortable with the idea of women running the community in both the formal and informal sectors.

Summary

Charlotte is a community making the transition from resource-based to service-based, and in this endeavour, the women are heading up the process. The community of Charlotte, while experiencing economic instability as a result of a loss of jobs in the resource sector and government services and the resulting out-migration of professionals, has not experienced an economic “shock” such as the shutdown of a mill or plant, or the loss of their major employer. Its location gives residents many opportunities to take advantage of the burgeoning tourist industry, particularly as a result of the new cultural centre right outside of town. While many of the men still cling to the traditional jobs in the resource industry, the women have forged ahead into the new economy, parlaying their social involvement into diverse networks allowing them to take advantage of the new opportunities, and to take the lead in business ownership and formal leadership in the community.

Once again, it was their traditional role in a resource-based community that has helped them to adapt to the new economy: Charlotte’s resource-based history meant the women of the community were more independent, more used to taking charge while the men were away, and more heavily involved in the social life of their community. In addition, they were more likely to be working outside the primary sector and more likely to attain education to aid in this employment. With the collapse of the resource industry, women found themselves with the necessary skills to both work and lead in the new economy, and with the aid of strong social networks formed through years of civic participation, they are now in the position of strength, able to support their families and lead their community through the transition and into a more diversified economic position.

The quantitative data support this conclusion, showing women in Charlotte have the lowest unemployment rate of all the communities at only 1% in 2001, five times lower than
the rate for the men. In addition, nearly half of employed women in Charlotte are self-employed either full or part-time, and while their incomes are still lower than the men’s, equal amounts are earning income from self-employment and salary or wages. Unfortunately, the jobs in the new economy are not as high-paying as resource jobs and many are only part-time or seasonal, and as a result, women are making considerably less money than men. This does not, however, affect their satisfaction with nor their perception of their community, which is consistently more positive than the men’s. In fact, many women note they prefer working fewer hours or being self-employed because it allows them the flexibility to continue their involvement in the social life of the community, and in the informal economy, which provide benefits beyond just the financial.

Charlotte women are vital to both the economic and social life of the community. As business leaders and community leaders, they are deeply committed to the ongoing success of their community as both a place to work and a place to live and raise their families. They continue to fulfil their traditional role by running the social life of the community but have also bridged the gap between the social and the economic and have moved into areas traditionally occupied only by men in the resource economy – that of business owner and employer.
CHAPTER NINE

New Masset Gender Analysis

*Interviewee:* Nobody’s really leaving, just shuffling. They are sort of circling around and stuff, reorganizing how they do business and...

*Interviewer:* So people are staying and finding a way…

*Interviewee:* Finding a way to do it...(Masset Interview 015, Female).

New Masset has been through enormous structural change over the past 65 years. From a fishing village to a military post to a community dealing with prolonged economic instability, its residents have had to adjust to life after a major economic shock with only their strong social networks and commitment to lifestyle to cushion the blow. Those that stayed have accepted that no one is going to step in and “save” their community; if they are going to survive, they will have to make it happen on their own. How the operation of gender has affected this ability to adapt and contributed to the resilience of this community is the focus of this chapter.

**Demographics**

The male respondents of New Masset are somewhat older than the female respondents. New Masset respondents show much lower rates of self-employment than Quadra or Charlotte respondents, with only 12% of men and 6% of women indicating full-time self-employment. Women in New Masset were also somewhat more likely to be self-employed part-time than men but there were no differences in terms of how many others they employed (*Table 9.1*).

Men and women respondents show similar levels of full-time employment by others, but as with Quadra and Charlotte, women are more likely to be employed by others part-time than are men. However, 37% of men were not working or laid off, as compared with only 17% of women. This data correspond with the 2001 Census data for New Masset, which notes a lower unemployment rate for women (8%) as compared with men (11%). The unemployment rate for women is identical to the rate for the province, but the male rate is higher than the provincial rate of 9%.
Table 9.1 – New Masset Demographics, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average length of residence</td>
<td>11-20 years</td>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>0.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed full-time</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0.293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed part-time</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>0.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average length of self-employment</td>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>0.270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many other employed (average)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others full-time</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>0.703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by others part-time</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working or laid off</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0.075</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men were more likely to be married, while women were more likely to be living with a partner. There are equal numbers of single respondents, but women are more likely to be separated while men are more likely to never have married. In terms of children, women were more likely to have children at home (59% vs. 46%), and also more likely to have school age children (74% of women had school age children as compared with 65% of men).

Areas of employment shows a familiar pattern; men are more likely to be employed in primary industries and trades, while women are more likely to be employed in education, health care, and tourism and the service sector (Table 9.2). Considering 21% of men indicate employment in the fishing industry and 14% in forestry/logging, over one-third of the employed male population is still employed in the resource industry, as compared to women, where only 7% indicate such employment. Another 41% of men are employed in construction and trades. On the other hand, 93% of employed female respondents indicate employment in three areas: education, health care, and tourism/service industry, as compared with only one-third of men.
Table 9.2 – New Masset Areas of Employment, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Men</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forestry or logging</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism/service industry</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government services</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education

There is a significant differences between men and women in terms of highest level of education achieved ($p=.035$) (Table 9.3). While men and women are equally likely to have listed some high school as their highest level achieved, men were more likely to list high school graduation as their highest level than women, who were more likely to list some university or university graduation. While the data for some high school compare similarly to the data for the province for both genders, Masset male respondents are more than twice as likely to have high school graduation as their highest level of achievement. Masset female respondents, on the other hand, are on par with provincial data. Masset female respondents also show similar levels of post-secondary achievement to provincial data, whereas the male respondents once again report considerably lower levels of achievement on this category as well.

Table 9.3 - New Masset Education, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education achieved</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>B.C. (2006)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduation</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university/university graduation</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-grad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Women are significantly more likely to have completed community college and obtained a certificate, diploma or degree, while men have significantly more training in the trades (Table 9.4). Women are also more likely to have some job skills training. It could certainly be argued the type of training the women are acquiring is more beneficial to finding employment in a service-based economy. Although the trades in B.C. are in general in great demand at this period in time, this is more the case in large urban centres than in small rural ones, where the enormous construction projects demanding these skills are less likely to exist.

Table 9.4 – New Masset Skills and Training, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some community college</td>
<td>Males 20.0</td>
<td>Females 32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community college certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>Males 17.1</td>
<td>Females 41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some trade training</td>
<td>Males 31.4</td>
<td>Females 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed trade training</td>
<td>Males 34.3</td>
<td>Females 14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some job skills training</td>
<td>Males 20.0</td>
<td>Females 37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills training certificate or diploma</td>
<td>Males 37.1</td>
<td>Females 34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-level crafts/skills</td>
<td>Males 5.7</td>
<td>Females 11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Income

Men and women indicate equal individual incomes, with both genders reporting a mean income of $20,000-$29,000 (p=0.126). For men, this is below the provincial average of $36,258; for women, it is similar to the provincial average of $23,154. Household income results do not display significant differences, though women report a slightly higher household mean income of $40,000-$49,000 as compared to the male household mean income of $30,000-$39,999 (p=0.431). In both cases, this is below the provincial average of $57,593.

While women and men are equally likely to be receiving income from self-employment, women are significantly more likely than men to be receiving income from wages or salary (Table 9.5). Forty-six percent of male respondents reported receiving
income from work pensions and CPP, OAS and GIS compared with only 14% of women. Given the mean age for men is 49, and given well over one-third of male respondents reported they were not working, it is likely many of them have taken early retirement while the majority of women are still working.

*Table 9.5 – New Masset Sources of Income, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>Males: 29.3</td>
<td>Females: 33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>Males: 58.5</td>
<td>Females: 80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>Males: 2.4</td>
<td>Females: 9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>Males: 9.8</td>
<td>Females: 7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>Males: 22.0</td>
<td>Females: 9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>Males: 19.5</td>
<td>Females: 3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>Males: 26.8</td>
<td>Females: 9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>Males: 0.0</td>
<td>Females: 0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, 81% of male respondents indicated they owned their own house while 19% were renting or leasing, as compared with 69% of female respondents who owned their own house and 31% renting or leasing.

**Social and economic impact of military downsizing**

Many interviewees noted the drastic downsizing of the military and the decline of the resource industry at the same time ten years ago had left many in the community struggling to adapt to a drastically different economy. As one interviewee noted,

*...like this community had a lot. Had it pretty easy with the military pumping $25 million into the economy every year, and we had a booming fishing industry, and we had fishing plants and everything was going pretty well, and then that all just disappeared. We didn’t have any of that anymore and just been floundering around hoping someone else is going to come in and save the community, and nobody has sort of showed up yet* (MAS Interview L23, Male).

Another interviewee offered a more comprehensive view of the ramifications of such drastic change in such a short period of time and how people had coped.
Interviewee: ...you know, the fisheries and the logging were two major employers, and they’ve certainly taken one hell of a beating. So we’ve had almost a triple whammy. We’ve lost the base, we’ve lost the logging, we’ve lost the fishing. You know, those are your three major economic underpinnings of this community.

Interviewer: How do you think the community has coped with that?

Interviewee: The same as any other community copes with it – retrench. Hunker down. Quit spending money. Look for other opportunities. A lot of people of course are working, or living on social assistance. That certainly keeps some money coming into the community, but not the free spending days of the old days, that’s for sure.

...we’ve lost all of the military people, so that was a mass exodus. And I’ve noticed too that there’s been an exodus of people that were involved in the primary resource extraction processing industries. We’ve had an influx of retirees, I think, probably more than anything. (MAS Interview 207, Male).

Other interviewees confirmed that, while there is still a constant turnover of people into and out of the community, it is considerately less so than when the military base was in full force, and personnel were posted to New Masset for only two years at a time, and then transferred out again. As to who is coming and going, several interviewees noted the people leaving tended to be the younger people, leaving for educational purposes or to find employment, and professionals who come to the community to gain experience and then leave for better opportunities elsewhere. One interviewee noted,

Like for instance, a teacher, a school teacher, a lot of them come, they’re relatively new in terms of it might be their first job or second job, they just want to rack up some experience, and they move on. And the same thing with the administrators, like the – a person let’s say a fella or female will come here and they get a job as a principal, it’s their first principalship and they stay here for two or three years and then they apply and move onto a bigger school somewhere else (MAS Interview 063, Male).

This was confirmed by an interviewee who worked in the school system, who noted if teachers were going to leave, they usually did so after two or three years, and the ones who stayed, were there for the long haul.
Basically, for example, teachers, we have teachers that have been here for fifteen years, or two years. It’s kind of unusual to have someone like me that’s sort of in the five to ten year range, right? (MAS Interview L025, Male).

In terms of who was coming to the community, many interviewees noted the influx of Americans, Albertans and baby boomers buying summer and retirement homes. Houses in New Masset do not stay long on the market. The good thing about these new residents is they contribute to the economy but are not looking for employment. On the other hand, many are only seasonal residents and do not get involved in the social life of the community.

Many interviewees noted they believed the worst was over, and the community was now rebounding. One interviewee stated he believed New Masset had reached its “comfort zone” and things were settling down.

So, yeah, from what I know of Masset, from the eight years that I’ve been here, I think we’ve kind of hit our minimum size, and you know, this is what we can deal with. We can function at this level and everything from here up will be an improvement (MAS Interview L08, Male).

The same interviewee then offered a synopsis of what he saw as indicators the community had adjusted to the changes.

But you know, I just look around the town at some of the – just the general investment that’s gone on. The new bed and breakfasts opening up, new buildings being constructed, people still have confidence in Masset and the local economy and the economy in general, and they’ve making those kinds of investments. You know, businesses are being bought and sold here. Houses are being bought and sold. Like I say, there is turnover, but it’s happening (MAS Interview L08, Male).

Another interviewee contended New Masset had weathered the worst of the storm, and was showing all the nay-sayers the community was there to stay.

A lot of people were worried about what’s going to happen with the community here. A lot of them were afraid that everything was going to be shut down with everybody leaving. Well, the military wasn’t the only people here. When they sold all the houses a lot of people decided well, that would be a nice place to live (MAS Interview 047, Male).

Several interviewees noted how the loss of the military had forced residents to become more independent and self-sufficient. The military employed “an incredible
number of people, like service people, janitors, secretarial; they must have had 22, 23, tradesmen working in their shops, maintenance, commissionaires, kitchen people – it was a lot of people – and that was a million dollar payroll into the town every month” (MAS Interview 063, Male), and the majority of these positions were full-time, full-year. The loss of these jobs meant people had to rely on more seasonal and part-time employment, and they had to get creative to find employment. As one interviewee noted,

...what it did teach us here in Masset was to get off our butt and, you know, look after ourselves. Where before the military were such a strong presence, they over-powered basically. Not in a negative way, but everything “well, the military will do it.” It showed us to get off our ass and do it ourselves if we wanted to get it done (MAS Interview L05, Male).

Other interviewees confirmed this, stating while it might be a bit more difficult to find work, and you might need to have more than one job, for people who really wanted to stay there, they could always find a way to make a living. As one interviewee noted,

I would say if you are an entrepreneur of any kind, if you have any kind of skill of any kind, or you want to work, then yes, it’s a good place to find work. Almost always work if you want or, or not if you want to (MAS Interview 098, Female).

In terms of who is able to find work, women have an easier time finding employment or making a living due to their more diverse skills. As one interviewee noted, the resource industry was and is not particularly female-friendly.

It is a guy-oriented thing, I mean, you look at there’s a big fleet of crab boats here that operate out of here and they’re all guys, right, and they’re always away fishing during the fishing season and when the fishing season ends then the hunting season starts and we’re out hunting for, you know, weeks on end type of thing, right? Yeah, so it’s not a female-oriented type of town. You’ve got to be a special person (MAS Interview 063, Male).

On the other hand, as the resources decline, and the other sectors start to take precedence, such as tourism, service, health and education, women have an advantage over men. Women in New Masset are much more likely to be employed and to be employed in these sectors than are the men, as they have the necessary education and experience. As one interviewee noted,
...you can open the Observer and there are jobs for skilled people. Bank teller, office clerk, working at Howler’s Bistro but those aren’t the jobs that the people here are engineered for. They are the logging, fishing thing or they have no jobs skills whatsoever (MAS Interview L25, Male).

The problem, of course, is the majority of the jobs are in the service industry, which is replacing the resource industry, and these jobs are usually seasonal, part-time, and with much lower pay than the lucrative resource industry positions (MAS Interview L20, Male). For many interviewees, the trick to surviving in this new economy is the ability to put many different things together rather than depending on full-time, full-year employment. The people who can do this are the ones who will do well, as noted by the following interviewees,

...everybody I know has one or two or three jobs. You know, has a rental business, and this whatever, and whatever. Work at the pool, and have a little – there’s not – for most things, to have a business just doing one thing, there isn’t enough population to support it (MAS Interview 098, Female).

Like my friend, I’ve got one friend here, she works for one of the lodges two days a week. She owns about six vending machines around town. She bought a PMQ and runs a little bed and breakfast, and then her partner works. They’ve got five little things going on, and that brings in all the money they need. But you could never make all the money you need in one, unless you had like a full job (MAS Interview 187, Female).

I’ve had years where I’ve had three jobs at once, or you know, when I worked part-time at the Co-op, then I would work part-time bartending, and part-time at the dockside monitoring job, and if you want to, there’s opportunities out there (MAS Interview 090, Female).

It is not surprising that all of the above quotes are from female respondents. As noted by Reed (2003a, 2003b), Marchak (1983), and Allen (2002), women in rural communities have always been more likely to work in non-standard employment, particularly in resource-based communities, where employment for women traditionally was scarce. As a result, as noted by Tigges, Ziebarth & Farnham (1998) and Pupo & Duffy (2007), women have had to develop a variety of “livelihood strategies,” one of which being multiple job-holding, which is more common for women than men. Another

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43 Howler’s Bistro is located in Charlotte, not Masset, but the interviewee was referring to jobs posted in the Queen Charlotte Islands Observer, a newspaper which covers all the communities on the island.
44 PMQ stands for Private Married Quarters. These are the residences the army built for its married employees – they tend to be three to four bedroom townhouses, constructed in a circle around a shared playground.
of these strategies, as noted by Yodanis (2000), Vosko (2007), and Bird, Sapp & Yee (2001) is self-employment.

The data give support to these assertions, showing that 29% of women in Masset are self-employed as compared to 21% of men. One interviewee noted that small business ownership had risen considerably over the past few years, as people tried to put together a living from many different sources. She stated,

*Each year we see people kind of starting small businesses from their homes, just, not taking a big financial risk, but just trying things and stuff like that. So, there’s a lot of little businesses, and I don’t know how truly profitable they are, but they seem to be keeping people in them going from year to year* (MAS Interview 134, Female).

Several interviewees noted most of the small home-based businesses being opened in the past few years were being run by women, often in the artistic or domestic sector, and often as a way to supplement their other part-time employment. As one interviewee noted,

*You know, arts and crafts is another way to make a little bit of money to augment your other salaries, but maybe you don’t make as much. Like if you wanted to be an artist, you need a little bit of real income just to cover your basic bills, and then do the art on the side. Then there tends to be that kind of work around here* (MAS Interviewee 098, Female).

The good thing about living in New Masset is a little bit of extra money tends to go a long way, in that, like Charlotte, housing costs are reasonable and rampant consumerism is notably absent. As one interviewee noted, for people who want a simple lifestyle and are okay with the lack of amenities and full-time employment, they can do very well here.

*You can’t make a lot of money because there just aren’t a lot of people on-Island. You’re never going to become a millionaire on this Island dealing with local people. You might if you decide to build a resort celebrities come in...I mean like fishing lodges, those kind of things. But here you just don’t have the clientele and the people to make lots of money, but you can make a living, and you can live, have a high quality life, clean air, fresh food, like abundance up to here when it comes to people, places, everything* (MAS Interview 187, Female).

Unlike Charlotte, where women tend to own the majority of the established businesses in the community, women in New Masset are just getting started in their home businesses. The listing of New Masset business members of the Chamber of Commerce
shows eight businesses owned by men, six by women, and five jointly owned. However, there are many businesses in New Masset that are not on this listing (an informal tally netted 14), and the majority of home-based business owners do not become members of the Chamber of Commerce.

Seasonal employment is common in New Masset. The fish packing plant and cannery operate on a seasonal basis. Clam digging is a good way to make money in the spring, as are berry picking in the summer and mushroom picking in the fall. Many of the tourism focused businesses close down for the winter, including the fishing lodges, which operate from May through September. Several interviewees alluded to the fact many people in New Masset simply don’t want to work full-time.

*Up here, basically people work out of just what they need, you know. They don’t – like no one here likes to work full-time and no one really wants to work full-time. Nine to five jobs are really rare* (MAS Interview 045, Female).

*It’s hard to say because things around here sort of go in spurts; there’s jobs in this area, like summertime, you’ve got your fisheries happening – you know? So that’s a big pull for a lot of people and for some, that’s what seems to sustain them through the wintertime, other than they might pick up a part-time job at the Co-op stacking shelves or whatever…* (MAS Interview 015, Female)

This “seasonal lifestyle” allows residents to both enjoy and make a living off the rich natural abundance available in New Masset, and as noted below, the social life of the community is also focused around the seasons:

*Wintertime it’s usually pretty quiet, very quiet, that’s the time everyone goes to each other’s houses for dinner and things like that because the season has passed and you can enjoy yourself and [then] everyone starts going hunting and fishing on the rivers, the fish come in the river, and so that’s how it changes. There are good friends I have and I don’t see them for months because they’re cod fishing…* (MAS Interview 063, Male).

*…especially in the winter months, I mean every night it’s at someone’s house having dinner. Like we co-share everything, oh, we’re doing a barbecue. In the summer we do a lot of barbecues, we play out in the backyard. There’s a lot more socializing. But in the winter you can’t be out playing. Like a lot of times too now, we don’t see each other for a week because it’s good kayaking right now…* (MAS Interview 187, Female).

The economic and the social are very closely tied together in New Masset, and the majority of interviewees noted they did not want the first to impinge upon the second. As
noted above, while there are not many full-year, full-time jobs available, sometimes the ones that are do not get filled because people do not want to work full-time – they want more flexible employment that allows them to enjoy a seasonally-based lifestyle. As the type of jobs available are no longer in the resource industry, the unemployment rate for men is higher than for women. Women are now more likely to have the skills necessary to work in the new economy, and who are also able to take advantage of the new diversification by opening up home businesses and becoming self-employed part-time which gives them the flexibility they need to raise their families and continue their involvement in the social life of the community.

**Community commitment and satisfaction**

No significant gender differences exist in satisfaction with or commitment to community (Table 9.6). Two-thirds of men and women are satisfied with their community as a place to live, and only one-fifth disagree. While more men than women would move away for a good job, these differences are not significant, and the results do not change when controlled for age.

*Table 9.6 – New Masset Commitment and Satisfaction Measures, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am very satisfied with this community as a</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place to live.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good job came up elsewhere.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good job came up elsewhere. (Age &lt; 65)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

While there are no significant differences between men and women in their perceptions of community, there are some patterns in the data (Table 9.7). One-third of men agreed there is a weak sense of community, as compared with one-fifth of women, and over one-quarter of men agreed it was hard to make close friends in the community compared with only 11% of women. In addition, women appear to have a somewhat
more positive view of First Nation contributions to the community, both economic and social.

Table 9.7 – New Masset Perceptions of Community, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People in this community have a weak sense of community.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.266</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several interviewees noted the population was quite transient while the military base was still in operation, and this made it difficult to make good friends. They stated,

...it was really hard to get to know people. Because of the military people would be here for two years and then move, so you got friendly with somebody and then they moved away (MAS Interview 128, Male)

With the base here at that time, it – in terms of actual socialization, because the base was really transient, fisheries transient, RCMP transient, people tended to collect in social groups within their own little sphere, like I didn’t really socialize, I knew people, but I didn’t socialize with the RCMP, with fisheries, with military, because I found there was, in terms of creating a friendship, there was a lot involved and then they’re gone in two years (MAS Interview 067, Male).

This transitory aspect of the military base tended to split the community into two groups, the military and the “real residents”, or those who were there for more than two years. As a result of this, newcomers into the community might find it difficult to make friends, as noted by one interviewee,
The military has had a strong presence in the community, up until maybe five years ago.45 So there was always a lot of people transient. So the local people were a little…leery to get to know you, the other half were more than willing to get to know you. Kind of a transient population, and that also meant that some of the people that lived here definitely didn’t want to be here, so they were not that friendly (MAS Interview 090, Female)

Data from New Masset will demonstrate, as in Quadra and Charlotte, social involvement is the key to acceptance in the community. Women are more involved in the community in terms of social participation, and therefore it follows they see the community as more friendly and cohesive. In addition, social participation brings people into contact with diverse others, which builds trust and accountability, and also tolerance for differences (Erickson 2003). The women’s more positive view on First Nation contribution to community may also be related to their higher level of involvement in the community, where they are able to interact with, and form positive associations with and opinions of, First Nation contributions to the community.

Women’s positive view of community continues in terms of whether it is a good place to raise children, with significantly more women agreeing than men (Table 9.8). On all other ratings, men and women agree, rating their community as having poor employment opportunities, being more safe than dangerous, isolated, with poor schools, relatively high crime, and poor health care. What is notable is the high level of agreement on the poor quality of schools and health care, with three-quarters of respondents rating their schools as poor and over two-thirds rating their health care as poor.

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45 The interviews that obtained this information were conducted in the summer of 2004; the base closed in 1997.
Table 9.8 - New Masset Community Ratings, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>2-Tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trust**

Generalized trust is somewhat lower in New Masset than in either Charlotte or Quadra, with less than two-thirds of all respondents indicating most people can be trusted, and nearly half of men and 40% of women indicating you can’t be too careful in dealing with people.

Table 9.9 - New Masset Responses to Generalized Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike Quadra and Charlotte, New Masset residents do not show higher levels of trust for community members than for people in general. Less than two-thirds of all respondents thought most people in the community could be trusted. In addition, considerably more respondents disagreed than agreed they trusted people from inside the community more than those outside and well over half of all respondents indicated there were groups in the community they did not trust. The only significant gender difference was men agreed to a greater extent than women doors should be locked when leaving the community.
house \( (p=0.014) \). It appears from these measures there are some tensions among the residents of New Masset.

**Table 9.10 - New Masset Responses to Generalized Community Trust Measures, by Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try and take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 9.11* give some insight into which groups are being referred to by the respondents in *Table 9.10*. Respondents show very low levels of trust for young people, First Nation leaders and politicians, and fewer than half of respondents indicated they thought business leaders could be trusted.

**Table 9.11 - New Masset Responses to Social/Personalized Trust Measures, by Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in Charlotte and Quadra, women showed higher levels of trust for community leaders, although not significantly so. However, once again, similar to Charlotte and Quadra, when asked to name the leaders of the community, women named mainly social and informal leaders, while men tended to name political, economic and formal leaders, and to a greater extent, other men. When asked to list the leaders of the community, men named 10 men and only 4 women, whereas women named 14 men and 11 women.

This shows a similar pattern to Charlotte and Quadra for men only, with men again naming considerably fewer women as leaders. Unlike Charlotte female respondents, however, who named more female than male leaders, New Masset female respondents are more similar to Quadra in naming similar numbers of male and female leaders. It appears that, in all three communities, men confirm Lorber’s (1994) assertion that acknowledgement of leadership is dependent on gendered concepts of authority and potential. Men are more likely to consider positions within the formal, political and economic structures of the community, and are also more likely to name the men in these positions as leaders. They are less likely to see women as legitimate leaders unless it is in areas considered of direct concern to women, such as health care, education and social welfare, and ignore their accomplishments in typically male-oriented areas. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to consider positions within the informal and social structures of the community, and to accept male leaders in these areas to varying extents (i.e., more so in Quadra and New Masset, less so in Charlotte).

The qualitative data are oddly quiet about political leadership in New Masset, as compared to the data from Quadra and Charlotte. New Masset is an incorporated community, administered by a Mayor, who is male, and four village councillors, two women and two men. Interestingly enough, when asked to name leaders, while many interviewees did refer to the Mayor, very few mentioned any of the councillors. One interviewee had a good explanation for this – during Harbour Days, she went around interviewing New Masset residents about their community, giving out pins and candy for correct answers. However, she was shocked the majority of people she interviewed not only could not name the councillors, but they also didn’t even know who the Mayor of New Masset was. She noted,
...it was deplorable, I was disgusted, I was just shocked. They didn't know when our Council met...
I think there were only 3 people out of 50 people I asked who could actually name the four councillors...(MAS Interview 187, Female).

There is considerably more information in the qualitative data about social and informal leaders in New Masset. A few names, mainly women, came up repeatedly in the interviews. These individuals were described as “a dynamo”, “a fixture of the community”, “the go-to person”, someone who “loves to organize”, is “gung-ho”, “Madame Database” or “Madame Network” and “has her good thumb on the heartbeat of this island” (MAS Interviews L08, 098, 090, 187). During one interview, after the interviewer asked the interviewee to name the leaders of the community, and several people had been named, the interviewer noted the following,

Interviewer: Now I’m noticing something about this list.
Interviewee: All women (MAS Interview 090, Female).

As in Quadra and Charlotte, several New Masset interviewees referred to the fact there are many leaders in New Masset, as opposed to a few, and they all have their own “niches” or specialties in terms of the groups or events they are involved in. One summed it up like this,

There’s just so many people who are involved in different – as I say volunteer work here – it’s incredibly important, and all of the people who would be, you know fundraising and organizing for any of those organizations would be, you know, well-respected within their own little group (MAS Interview 212, Female).

Overall, New Masset residents have the lowest levels of trust in the three community samples, and particularly do not show the higher levels of trust for fellow community members as opposed to the “generalized other” as seen in Quadra and Charlotte (Tables 8.9, 8.10, 8.11). A possible explanation for this could be New Masset’s military past, where for many years, the people least trusted lived in New Masset as opposed to outside: military personnel who came for two year terms and then left again, never really becoming part of the community or forming strong ties within it and therefore leading to a decrease in cohesion and trust. Another possible explanation is the large number of Haida who live in New Masset due to overcrowding on the reserve and their inability to own land on reserve.
Several interviewees stated the military presence had caused distrust within the community, and particularly between the Haida and the military, which sometimes transferred into Haida/non-Haida relations, and resulted in segregation.

Yeah, because it was really three communities before, military, local and First Nations. A lot of hostility between military and First Nations, not so much between the locals (MAS Interview L07, Female).

...I heard like the military they had their bar, and there were fights all the time [between] the military and the Haida. I heard there was a lot more fighting... (MAS Interview 187, Female).

When I first came here and worked there was movies in the old community hall up here, and it was really funny to me because, as a newcomer, there were like chairs set up with an area, a walkway in the middle. There was natives, there was whites. Nobody ever said anything, or anything, but it was separate. And I think the relation between the two communities have changed tremendously for the better (MAS Interview L20, Male).

...violence, racism, those sorts of issues have – not that they aren’t there but they are far less significant than they were before. So the interesting stories are, for example, the military, you know, some of the military would have a party. Don’t invite any Indians, right, that kind of thing. And – which is very different because if you look at Masset today, I would say that the vast majority of people who live in New Masset are either in intimate or personal relationships with people of the other ethnicity (MAS Interview L25, Male).

As noted, since the military all but pulled out in 1997, things have greatly improved between the non-First Nation and Haida communities, but it takes time to overcome a level of distrust developed over a period of 50 years and resulted in bad feelings and misconceptions in both communities. The trust measures shown above show New Masset is still experiencing tension and distrust among its residents.

However, while social relations have improved, the military downsizing has caused other problems, as noted by one interviewee who witnessed the changeover,

I moved in ’77 when the military base was still in operation. The town was extremely Canadian I guess, white Anglo-Saxon/French Canadian. And it has, with the removal of the military base, on the advent of a large amount of low rental cost housing, and a serious overcrowding issue in Old Massett, we’ve had a tremendous influx of First Nations, of Haida people basically, into the community, and that has totally changed the ambiance of the community, as one would expect. I mean, it’s gone from a highly disciplined, organized, volunteer-type. Obviously, the military required a fair quantity and volunteer service, they
expected that from their members, and that has all disappeared. So we’ve now
got a far much more relaxed community, but far less disciplined.

It had a number of consequences. The work ethic of the community has changed.
The standard of maintenance of the community has changed. Petty crime has
increased, and we’re getting a fair amount more of, oh, stupid stuff, break and
enters (MAS Interview 207, Male).

This is supported by other interviewees, who noted petty crime is an annoying
fact of life in New Masset, causing the majority of interviewees to lock their cars and
their homes, to a much greater degree than interviewees in either Quadra or Charlotte.
The question Generally speaking, do you think that most people in this community can be
trusted also resulted in far fewer definitive “yes” responses than in the other two
communities, with many interviewees qualifying their answer by stating there were
people who could not be trusted, and they knew who they were. The quantitative data
further supports this view of crime, with two-thirds of women and three-quarters of men
noting doors should be locked when leaving the house, and the highest crime rating of all
three communities.

Several interviewees pointed out however, while petty crime was fairly common,
more serious crimes were not, and they still felt much safer in New Masset than they
would in a larger centre.

I’d rather be home; it’s nice and peaceful here. The crime rate here is – well,
there’s crime here, but I can deal with it. I’m not afraid to walk outside. I’m not
afraid to walk around at midnight (MAS Interview 014, Female).

Well, just looking at relatives and friends that live in Vancouver, there seems to
be like a paranoia of break-ins, auto theft, older people being beaten. I know my
mother has been broken into three times, she’s had a friend that’s been beaten,
she’s got alarm systems in her house, the neighbours have alarm systems, they’ve
got bars on their houses, so there’s that general paranoia in the city. Like here,
no one’s got alarm systems, no one’s got bars on their windows. Most of the
house doors are open. I go to a friend’s place, I don’t knock, I just go in. They
come to my place, they just open the door and come in. I’ve had people - I’ve
been away either working and come home, and there’s four or five friends eating
at my table and drinking my booze (MAS Interview 063, Male).

I’ve walked home at 4 o’clock in the morning from downtown and I don’t worry.
I mean maybe there is someone out there, but they wouldn’t get away with
anything. Like the retribution here would happen right away almost, like where
are you going to go? You can’t take off, and if you do you have to wait ’til the
ferry at 11 a.m. and the cops will be waiting (MAS Interview 187, Female).
As in Charlotte and Quadra, many New Masset interviewees noted the small population made people more visible to one another, and this increased accountability and decreased the likelihood of aberrant behaviour because, depending on the nature of the action, the perpetrator would either be caught and charged, or their reputation would be destroyed in the community. One interviewee noted,

*I find living in a small community like this, and more so because we’re isolated on an island, I would say that it keeps you honest. I mean, you can’t get away with lying, you can’t get away with anything here. Crime is hard too because you can’t leave the island. They’re waiting at the ferry, I mean, it only runs three days a week in the winter.*

*You know your neighbours here, you say hi to people. You still wave to people every time a car goes by you wave at them, even if you don’t know them* (MAS Interview 187, Female).

This was confirmed by another interviewee, who noted,

*Interviewer: Do you think people in this community are more trustworthy than in other communities where you have lived?*

*Interviewee: Overall, I’d have to say yeah. Because it’s a smaller community and also, the idea of being in the middle of the ocean, where are you going to run? Like you’ve only got so many miles you can drive and you’ve got to wait for that next boat off. You know? Like you can’t do the midnight moves here and if you do a midnight move, you’re always found where you move to. Somebody’s going to run across you and go hmmm. Hey, by the way, they’re over at so-and-so’s* (MAS Interview 015, Female).

A third interviewee noted by virtue of living together in a small, isolated community, people either learned to trust one another, or they learned whom not to trust.

*Well, you know your neighbours here. It’s not, it, just living in a city, I felt like even my friends who I considered good friends, when I – am finally here and have my close circle of friends, I feel like, wow! I didn’t even know the people that I was friends with in the city. You have, you spend very little time with one another actually, on a day-to-day kind of life basis. Where we all live together here and we really go through everything together and there isn’t a lot that is hidden. You can’t mask yourself here. And that’s why I think that this island really spits people out who aren’t ready to open that self, that part of them up, because you can’t hide from anything, you know* (MAS Interview 045, Female).
The downside to this level of visibility, and accountability, is if someone makes a mistake, it can get amplified and blown out of proportion very quickly, and this can seriously affect a person’s reputation in the community. One interviewee noted while such visibility did encourage greater honesty, it also can be detrimental.

...that is the one thing on this island, I mean we’re really close knit and we all hold it together, but I come home and [my husband] hears about things that happened to me in the morning, and I haven’t even gotten home to tell him yet, right? There’s gossiping; I try and stay out of those circles, I try not to encourage that stuff. I might do it with my partner, but I try not to badmouth people and it’s hard to do in a small community sometimes. There’s a lot of that that goes along, and that’s the downside of really close-knit communities. And it just becomes too much, and you say one wrong thing and all of a sudden half the island hates you. I love it because it really makes you think about what you’re going to say, keeps you honest. You can’t lie when you live here (MAS Interview 187, Female).

Therefore, while New Masset residents did display lower levels of trust than residents of Charlotte and Quadra, and notably trust for other community members, the qualitative data suggests this is partially a result of mistrust created by the military presence in the community, and is slowly changing now the military is gone. New Masset residents also indicated higher crime rates, and the qualitative data shows this is mainly petty crime, but still results in residents locking their homes and cars to a greater degree than in the other two communities. The quantitative and qualitative data both point to existing tensions remaining between Haida and non-Haida residents which have not been overcome by their proximity to and dependence on one another in tough economic times.

Social participation and social ties

No significant gender differences exist in the total number of activities, but there is a significant difference in terms of location (Table 9.12). Women are involved in significantly more activities inside the community than are men ($p=0.001$). Women are also spending somewhat more time at these activities, indicating an average of 11-15 hours in the past 30 days as compared with an average of 6-10 hours for men ($p=0.070$).
Table 9.12 - New Masset Formal Activities by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Inside</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Outside</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Both</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES TOTAL</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women are more likely to be involved in artistic or craft/hobby groups, cultural or ethnic associations, and community service groups (Table 9.13). These results support Enns et al. (2007) in that women are involved in a wide range of activities, not just domestic or community-centred groups. Women are equally as involved in business and work-related groups as men, which is perhaps not surprising, given their high rates of participation in the workforce.

Table 9.13 - New Masset Civic Participation by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Mean or Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby group</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-related activities</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Service Group</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or ethnic association</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help or support</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service club</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social club</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/religious group</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at informal activities, we see a general trend of women being more likely to be involved in the majority of activities, with a few exceptions. Male respondents were more likely than women to have gone sports fishing or to a bar/tavern in the past 30 days.

In terms of volunteerism, male and female respondents in New Masset reported equal amounts of participation – 43% of both men and women indicated they had volunteered in the past 30 days. There were also no differences in terms of number of hours volunteered in the past 30 days, with both genders reporting an average of three to five.

As in Quadra and Charlotte, many New Masset interviewees referred to the importance of social involvement in the community. Like so many social aspects of life in New Masset, participation has also changed since the downsizing of the military base, “There’s been a general decline in volunteerism because of the absence of the military. Therefore, people that had to volunteer no longer are here...” (MAS Interview 207, Male). This was confirmed by another interviewee, who stated,

Military were very intrusive into everything, of course, they got brownie points for being on committees and stuff – so they run the PAC\(^\text{46}\) at the school, very much involved in fundraising, you know, they did this, they did that, sat on every committee...
...after they’ve alienated everybody else, you know, in a whole bunch of empty spots with a whole bunch of people not, with the same skill set or desire to be in there. Well, they don’t have the same motivation and not the same brownie points sort of thing going with it.
...we do have a core in the community of people who take on a lot of things but frankly, they’re getting older and it’s really difficult to get the young people in because there is a gap of knowledge and training between this group that’s been doing it forever and no connection to the younger people (MAS Interview L07, Female).

Other interviewees confirmed there was a core group of volunteers who tended to be involved in many of the community groups and events, and they tended to be older or retired people, who had more time on their hands.

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\(^{46}\) Parent Advisory Committee
we have like this really small core of people that are doing – like I said they’re doing the volunteer work, they’re also the ones involved in everything, they have stuff going on their own and they tend to be the retired people (MAS Interview L07, Female).

I think there’s groups that are very – through their work or through volunteer – they’re very active, community orientated and this can be Haida people, non-Haida people, generally people who have been here for a longer period of time (MAS Interview L24, Female).

There’s definitely repeating patterns and I think it’s more, it doesn’t break down by religion and it doesn’t break down by race, I think it just breaks down by the group of people who are willing to volunteer, and there’s like a solid core of them and then they manage to bring in some spindly ones on the outside, but there’s always the solid core. The biggest fear of everybody, because huge amounts of things get done by volunteers in this community, and so you know people are always scared that they’re going to get into something and never get back out (MAS Interview 134, Female).

This view is supported by other interviewees, who emphasized the importance of volunteers to the community, given the lack of government services and funding. As one interviewee stated,

*If everyone sits back and just says, “Oh, woe is me, look how we’re going down the tube.” I mean, we’re going to go down there faster if people don’t get off their butts and you know, try to help. A small community like Masset is run on volunteers. Like my wife and I are both involved heavily, not so much as I used to be, but the biggest job is trying to get people to come out and work, you know, help. Because the town is so small and of course, you’re budgets are limited, that you can’t really expect the council or the, you know, the Village itself to pick up and say “Okay, here’s the money, here go do it”* (MAS Interview L05, Male).

Other interviewees noted the number of groups and organization and events in the community, all of which are run and organized by volunteers, providing many opportunities for people to get involved. One interviewee noted the number of clubs and societies operating in the community was quite high, stating, “There are societies everywhere on this island for everything. I’m positive that this island has the highest per capita societies than anywhere in North America, like registered societies for our population” (MAS Interview 187, Female).

There are bingos, church functions, thrift shops and bake sales, loonie and toonie auctions and other fundraisers, dances at the Legion and community hall, and of course, Harbour Days, the big event of the season held every summer. And while, as noted,
volunteers can be hard to find, community support in the form of participation in the activities is quite high. As one interviewee noted,

Some years, like when we have Harbour Days, we invite also Old Massett to participate in Harbour Days, to come on the board and at least one person participate in the board and I have yet to see one come. Maybe they don’t want to participate in that way and just shop up for the day and like they bring their fire truck in the parade kind of thing. So for participation, “participaction” of everybody, I would say that it’s the best we’ve done because what you see out there is really what wants to come out and participate in your Days. So even though they are not sitting on a board or doing a role of any kind, they are participating by coming out and spending their loonies and toonies and their families come out and enjoy themselves (MAS Interview L21, Female).

The problem with all of these social activities run by generally the same group of volunteers is people can get burnt out. One interviewee noted,

...what 50 people might be doing in Vancouver, one person is doing here. I think people who do volunteer around here, volunteer until they drop dead. Like burn out is a common thing around here. Volunteer a lot and then you take a year off, and then you end up on boards again (MAS Interview 187, Female).

Social networks and ties

There are no significant gender differences in number of ties nor location (Table 9.14). Looking at general patterns, we see women do have more ties overall. Both genders have more weak ties inside than weak ties outside, as well as more strong ties inside than strong ties outside. Overall, men and women have more weak ties than strong ties, and the majority of those ties are located inside the community, which given the geographical location of New Masset, and the difficulty of travelling off island, is not surprising.

Table 9.14 - New Masset Summary of Ties, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties - Inside</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties – Outside</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>.430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Inside</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>.352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Outside</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>.902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIES TOTAL</td>
<td>21.54</td>
<td>29.43</td>
<td>.158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New Masset and Old Massett are the two most isolated communities in the four community sample. As with Charlotte, ties outside the community, unless to people in the other communities on Haida Gwaii, are unlikely to yield much benefit unless a person is wanting to move off-island. Weak and strong ties outside of New Masset but still on-island may, however, provide a beneficial source of social capital by bridging social networks between communities on Haida Gwaii.

In this context, as with Charlotte, it is unlikely weak ties inside the community act as bridges to other social networks as they might in a larger centre. Due to the high level of isolation, these ties are more likely to be within the same networks inside the community. In this context, as in Charlotte, it is therefore likely weak ties function similarly to strong ties.

The quantitative data provide some support for this, showing the female and male respondents of New Masset use both types of ties to help them find work. When asked how they found out about their main job, nearly one-quarter (24%) of women and 13% of men found about their current job through their strong ties, from a family member or close friend \((p=0.311)\). Somewhat fewer respondents indicated they used their weak ties for this same purpose, with 9% of women and 13% of men noting they had found out about their main job from a neighbour or acquaintance \((p=0.564)\). The lack of gender differences in this regard is notable, given research (Granovetter 1973; Lin 1999; Lin 2000; Lin 2001b; Smith 2000) states women tend to have fewer weak ties to resource-rich positions and thus are disadvantaged in terms of status mobility and attainment as a result. In this context, both types of ties are useful in attaining employment, and women are equally as able to use them as men.

The qualitative data also provide some support for this argument. They emphasize the importance of being “known” in a community like New Masset, where so many transactions are conducted on an informal level, including employment. For many interviewees, the best way to find employment in New Masset was through word of mouth, as the majority of positions are not advertised, and employers want to know who they are hiring so they prefer to hire someone they know, or who knows someone they do.
Jobs around here is way more word-of-mouth than postings. Finding a job is not a problem, trying to stay unemployed if you want to be unemployed is a problem, at least for people with skills on the island (MAS Interview 187, Female).

That is the standard. It is not common, it is the standard. We do it – if I needed an employee, I needed somebody for a couple of days work, I never, ever, think advertising. I ask around, “Hi guys, I need somebody to give me a hand a couple of days next week doing so-and-so. Anybody got ideas?” And you know, within a couple of hours, two or three guys, “Hey, [name removed], I heard you were looking for somebody to do so-and-so. I got a couple of days next week – what’s it paying?”

But you don’t have to go through the interview process, you don’t have to go through any of this bloody government nonsense. It’s all done quietly, under the table, and the government doesn’t get a look in. That goes on continuously. It’s a complete network. You tell me what you want, and I can go out and I bet within a couple of hours, I could find you any skilled trade you like, ready to go to work tomorrow morning. (MAS Interview 207, Male).

You know people, there is so much work here that just gets word of mouthed, and non-advertised, and above and beyond the big employers which would be the two fish plants and I guess the Co-op – the local commercial businesses. But there’s a lot of underground word of mouth – word of mouth employment here, too (MAS Interview 212, Female).

The importance of having ties to other people in the community, particularly for employment opportunities, and for other reasons as well, will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter 11, which focuses on the informal economy in these communities. What is interesting from these quotes is the concept of trust is not mentioned. In Quadra and Charlotte, trust was often mentioned by interviewees as an important factor in the making and usage of social ties, noting those people who were more trusted were also more able to access valuable resources through their strong ties to others. The qualitative data are oddly quiet on this issue in New Masset, where no real distinction is made between weak and strong ties based on intimacy and trust. The New Masset qualitative data repeatedly stresses the importance of all ties inside the community. A reason for this, as one interviewee noted, is in some ways, the community is just one big social network,

Interviewer: Say I came here, I need a job. Who should I go talk to?
Interviewee: Well, the first question you’d have to ask is, what do you want to do? You know, what kind of work are you looking for, and then it would be easy. Well, if you’re interested in that, go and
talk to so-and-so. You know, you could probably come up with three or four names. They you’re into the network. You fit people into the communication network. But hell, I mean, you’ve only got 1,500 people, 1,700 people, and it’s not that big a network. You’re only three or four people removed from the whole town (MAS Interview 207, Male).

As noted in Chapter 3, for many of the positions on the Position Generator, there may be only one person in the community represented, and due to the visibility of leaders in small communities, the likelihood is most residents will know this person in some way. Therefore, many residents may claim weak ties to people in such positions in the community. Whether or not the person is able or willing to help them is a key factor in determining whether such ties constitute social capital, but it appears from the qualitative data in New Masset, as long as someone is “known” in some way, they will be helped regardless, even if that help is only referring them to someone else in the community network.

This is an interesting result, in that it is different from the other two communities, and once again, the contribution of context must be investigated. Residents of New Masset have had to get used to seeing new people in the community quite frequently, starting with the military and continuing as the demographics of the community changed after the army left. While there are some data that support the idea residents are somewhat reserved until they are sure a new person will be sticking around, once they know this, they appear quite amenable to helping them. One reason for this could be that, as shown in Table 9.7, New Masset residents do not distinguish between people from outside the community and people from inside, trusting both equally. As such, it is likely New Masset residents do not see new people as “outsiders” in the way Quadra and Charlotte residents do, and as such, are more willing to help them once they become “known” or plugged into the social network. As one interviewee noted, 

And it is a good way around here of doing it. Having your finger in a lot of pies, and getting yourself known as a hard worker. That’s the big thing is when people get to know who you are (MAS Interview 098, Female)(emphasis added).

As in Quadra and Charlotte, interviewees in New Masset also noted being such a small community, people were unlikely to get away with doing anything untrustworthy without others finding out, and this applied equally to everyone. In many ways, New
Masset is a good example of what Coleman (1990) refers to as a “closed network” in that the size and isolation of the community essentially means everyone is part of one large social network. Within this network, people are provided with useful information and their visibility within the network creates both obligations and a level of accountability to others they cannot renege on without facing strong sanctions. The knowledge this system exists is what allows people to help others without knowing them all that well, because they know should the person prove to be unworthy of such help, the community will soon know of it and consequences will follow. In this case, the strength of the tie is not nearly as important as the strength of the overall network to sanction those who take advantage of it. This is perhaps why over half of New Masset residents note they disagree most people in the community will take advantage if given the chance (Table 9.10).

As to the best way to make social ties, once again, as in Quadra and Charlotte, the qualitative data clearly states the best way to be accepted into the community and become “known” is to be involved. One interviewee put it very succinctly,

Volunteer work up here is like, if you want to really get well known in the community, really fast as a newcomers that is what you do, you go out and volunteer (MAS Interview 212, Female).

According to another interviewee, people who knew the most about the community, and who had the most access to resources, were the people who volunteered, because through their social involvement, they not only became known themselves, but they came to know everyone in the community personally and then could refer others to them. This supports work by Putnam (2000) and Granovetter (1973), who emphasize the importance of community involvement to the making of beneficial social ties. The interviewee stated,

...there’s just a few people that...they know most about what’s happening. People that are involved in any kind of volunteering. Yeah, there’s a few that you just know, they’ll know. Or they’ll know [who] if they don’t. You know, that whole Kevin Bacon thing about six degrees of separation or whatever? Yeah, its about two degrees in Masset (MAS Interview 098, Female).

As in Quadra and Charlotte, some interviewees noted it did take time for newcomers to be accepted into the community, particularly in the case of New Masset, for whom transience became commonplace with the constant rotation of army personnel.
in and out of the community. When asked to describe her community as to a friend, one interviewee noted,

So I would tell them that it’s a very close-knit community, but it’s closed to off-islanders for a little while until you start to participate in the community, or they see you getting involved and that you’re sticking around (MAS Interview 187, Female).

Another interviewee confirmed the importance of visibility through social participation for making beneficial social network ties,

If you’re brand new or under six months I’d say, yeah, you wouldn’t know. You wouldn’t know yet, and you wouldn’t have had the roots to put down, and you wouldn’t know yourself. Although again, that depends on how much of a go-getter you are. If you have something, that you come to this community with any kind of massage for instance, and maybe blast it out there, and you take advantage, that’s the nice thing about a small community, is, you know, there’s lots of community events. And there’s lots of opportunities; there’s a craft fair once a month here.
Well, that’s the way to get your name out here. And in a small community you can do that, and people will remember you. You don’t have to have – they’ll just know after, oh yeah, that new person does that, right? So you only have to call probably three or four people if you forget the name, somebody will know who it is. So that’s the benefits of living in a small community, too, that the network is really, you know, everybody (MAS Interview 098, Female).

Women are more involved in activities inside the community than are men (Table 9.12). Given the stated importance of social participation to the making of social ties, it is therefore not surprising women are not disadvantaged in terms of their network ties in New Masset, as would be suggested by research stating women tend to have smaller networks made up of mainly strong ties to kin and other women (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000; Burda, Vaux & Schill 1984), which is clearly not the case in New Masset.

This is also notable given New Masset does not enjoy the independence of Quadra from reliance on the resource economy, yet is not as dependent as Charlotte, instead falling somewhere in the middle in terms of resource dependency. In this context, women are still somewhat disadvantaged in terms of the number of positions on the Position Generator in which they are represented. Unlike Charlotte, where women own and run the majority of businesses in the community, and are also strongly represented in the leadership structure, women in New Masset are just starting to find their way in the new service economy and are starting to move into more formal positions in leadership.
As such, more than half of the positions on the Position Generator are male-dominated, reducing the number of potential ties for women. Even so, we can see from Table 9.14 women have the same number of ties, both weak and strong, as men.

Like Charlotte, a likely explanation for this finding is women in New Masset are very active in the community, being involved in more activities, and spending somewhat more time than men in these activities. In addition, they are not involved in mainly domestic-centered activities, which research (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982; Moore 1990; Beggs, Hurlbert & Haines 1996; Lin 2000) suggest hinders women from making the kind of ties necessary for economic advancement. Instead, New Masset women are involved in a variety of different activities, including many usually associated with men (i.e., work-related, business, sports or recreation) and thus are able to create diverse networks with many types of ties within the community.

In summary, these data support the findings of Enns et al. (2008), using the same dataset but with more communities, in that New Masset female respondents are involved in more activities than the men, and particularly in activities inside the community. The data for New Masset shows women are not disadvantaged in terms of their networks, as is argued by Moore (1990), Lin (2000), and Smith (2000), but have equal ties to resource-rich positions in their networks as their male counterparts and are equally able to use those ties to their benefit.

Summary

New Masset is a community still trying to throw off the last vestiges of its military past, but has not entirely achieved this yet. Economically, while it has rebounded from the downsizing of the military base to a much greater extent than many would have expected, it has been forced to turn back to the resource industry for its economic base, and as a result, is now suffering from the instability affecting all resource-based communities on the coast.

This dependence, however, is gender-specific; while the men are still relying on fishing and logging and their accompanying trades for employment, the women are not, and as a result, the women’s rate of employment is higher than the men’s. The women now occupy the majority of positions in the new service sector made up of tourism,
education and health, for which they have acquired skills and training. Women are also opening more home-based businesses and attempting to make a go of them on mainly a part-time basis. The quantitative data shows they have been fairly successful at this, as there are no differences between the mean incomes for men and women.

Those not in the resource industry are finding themselves working multiple jobs to make a living, as the full-time jobs available are mainly low paid service positions, thus encouraging people to be creative in order to make a living, working at part-time, seasonal and contract positions. These are the type of positions that have always been most prevalent for women in rural communities, who need more flexibility due to their family and social roles in the community. As a result, it is not the major adjustment for women as it has been for the men of the community, who were more used to full-time, full-year employment provided by the military and the resource-industry. There is some evidence that men are resisting moving into the new “flexible” economy, with 35% still employed in the resource industry, another 41% in trades and construction and only 30% working in education, health care and the service industry, compared to 94% of women. As a result, men have a higher unemployment rate than women, and male respondents reported that 37% were not working or laid off, compared to only 17% of women.

Socially, the loss of the military personnel has greatly changed the volunteer and civic structure of the community. While the military used to fill the majority of the volunteer positions in the community because they were given extra points for doing so, they also were very transient, and thus the turnover of volunteers was very high. Since the closing of the base, a core group of community members has taken over to fill those positions and help run the social life of the community. However, because for so long there was no need for volunteers in the community, it is still hard to get people to come out and volunteer for the committees and boards so vital to any small community, and the ones that do quickly find themselves overworked and overwhelmed. The majority of these volunteers are retirees and women, as is common in many coastal, resource-based communities.

The women of New Masset find themselves in a very similar role to many women living in resource-based communities now the resources are no longer providing a stable
economy. While they are mainly responsible for the social life of the community, they are also helping to provide a living for their families, and many are finding creative ways to do this. Their ability to do this is helped along by the ties they have made through their social involvement in the community, and the quantitative data supports this by showing women in New Masset are more involved in activities in the community.

Overall, women have been more successful at adapting to the new economy that developed with the closing of the military base and the decline of the resource industry, but they also maintain their traditional role in the social life of the community as well, which continues to be beneficial in the creation of strong, reciprocal social networks on which they can rely to provide whatever support they need, be it financial or social.
CHAPTER TEN

Old Massett Gender Analysis

*Her eyes sparkled like the wet brown kelp bulbs that bobbed in the sea swells about her. Her hair streamed out below her Killer Whale canoe hat. Earrings glinted. Rosy cheeks shone with skin grease that had been smudged with charcoal below the eyes to protect them from the glare. She was a precious princess! She carried a noble Raven bloodline and she would mother Kaigani chiefs some day* (Harris 1992: 45).

Away from Haida Gwaii, white men heard of the smallpox epidemic; but they did not understand what a catastrophe it was. They did not realize that a great culture was dying of shock.

Seventy years earlier, when Captain Dixon sailed joyously out of Cloak Bay with a wealth of sea otter skins, there had been ten thousand healthy Haida in thriving villages all around the coasts of their isolated islands.

Now there were only a thousand.

“Sdast’a•aas means ever increasing, like maggots,” the chief reminded his Eagles. Their very name was a promise that they would be great again, he assured them.

*Alone, he wept* (Harris 1992: 129).

Old Massett is a reserve community of the Haida Nation, located at the far northern end of Haida Gwaii. It is one of only two remaining Haida villages out of the 21 that once existed on these islands. Colonialism, disease, and governmental interference and ineptitude have irrevocably changed the economic, social and political structure of this community. Yet, the majority of its residents still practice many of the traditional ways that have allowed their people to survive on these isolated islands since time immemorial. Gender roles have not been immune to the vast changes that have occurred, and finding a balance between the traditional and the contemporary is an ongoing challenge, particularly in these times of economic instability. Strong family and clan networks have become ever more essential, and the operation of gender within this context is the focus of this chapter.

**Demographic data**

There are some differences between the male and female respondents of Old Massett; the men are somewhat older with a mean age of 47, while the mean age for women is 41 ($p=0.143$). The men have lived in the community significantly longer than
the women, with a mean of 35 years as opposed to the mean of 20 years for the women ($p=0.003$). In terms of marital status, both genders are equally likely to be married or living with someone, but men are more likely than women to never have been married, while women are more likely to be separated, divorced or widowed.

**Education**

With regards to higher education, women have somewhat more education than men ($p=0.066$) *(Table 10.1)*. However, none of the respondents to the Old Massett survey reported formal education higher than a Bachelor’s degree. Sixty-three percent of men indicated their highest level of education achieved was some high school, as compared with 46% of women. This is considerably higher than the provincial averages for both genders, although more so for men than women. The percentage of men achieving high school graduation as their highest level of academic achievement is similar to the provincial average, but the percentage of women is somewhat lower. For both genders, the percentage attending some post-secondary or achieving graduation is considerably lower than the provincial averages, again more so for men than women. In fact, all of the Old Massett respondents who reported attaining a Bachelor’s degree were women.

*Table 10.1 - Old Masset Education, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education achieved</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>B.C. (2006)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduation</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some post-secondary/graduation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While women report greater amounts of education in general, men are significantly more likely to have some trades training, and are also more likely to have completed trades training, although not significantly so *(Table 10.2)*. This is not surprising, given Old Massett’s continuing reliance on the resource industry for employment, the relationship of trades positions to the resource industry, and the predominance of men in both the trades and the resource industry.
Table 10.2 - Old Massett Skills and Training, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some community college</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community college certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some trade training</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>8.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed trade training</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some job skills training</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills training certificate or diploma</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-level crafts/skills</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Income**

Only 3% of respondents made $50,000 or more per year. No one in the sample made more than $60,000 or more per year. The mean individual income category for all respondents was $10,000 - $19,999 and there were no gender differences in this regard ($p=0.623). This is considerably less than the provincial average of $36,258 for men and only somewhat less than the provincial average of $23,154 for women. Sixty percent of female respondents reported incomes in the bottom three categories (i.e., $19,999 per year or less), while only 44% of men reported the same. On the other hand, none of the male respondents made $50,000 or more per year whereas 4% of females did.

Table 10.3 - Old Massett Individual Income Categories, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>% Males</th>
<th>% Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $5,000</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000-9,999</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000-19,999</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000-29,999</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000-$39,999</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000-49,999</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000-59,999</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;60,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mean category for household income was $20,000 to $29,999 and there were no significant gender differences overall ($p=0.798$). This is a great deal less than the provincial average of $57,593. Fifty-eight percent of all respondents reported household income in the $20,000 - $29,999 category or lower, while 42% made $30,000 or more.

All respondents reporting incomes of $50,000 or greater were female, as opposed to zero percent of male respondents. However, 59% of female respondents reported an income of $29,999 or less, as compared to 53% of male respondents. Forty-seven percent of males reported an income between $30,000 and $49,999, compared with only 21% of female respondents. It appears then, both in individual and household income, women tend to be most represented in the highest and lowest categories, while men tend to occupy the middle range categories.

Table 10.4 - Old Massett Household Income Categories, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Categories</th>
<th>% Males</th>
<th>% Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $5,000</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000-9,999</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000-19,999</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000-29,999</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000-$39,999</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000-49,999</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000-59,999</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; $60,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common source of income was wages or salary; more than two-thirds of both men and women reported this was a source of income (Table 10.3). Old Massett respondents report the highest percentages of income from employment insurance and social assistance in the four community sample, with nearly 40% of men and women reporting income from these sources.
**Table 10.5 – Old Masset Sources of Income, by Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages or salary</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment insurance</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance (welfare)</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal investments</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work pension</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severance package</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no differences between men and women in home ownership; 71% of men and 69% of women owned their home, while 29% of men and 24% of women were renting and 7% of women were leasing \(p=0.505\)

**Employment**

Respondents were asked to list all of the people in their household who were currently working. The number ranged between zero and four, and the average was two. Eleven percent of respondents reported no one was working in their household, 31% reported one, 40% reported two, 13% reported three and only 4% reported there were four people working in their household. The question then asked respondents to indicate what type of work was being done. Of 102 people who were listed as working, 54% were working at part-time or seasonal positions. Respondents were also asked if there were any people in the household over the age of 18 who were not working, and 53% of households noted at least one member of their household (over the age of 18) was not working. Respondents were then asked if there was anyone in the household currently looking for work and were unable to find it. Twenty-eight percent of respondents answered yes.\(^1\)

\(^1\)The Old Massett data does not allow for a gender analysis of employment.
The qualitative data from the RCP interviews suggest seasonal and part-time employment is more common in Old Massett than was indicated through the Old Massett Community Survey results, as the majority of interviewees noted full-time employment was the exception rather than the rule in Old Massett. The unemployment rate is estimated by some to be as high as 80-90% at certain times of the year. The RCP leadership interviews were conducted in the winter of 2005, and winter is traditionally a slow time for employment in Old Massett, as the forestry and fishing industries, as well as the canneries, are shut down, and there is little berry picking, hunting, or gathering of foodstuffs going on. The Old Massett Community Survey, on the other hand, was conducted in July and August of 2005, which are two of the busiest months for seasonal employment, as the canneries are operating multiple shifts to process the clams and crab brought in, and many people are out fishing either commercially or for food (MAS Interview L14, Female). As such, the majority of the interviewees for the Old Massett Community Survey were not seasonally employed, and thus were available for interviews at this time while those who were seasonally employed were too busy to participate.

Old Massett was traditionally a fishing village, and the majority of the people living there made their living from fishing or associated industries such as boat building or fish processing. In addition, some 50-100 people worked for the military, and these were full-time, full-year jobs that disappeared when the base closed. There are no Haida-owned fishing boats operating currently, and although some Village residents do work as deckhands on the crab boats, the licenses are not held locally. While the sport fishing industry is generating approximately $60 million per year in the Haida Gwaii, very little of this money is put back into the economy, and very few jobs are generated from it for Village residents (MAS Interview L13, Male). All of this has led to high unemployment, economic instability, and, as one interviewee noted, a more transient population and a higher crime rate. She stated,

*I think there are more people leaving than coming, for sure, especially this last year [2004]; a lot of people have left...I guess due to financial reasons, employment. According to one brief RCMP report at a PAC<sup>48</sup> meeting – that the crime rate has gone up. Last year they had 1,500 complaints; this year they’ve 2,500 complaints* (MAS Interview L14, Female).

<sup>48</sup> Parent Advisory Committee
Another interviewee noted the situation of high unemployment and social and economic instability was a long-standing one, and was not caused by just one or two things. He stated,

*Yes, I would venture to say that there is a lot more crime and alcohol/drug abuse – I mean it was always quite high, which is quite normal for reserves. There are two communities here but they are pretty much interlinked and we have band members living in New Masset but I consider it all one community to a certain degree. But there’s – so we’ve always had quite a high rate of unemployment here and it is seasonal – a lot of seasonal work too so I don’t think a lot of the changes, as far as like the base leaving – or not leaving but downsizing – that effect wasn’t as severe as it might have been in other communities because of, well it’s not much to fall from really because of the high unemployment already (MAS Interview L18, Male).*

As to how people in the community were responding to the ongoing economic situation, several of the interviewees noted some Village residents were attempting to capitalize on the new service economy, and opened home-based businesses catering to lodge guests and tourists. One noted the following,

*You see a lot more people starting up independent businesses, some geared towards the clientele of the lodges or just the tourists in general. Not a whole lot of people but there has been a bit of; mostly that is what it is – people starting up small businesses because there’s a lot of money out there for First Nations, youth, whatever, right? (MAS Interview L18, Male).*

The problem, however, with the tourist industry, is that it has a very short season in Haida Gwaii, running from May to September, and therefore people relying on this industry have to make their money during this period and then hold out through the winter until the next tourist season (MAS Interview L19, Male).

Another interviewee spoke at length regarding the role of women in supporting their families and keeping the economy of the Village going. She noted that, because so many of the men were formerly employed in the resource industry, the majority of them left school early to work in the then-lucrative fisheries or forestry. Thus, they did not have the skills to work in the new service economy, and their wives or partners were now having to step up and find work. In order to give them the flexibility they needed to continue their involvement in the informal economy (i.e., food gathering and processing) as well as support their families and maintain their role in the social life of the community, many of these women did not want to work full-time jobs, and so were
starting up home-based businesses based on reviving forgotten art forms and traditional skills. She mentioned women working in weaving, basket and blanket making, and how they had approached some of the female elders in the band and asked them to help them learn the necessary skills. She noted many of these businesses were doing quite well due to a strong off-island market for Haida art in these forms and because these women were learning how to use the internet to tap into this interest and market their wares (MAS Interview L11, Female).

At one point during the RCP interview process, I talked with one of the women reviving an ancient Haida weaving process to make blankets for ceremonies and also for sale off-island to art collectors. She said there were quite a few women in the village who worked either by commission or for other people (for instance, she did work for another woman who took the commissions and then hired women from the band to do the work because she couldn’t do it all herself) and many of the old practices were being revived because of increasing interest from collectors. She said she knew quite a few women who supported their families this way. She said it could be difficult, however, because these art forms were extremely time and work intensive, and thus sold for large sums of money, which were paid upon completion of the commission. This meant the women had to work for months before being paid, which was difficult. She also mentioned, however, some of the work was now commanding very high prices (she mentioned one piece recently sold for $15,000) because of its difficulty and intricacy (Personal communication, January 2005).

There are also quite a few men producing art for income, but male artists have always been common among the Haida. Haida art forms were very gender-based, with men traditionally doing the carving and painting, and women working primarily on different forms of weaving. What has changed is that while men’s artwork such as carved argillite, jewellery and cedar has been produced for sale since the middle of the 19th century, women’s weaving was traditionally produced for day to day usage, and only fairly recently has come to be seen as a marketable art form as well. This is why some of the older, more work intensive, forms of weaving were discontinued, and are now being revived and reintroduced as Haida art.
When asked what was the main reason why more people weren’t taking advantage of the funding out there for small business ownership, several interviewees mentioned a lack of skills and education for people who had spent their working lives in the resource industry and thus did not need the skills now required by an economy based on services and tourism. A few also mentioned a “learned helplessness” that came as a result of living under government control for far too long. As one noted,

*It’s just personal decisions and I think part of the problem the community has is having that “living under the Indian Act, being a ward of the state, they’re going to take care of me, they’re going to take care of me.” And that’s something we’re trying to get away from for self-governance and it’s really hard because it’s been ingrained. Back in the day, the Indian agent came in and took care of everything, right? And now we’re being asked to look after ourselves but not having the education or the skills to do it* (MAS Interview L11, Female).

This was supported by another interviewee, who had a slightly stronger take on the subject,

*No, there’s access for them, but they just don’t know how to access it. There’s just a lack of initiative. And that’s easily explained by what’s gone on with the Haida living under the Indian Act for over 100 years, and we’re living in probably a third or fourth generation on welfare, and welfare has become a way of life. You know with that kind of living I guess there’s just no way of seeing any kind of light at the end of the tunnel. There’s a few bright spots here, working with the youth in here but there’s hoping to get some opportunity for them, but it’s pretty difficult when you’ve basically got a whole infrastructure designed to assist your community, but possibly even going as far as saying incapable of helping. It’s the whole system, it’s been designed to basically fail the community* (MAS Interview L23, Male).

For those who do access the funding, and start their own businesses, one interviewee notes there is an even more difficult hurdle to face – their own community. He states,

*There’s – being close is also a detriment – small communities also a detriment at times because some people don’t like seeing other people try to get ahead so whether they try to pull them back – kind of a crab mentality* – someone tries to

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49 The “crab story” is a common story told up and down the coast by First Nation communities in their attempt to explain the state of their villages. In the course of conducting the RCP interviews, I heard the story more than once. This version is from a Charlotte interviewee: *A chap went out to gather crabs on North Beach, and he’d never done it before. He’d get a crab and he’d put it in his bucket and then go out and get another crab, and when he got back with that crab he found his first crab had climbed out. And he was getting very frustrated because he spent all his time running after the three or four crabs he had caught before he could catch any more. And then he noticed an old Indian guide happily crabbing away and filling his bucket in no time, and he went over and asked him. He said, “Look, what’s the secret?”*
get away or get ahead, they kind of pull them back whether it be – I guess it’s more, not literally holding them back but they put them down. Actually some people try to stop them through other means, maybe through council or whatever, but that’s one of the weaknesses (MAS Interview L18, Male).

Despite all the hurdles, several interviewees still expressed optimism regarding the economic future of the village. One in particular noted she thought the opportunities for the community were “limitless.” She stated,

*It’s only the people who can define what’s out there and what’s not out there, pursuing the opportunities that are available. I think it starts with information of what is available and then going from there (MAS Interview L11, Female).*

**Perceptions of community**

There is a significant difference between men and women in terms of their satisfaction with community, with men displaying higher levels of satisfaction than women \((p=.044)\) (Table 10.4). However, the genders were completely in agreement with their responses to *I would move away from this community if a good job came up somewhere else,* and this did not change when controlled for age. What is notable is the decisiveness of these responses; only two percent of women, and none of the men, indicated they were neutral. Men were split evenly down the middle, with 50% indicating they would move and the other 50% indicating they would not.

*And the old man said, “I only catch Indian crabs.” He said, “What do you mean by that? How do you know they’re Indian crabs?” “Oh, I know they’re Indian crabs, as soon as one tries to get out, another one pulls it back down.” (QUE Interview 180, Male).*

50 The two studies were conducted at different times, and this may have affected respondents’ perceptions of community to some degree. When the interviews for the RCP were being conducted in the summer of 2004 and winter of 2005, the community of Old Massett was in severe financial straits, having just had to declare bankruptcy over a $8 million debt and were in the process of completing a Remedial Management Plan for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). The Old Massett Village Council had to lay off more than half of its employees, and the majority of post-secondary students who were receiving funding from the band were cut off, causing tension in the community. When the Old Massett Community Survey was conducted in late summer of 2005, things were starting to look up – the Remedial Management Plan was well under way, some of the Village employees had been hired back, and many of the post-secondary students’ funding was restored for the fall of 2005.
Table 10.6 – Old Massett Commitment and Satisfaction Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would move away from this community if a good job came up elsewhere. (Age &lt; 65)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualitative data collected through the Old Massett Community Survey supports these results, and provides some explanation for them. The majority of people who agreed they would move away from the community if a good job came up elsewhere stated they would do so mainly for reasons of employment and education and the lack thereof in Old Massett. Those who disagreed cited family, home and culture as their main priorities for living in Old Massett.

Male and female respondents share similar perceptions of their community (Table 10.5). On the first two measures, however, men indicated to a greater degree than women the community was lacking cohesion and sociability. Men were more decided in their perceptions, while women were more split. However, the genders were in strong agreement when it came to perceptions of political and community leaders, and these results are notable for the strong indictment of these leaders. Only 21% of men and 27% of women agreed the political leaders were good, capable people, and close to two-thirds agreed they had little say in what the political leaders did. Nearly two-thirds of women and 53% of men agreed the leaders were for the most part partisan, and considerably less than half agreed the leaders played an important role in the social life of the community.
Table 10.7 – Old Massett Perception of Community Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in this community have a weak sense of community.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful people.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the statements on political leaders, which in this context would be the Old Massett Village Council, those who agreed they were good, capable people noted they have a tough job to do and are doing it to the best of their abilities. On the other hand, those who disagreed noted their lack of formal education, tendencies towards nepotism, and refusal to listen to the community regarding priorities and needs. Some examples from interviewees:

*They try to be to the best of their ability but personal agendas and uninformed decisions are continually being made* (OM Interview 1-008).

*The council does not communicate their plans or ideas, council is not open to new ideas and are not open to the community* (OM Interview 5-005).

*S有时候some councillors that are elected are part of one big family and they form their own quorum and they only get things done that they want done* (OM Interview 3-010).

The interviewees who disagreed with the statement they don’t have any say in what their political leaders do, noted they had the opportunity to vote and also to speak.
up at public meetings. Those who agreed, however, noted they did not feel like the leadership listened to the people or listened to the wrong people, as follows,

*I feel that no matter what our community says, our leaders, whoever they are, feel they are always right no matter what anyone has to say. Maybe because they can talk to other sources outside of our community, people of higher rank, or because they sit behind a desk, I don’t know.* (OM Interview 4-010).

The lack of education within the community leads to bad decisions and they are too headstrong to admit mistakes. Leaders tend to listen to and use opinions of outsiders without thought. Local knowledge is a wealth unused or under-utilized due to opinions or the ideologies of academics. Outsiders come in for a while to “save us” and then leave - later another comes (OM Interview 5-018).

When asked who the few powerful people were, those interviewees who agreed with that statement noted family ties are very influential and leaders are often elected by and therefore beholden to their family members once they get into power. Some noted,

*When they are elected they do more for their family than anyone else. Don’t represent the community as a whole* (OM Interview 5-001).

*Because most times, it is families that are represented - such as jobs, housing, social assistance* (OM Interview 5-003).

*Usually it is their family that they listen to and not the people who put them in office* (OM Interview 1-005).

Regarding the question about the role of leaders in the social life of the community, those who disagreed with this statement noted they rarely saw the leaders at community events which traditionally they would have always attended, neither did they plan or organize any such events that would bring the community together. Some noted,

*You never see any leaders any place. I have seen a leader once at church. They should go to every wedding and every funeral* (OM Interview 3-005).

*I don’t think they do, they show us how to sit around at home* (OM Interview 5-003).

*The community leaders are not at every social event. I mean, I don’t even know who the community leaders are* (OM Interview 4-012).

Interestingly, the interviewees who agreed with this statement said the exact opposite of those who disagreed, noting the leaders were often present at community events, and took an active role in the social life of the community, as follows,

*They attend a lot of functions, weddings, funerals. Participate in social events* (OM Interview 5-006).
I agree they go to potlatches, weddings, and funerals (OM Interview 1-005).

I think they are pretty good at socializing with the community. When they have big dinners, you see most of them there (OM Interview 1-006).

The issue of who is and is not a leader continually comes up in the qualitative data. Some interviewees wanted to make it clear leadership in the Village went beyond the elected or hereditary leaders; that female elders played a very important role as well, particularly in terms of teaching traditional skills to the next generation. Others noted the less-than-ideal situation of non-Haida employees assuming the majority of leadership roles in the Village. As one stated,

It is important to indicate Haida leaders because leaders down here are not Haida. The school leader is non-Haida. The Health Centre, OMVC Band office, economic development, forestry, fisheries, social welfare, are all non-Haida. (OM Interview 1-001).

From this evidence, it is apparent leadership continues to be a contentious issue in Old Masset, as noted by even the leaders themselves; one admitted a frustration with the number of “unnecessary” meetings being called, stating the majority of council members did not have full-time jobs and therefore relied too much on the per diems received for attending meetings (MAS Interview L11, Female). Interestingly enough, when the leaders who were named in the community member interviews were asked in the leadership interviews to name whom they thought were the community leaders, not one person from the OMVC was named.51

Old Massett respondents also share similar ratings of community (Table 10.6). Once again, a strong indictment for community organizations such as education and health are evident, with close to half of all respondents rating their schools and health care system as poor. Residents were split on ratings of safety, although the men were more emphatic on crime ratings than women, with not a single respondent indicating low crime. Interestingly, over half of men and 42% of women still rated their community as a good place to raise children, despite their negative ratings of leaders, the education and

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51 As noted in Chapter 2, the data for the Old Massett Community Survey was collected at a different time and in a different way than the RCP data and did not include the question asking respondents to name the leaders of their community. However, five people from the Haida community were interviewed in their capacity as community leaders during the RCP leadership interviews and these five were asked who they thought were the leaders of their community. The two men named 6 men and 6 women, and the 3 women named 6 men and 7 women.
health care systems and employment opportunities. And one-third of both men and women rated their community as not isolated, which is significantly higher than both New Masset and Charlotte.

Table 10.8 – Old Massett Community Ratings, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good schools</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High crime</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health care</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust

The male respondents of Old Massett show significantly higher levels of generalized trust than the women (p=0.046) (Table 10.7). However, the genders are in agreement in the second measure, where two-thirds of all respondents agreed you can’t be too careful in dealing with people.

Table 10.9 - Old Massett Responses to Generalized Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust for community members is even lower than trust for people in general, with less than half of men and just over one-third of women agreeing most people in the community can be trusted (Table 10.8). Men are significantly more likely than women to agree they trust people inside the community more than those outside, however, with
over three-quarters agreeing as compared to only one-third of women ($p=0.049$). High numbers of both men and women noted there were groups in the community they did not trust, although fewer noted most would take advantage if given the chance.

*Table 10.10 - Old Massett Responses to Generalized Community Trust Measures, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>M 47</td>
<td>F 36</td>
<td>M 24</td>
<td>F 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>M 77</td>
<td>F 35</td>
<td>M 6</td>
<td>F 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>M 81</td>
<td>F 65</td>
<td>M 6</td>
<td>F 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>M 59</td>
<td>F 55</td>
<td>M 6</td>
<td>F 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try and take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>M 50</td>
<td>F 43</td>
<td>M 12</td>
<td>F 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 10.9* provides some insight into which groups are being referred to in *Table 10.8*, with women showing significantly lower levels of trust than men for community leaders ($p=0.037$), business leaders ($p=0.006$) and elected leaders ($p=0.008$). While trust levels are quite low in general for community leaders, the lowest levels of trust are directed at elected leaders, with only 35% of men and 10% of women agreeing they can be trusted. Fewer women than men also show trust in the police ($p=0.086$), with two-thirds of men agreeing the police could be trusted to do a good job as compared to only one-third of women.
Table 10.11 - Old Massett Responses to Social/Institutional Community Trust Measures, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>% Neutral</th>
<th>% Disagree</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>41 M</td>
<td>37 F</td>
<td>24 M</td>
<td>28 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>65 M</td>
<td>30 F</td>
<td>6 M</td>
<td>30 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>38 M</td>
<td>19 F</td>
<td>25 M</td>
<td>21 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>53 M</td>
<td>23 F</td>
<td>29 M</td>
<td>31 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The elected leaders (i.e., Band Council) of this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>35 M</td>
<td>10 F</td>
<td>30 M</td>
<td>28 F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is little in the qualitative data to explain why these gender differences in trust exist, although as noted in Chapter 6, traditional Haida society was matrilineal, which gave women considerably more power and authority than in a strictly patriarchal society. This structure, however, has been severely undermined by colonialism, the reserve system and the exceedingly patriarchal Indian Act, stripping Haida women of their traditional rights and forcing them to adapt to a foreign system of governance that demonstrates little common sense and does even less to promote healthy communities. This, combined with the faltering resource industry that has taken away the majority of the men’s ability to make a living, places women in the difficult position of having to find a way to support their families in a system now inherently biased against them. As one interviewee noted, this has led to a situation where people are more out for themselves as opposed to being collectively or community-minded. She stated,

“I’ve seen a lot more people turn to, instead of worrying about their neighbours, they’re beginning to just worry more about themselves. It was more, when work was good, more families got together and they shared. If you went out fishing and you caught too much, you shared. And now with the high unemployment, everybody is keeping more for themselves (MAS Interview L11, Female).

This individual focus combined with competition over scarce resources leads to a situation of decreased trust and community cohesion, and greater separation between groups. Several interviewees noted when the economy was good, relations between
Masset and Old Massett were better, as there was enough for everyone to make a solid living. However, in more recent times, people have separated into “cliques”, which has reduced interactions between the two communities and increased divisions. As one interviewee noted,

*Well, there’s different cliques in town; there’s different groups of, well, my wife belonged to different groups of cliques with different lady groups that sort of meet, and some of them are fairly prominent in the business community.*

*And there’s the different cliques of groups in town as well for the men. It’s, I don’t know, it’s just a funny kind of situation where everybody is sort of separate or segregated and not really trying to make any great changes in the community* (MAS Interview L23, Male).

Both Putnam (2000) and Govier (1997) argue social participation is an important avenue to building trust; as people interact with one another through joint activities, they start to see others as being more similar to themselves and build social obligations that lead to the formation of interpersonal trust. However, Old Massett respondents have one of the highest levels of social participation among the four communities, but still the lowest levels of trust.

The qualitative data suggest that the main reason for this corroborates with Fiske’s (1990) emphasis on the continuing importance of family and clan ties in First Nation communities, as noted in *Chapter 6*. Like many First Nation communities, historical systems of lineage and rank still organize many of the interactions that occur in Old Massett. These family and clan ties are not only important, they are essential for survival, particularly within an uncertain economic climate. Lineage-based groups have strong intra-group trust, the kind of trust existing in a closed network made up of strong ties among members that then provides only those members with the resources existing within the group (Coleman 1990). While this is highly beneficial to the members of the group, it can be detrimental to the rest of the community, or to other groups who do not share access to such resources. This is because those resources are not shared more widely, which often leads to negative affect and distrust towards the members of that group (Portes 1998).

Social capital theory would suggest that the best way to overcome this would be to encourage residents to engage in formal groups and organizations that would bring
them into contact with others they may distrust, and overcome this by engaging in positive interactions. However, in the case of Old Massett, this advice is ethnocentric at best, and patronizing at worst. The fact is that due to forces of colonialism and forced cohabitation, the residents of Old Massett have been required to live in ways that are not culturally reconcilable. Their traditional way of life and governance has been taken from them and many do not believe in the current authority structure nor its ability to provide for them. The way that they are dealing with this loss is to invest in what traditional structure still exists: the power of the family and clan groupings. Within these groupings there exist strong ties that ensure that all members of the group are able to access what they need without turning to the larger community or the imposed (and to many, illegitimate) authority structure. In Old Massett, family looks after family, and this provides a very effective source of social capital within these smaller groupings, even while it does contribute to a less cohesive and unified community overall.

**Social participation and social ties**

While there are no significant gender differences in terms of the total number of formal activities, there is a general pattern of men being involved in more activities, with the exception of activities outside the community (*Table 10.10*). Both genders are involved in more activities located both inside and outside the community. There is a fairly simple explanation for this finding: there just are not many formal organizations operating in Old Massett and thus, in order to get involved in this way, residents have to go outside the community. Given the isolated location of Old Massett, and the difficulty and expense of leaving Haida Gwaii, it is most likely these are activities located in one of the other communities on Haida Gwaii, and most likely, New Masset.

*Table 10.12 - Old Massett Formal Activities, by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Inside</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>.566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Outside</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities - Both</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES TOTAL</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>.157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at informal activities, we see a general trend of women being more likely to be involved in the majority of activities, with a few exceptions. Male respondents were more likely than women to attend a sports event (but were not more likely to participate in a sports or recreational activity), go fishing or hunting, and participate in a craft or artistic activity. Women were considerably more likely than men to play Bingo and go out with others for a meal in a restaurant.

There are few significant differences in participation in informal activities, but the overall trend is for men to be more involved than women (Table 10.11). In general, men are more likely to be involved in business, environmental, self-help and work-related groups, while women are more likely to be involved in educational groups and social clubs. There is also no significant difference in the number of hours spent in such activities, with both genders indicating an average of 11-15 hours over the past 30 days ($p=0.419$).

Table 10.13 - Old Massett Civic Participation, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby group</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-related activities</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community service group</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or ethnic association</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime or justice groups</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political – community level</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political – Council of the Haida Nation</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help or support</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service club</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social club</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-related</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data show equal levels of volunteer activities; 56% of women and 50% of men helped out as a volunteer in the community \((p=0.760)\). Looking at number of hours, both genders report an average of three to five hours in the past 30 days \((p=0.324)\).

What the data do not capture is the high level of involvement in the informal social life of Old Massett, particularly by women. As noted, there are not as many formal groups or organizations operating in Old Massett as in the other three communities, and the majority of them are church/religious, cultural or business-related. Because of the high level of participation in the informal economy, particularly during the summer months, many people do not have the time to be involved in formal groups and organizations year-round, and thus many operate only seasonally or on a more informal basis. What is important to note is many social events do take place in Old Massett – weddings, birthdays, anniversaries, graduation, and funerals are all popular events, and the majority of these events are organized and carried out by the women of the community. Potlatches are another popular social event which are held much more infrequently because they take years of planning and preparation, and the majority of this is done by the women of the clan giving the potlatch. This level of involvement in the social life of the community, combined with their activities in the informal economy and the need to provide for their families, is one reason why women are less involved in the formal groups and organizations than are men.

In terms of network ties to resource-rich positions, overall, men and women have equal numbers of ties, there are some differences in location of ties. While men and women have equal numbers of weak ties, men have significantly more strong ties than women, both inside and outside the community. Both genders have considerably more weak ties inside than weak ties outside, as well as more strong ties inside than strong ties outside. Overall, both genders have more ties to resource-rich positions inside the community than outside, regardless of tie strength. Given the geographical isolation of the community and the difficulty and expense of leaving, this is not surprising.
Table 10.14 - Old Massett Summary of Ties, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>2-tailed sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties - Inside</td>
<td>47.56</td>
<td>55.70</td>
<td>.546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Ties – Outside</td>
<td>14.88</td>
<td>7.85</td>
<td>.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Inside</td>
<td>34.56</td>
<td>15.23</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Ties – Outside</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIES TOTAL</td>
<td>103.94</td>
<td>81.02</td>
<td>.209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents from Old Massett have considerably more ties than reported in any other community. There are two reasons for this finding. First, as noted in Chapter 3, the revised Position Generator used in the Old Massett study was expanded to include 26 positions, as compared to only 12 in the original Position Generator used in the other three communities. Thus, Old Massett respondents had double the number of potential ties.

Second, as noted in Chapter 5, Old Massett has a very high degree of interconnectedness and interrelatedness. The saying “everyone knows everyone” often applied to small communities is more than just a saying in Old Massett, it is a reality that has both positive and negative consequences. On the positive side, residents have a large number of ties in their social networks and these ties necessarily include the majority of resource-rich positions within the community, and thus, theoretically at least, a large number of people to draw on in times of need. On the negative side, having such large social networks means people with such resources are constantly called upon for assistance, and thus have to either find some way to choose whom to share with (usually family) or spread the resources very thinly. The first choice can lead to accusations of nepotism (as often expressed in the Old Massett qualitative data), while the second choice tends to satisfy everyone a little but no one completely.

Once again, these data do not support the literature on the differences between men and women’s networks (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000). While men do have more ties overall, women have the same number of weak ties as men. In addition, it runs contrary to many studies (Moore 1990; Lin 2000; Smith 2000, Burda, Vaux & Schill
1984) that find women have more strong ties than men. While women in Old Massett are less likely to be involved in typically male-dominated organizations such as work-related and business organizations, this does not appear to have affected their ability to make weak ties, as is argued by McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982; Moore 1990; Beggs & Hurlbert 1997; Smith 2000; and Lin 2000.

As noted in Chapter 3 and above, the Position Generator measure for the Old Massett Community Survey was revised to suit the particular context, and included 26 positions that were theorized to represent embedded social resources in Old Massett. Given Old Massett’s continuing attachment to the resource industry, particularly by its male residents, and its mainly male leadership structure, both elected and hereditary, well over half of the positions on the revised measure were filled by men in the community, thus considerably reducing the number of potential ties for women, and increasing them for men. This is very likely one explanation for men’s higher number of strong ties as noted in Table 10.12.

Unfortunately, there are few little qualitative data from the Old Massett Community Survey that provide insight into how social ties are made in the community, nor which type of tie, strong or weak, may be more beneficial to residents. The bulk of the information that does exist regarding social ties relates to the informal economy, and thus will be discussed in the following chapter.

**Summary**

Both historically and currently, Old Massett is considerably different from the other communities in the sample. The majority of these differences can be attributed to the fact that Old Massett is a First Nation reserve community and thus economically and politically operates differently from other non First Nation communities. But there are also some notable social differences as well, as particularly can be seen in the trust, participation and social network data. Despite having the highest levels of social participation of all four communities and large social networks made up of both weak and strong ties, Old Massett residents also show the lowest levels of trust. This finding runs contrary to the literature that argues that social participation is a key contributor to the

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52 See Appendix E.
formation of trust and cohesion in communities (Govier 1997; Putnam 2000). However, once again it is important to take context into account when attempting to find an explanation for contrary findings. In the case of Old Massett, applying a social capital framework to community interaction is akin to attempting to put a square peg in a round hole: it does not fit.

Both Govier (1997) and Putnam (2000) argue that social participation builds trust through people getting involved in their communities and meeting other people they ordinarily would not meet during the course of their lives. Through positive interactions with others in this way, they come to see each other as similar and trust is built. Erickson (2003) argues that social participation allows people to come into contact with more diverse others than they would normally seek out, thus expanding their networks and building more weak ties. Using this framework, we would assume that Old Massett is disadvantaged in terms of social capital, as this is not what is happening. Rather, limited mobility in a lineage-based society means that getting involved in the community does not bring residents into contact with people they would not ordinarily meet, because they already know everyone who lives there – it simply brings people into contact with people who are in their family or clan. They have long ago formed opinions on who can and cannot be trusted, and thus social participation is not going to work the same way in this community as it does in others.

For the most part, social activities in Old Massett are informal, and family/lineage-based, as opposed to formal groups made up of diverse individuals in the non-reserve communities. Tradition continues to influence current custom: residents attend functions based on the family that is hosting or organizing, and clan history and loyalties dictate certain people will not attend functions organized by another clan. Thus, the divisions continue and so does the distrust, particularly toward leaders of the community, who are seen as partisan and accused of only caring for the members of their family and clan and not for the community in general. Clan history dictates leaders

53 Family, lineage and clan are for the most part interchangeable. Family includes all extended family members, who will also be of the lineage although not always the same clan, due to the matrilineal system of descent. However, certain clans have historically been linked together due to their shared lineage, and these linkages continue in the present. Members of different clans but same lineage are still considered to be family.
cannot attend a function hosted by a rival clan, even in their capacity as community leaders, because they do not want to alienate their support base. This provides an explanation for the contrary responses to the questions regarding the leaders’ role in the social life of the community. In order to show proper respect and loyalty, the leaders have to pick and choose their events carefully and, for the most part, only attend those events sanctioned by their family and clan. Thus, those outside their family and friends rarely see them at social events, while those on the inside frequently do.

Social capital in this context exists in a different form than in the other three communities. Within their strong family and clan networks, residents are able to access the resources that they need, and continue to build trust and accountability based on both historical linkages and current interactions. Within these groups, family looks after family: elders and children are cared for; social events are planned and carried out; food is gathered, shared and stored; services are traded; culture and tradition are celebrated. This is much the way it was during historical times, as rival clans did not interact except in times of conflict and war. The difference now is that these rival clans share geographical space, and now have to live with one another in the same community. Given these factors, it follows that social capital resides in the structure of family and clan rather than at an aggregate community level.

With regard to the women’s role in the community, we see from the quantitative data that, while the men rate the community higher on aspects such as health, education, and safety, women rate it higher in terms of social dimensions such as cohesion and friendliness. This is because women are more involved in the social life of the community in terms of organizing the important social events that occur, and therefore are more able to see and appreciate how people come together to plan and carry out these events. However, this does not translate into higher levels of generalized community trust because these social events are limited by lineage and clan, thus not resulting in people who distrust one another coming into sustained contact. Therefore, social capital takes on a different form for the residents of Old Massett, in that within the family or clan groups, members share strong ties and access to whatever resources are available. While specific trust in the form of family loyalties is high, generalized community trust is low.
One area where Old Massett is similar to the other communities in the sample is women’s roles in the community, particularly in terms of their contribution to the ongoing transition from resource-based to service economy. While there is not much specific data on areas of employment or unemployment rates by gender for Old Massett, from what was collected by the Old Massett Survey Project and by continuous observation over a four year period, it is obvious that here again, women are making the transition to a greater extent than men. As in other resource-based communities, women are more educated and more likely to be employed in health care, education and the service industry, while men are more likely to be employed in the resource industry or accompanying trades. While there are quite a few self-employed male artists in Old Massett, there are increasingly more women opening their own businesses in a wide variety of areas, including traditional art forms, catering, sewing, aesthetics, baking (cakes and bread), and home sales. In addition, while both genders are involved in the informal economy, women’s participation is integral to the survival of their families and tends to be of greater time and work intensity. The following chapter investigates this involvement in detail.
CHAPTER ELEVEN
Social Capital in Action: The Informal Economy at Work

Look around. I mean, you know, we just had friends up from the city the other day. We rode out in the morning, put the crab traps out on my front lawn there, and caught so many crab we couldn’t eat them all. And I have a vineyard, and I have cherry trees, and I have awesome neighbours on both sides. And it’s just, with the three little kids, they run around eating berries off trees, you know, there are four different kinds of berries going right now, and they just go from one to the other…(QUA Interview 154, Male).

Interviewer: What kinds of things do they do to make it possible to stay here even thought they don’t have a good job?

Interviewee: Well, gardens, deer, hunt, fish. It’s impossible to starve on the island, in the Charlottes.

Interviewee: I mean, you have to have an IQ of two to starve on the Charlottes. Really. I mean it’s just, there’s just too much stuff to eat. You just got to go out and get it yourself (MAS Interview 018, Male).

…I do a lot of building projects and stuff around here and there’s always, always times when I need that extra hand to hold something up or the strength that I don’t have or whatever. There’s always someone who’s there. And it always seems like the person just walks down the driveway right when I need them, you know. It’s pretty cool (MAS Interview 045, Female).

Reimer (2001) argues the informal economy is actually the basis of social capital in rural communities through its reliance on relationships established through informal exchanges. Reimer notes the type of reciprocity demonstrated through the informal economy “not only involves the exchange of goods or services, it also affirms the trustworthiness of the people involved and the networks that support them” (2001: 4). He further notes the informal economy also plays an important role in community cohesion by reducing the insecurity and risk many rural residents face, thereby allowing them to remain in their communities and maintain their lifestyles despite unemployment and decreases to their economic stability (Reimer 2001: 4). As such, an investigation into the informal economy in the four sample communities and its relationship to creating social capital and promoting individual and community resilience is an important component to this study.
The informal economy operates outside the bounds of the formal economy, based on the trading and bartering of goods and services for which monetary compensation is not required. As such, its successful operation is very much reliant on a system of social networks based on trust and reciprocity. To put it simply, if people in rural communities don’t know and/or trust one another, they will not be able nor willing to trade with or help one another as they have no assurance such actions will be fair, equitable and/or reciprocated. Thus, social networks based on trust and reciprocity represent a fundamental source of social capital to residents of rural communities in that they can access valuable resources through the informal economy without concern of being taken advantage of or cheated.

This is supported by research (Smith 2000; Tigges, Brown & Green 1998) which suggests that, where an individual has the need for social support, security and reciprocity, strong ties within a dense social network can be an important source of social capital. As noted in previous chapters, the small size of the communities under investigation, their rural island location, the low mobility of residents, and the extensity and interconnectedness of their social networks, is similar in many ways to a closed network in that the isolated rural context dictates the majority of their ties are located inside the community and are to people they know relatively well.54 Coleman argues such a network is the best source of social capital in that the interconnectedness creates obligations within the network, increasing trust and reducing the chance of free-riding or malfeasance (1990: 318-319). In addition, Burt argues such strong ties create norms of reciprocity and a set of effective sanctions can monitor and guide behaviour (2001: 38).

Previous chapters have provided support for this argument, showing the visibility of residents within these small, rural communities leads to a higher level of accountability in their relations with one another, and as a result, higher levels of trust as well. Misdeeds or misbehaviour are unlikely to go unnoticed, or unpunished. The development of such norms of helping and reciprocity provide a safe and secure environment in which the informal economy can operate to the benefit of everyone involved.

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54 While the Position Generator measure indicates that residents have more weak ties than strong, these ties are to specific positions within the community that are hypothesized to represent the highest level of resources, such as people in leadership positions within the community. This measure does not represent the sum total of residents’ ties within the community.
This contention is supported by Reimer who notes that, since informal exchanges are often not open to public scrutiny, they “rely on common values affirming the importance of honouring commitments, helping others, and local self-sufficiency” (Reimer 2006: 28). Harper & Gillespie agree rural residents tend to adhere to different values than urban residents, and these values are based on a willingness to help others, with the knowledge some day they may need help themselves (1997: 117). They state,

> When people share an uncertain material world, and when their success in that world depends on their own actions, they tend to understand that they may need exactly the kind of help they are called on to give in times of their own crises. Thus it is rational to be “on call” for such emergencies (Harper & Gillespie 1997: 117).

The data suggest the informal economy acts in many ways like Portes’ system of “social chits”, a system of mutual reciprocity built on frequent interaction (1998: 7). In this system, people help others with the understanding they will be helped at some point in the future, building up obligations to one another that cannot be ignored or reneged upon without damage to their reputations. The key, however, is there is no fixed date by which the “chit” has to be repaid – the interactions occur on the understanding such help will be available if and when they need it. Thus, the system is based on a norm of “generalized reciprocity”, meaning people are willing to help without knowing when or by whom the help might be reciprocated. This requires a fairly high level of trust in one’s fellow residents in order for the informal economy to operate smoothly as people help others with only the expectation such help will be available when needed and no knowledge of when that might occur.

**Generalized reciprocity**

> If I don’t need the help, give somebody else a hand somewhere else along the way…….(MAS Interview 015, Female)

> ...I go out and do my bike ride and I’ll come home with a piece of fish or somebody will give me eight crabs or it doesn’t matter what. Some jam, bread...that’s how people are around here (MAS 083, Male).

This idea of “generalized reciprocity” is supported by the data. Many interviewees noted they didn’t really think of their participation in the informal economy as trading or bartering, but rather as helping with the knowledge at some point, someone
would also be available to help them, should need be. One interviewee from Quadra Island stated,

_When we were building our house we had a lot of that. People would come and we had a huge bee just for building the deck._

..._we had people that just – they’d see us out in the yard and they’d drop by and pick up a hammer._

..._we had one guy that, he helped with the drywall, and then we helped, like they were building their new house and we helped clean up the yard._

..._it’s not like you do this for me and I’ll do this for you, it’s like, you do this for me and one day I’ll call you. And who knows when it will be and who knows what it will be but you know that it’s not a big...it’s just there, you know?_ (QUA Interview 054, Female).

Another Quadra Island interviewee confirmed this view when he noted the following,

_Well yeah, they’ll say, “Hey, I got a fish, so and so pounds of salmon or whatever.” And we’ll say “Okay, come on over.” And it’s a matter of if they want some of it and quite often they’ll say, “Okay, well we’ll just get it later or we’ll worry about it later if that’s okay.” Yeah. It’ll even out in the end... When there’s excess, just distributing it amongst the friends and neighbours and then like I say, it all ends up evening out pretty soon_ (QUA Interview 085, Male).

A Charlotte interviewee noted living in a small community enforced such norms of reciprocity, simply because people are so visible.

..._you can always count on people. It’s not like they can hide on you. “Oh no, I have to do something important.” And you see them, you know, playing baseball. Sorry, you know, they can’t hide, they can’t B.S. you too much, they’ll get caught_ (QUE Interview 179, Male).

A Quadra Island resident offered some insight into what happened when such implicit norms of trust and reciprocity were broken, showing just how important these norms are to a functioning informal economy, and a functioning community.

**Interviewer:** What’s the evidence of trust?

**Interviewee:** Well, whether they’re willing to help out and help you without saying I helped you last week, you have to help me this week.

_Yah, without any record keeping of I owe this and I owe that. Or they owe this and they owe that sort of thing. Personally, I don’t feel like that._

**Interviewer:** So is the feeling in that giving them a hand they will repay you or…

**Interviewee:** _If they don’t, so what, someone else will._

**Interviewer:** And is there a sense that some people take advantage of that…?
Interviewee: Yes, there is one person and I don’t get along with him for that reason. He thinks we should all help him but he doesn’t have to help us at all.

Interviewer: And why is that?

Interviewee: I don’t know. I don’t like him, even a little bit. I have a horrible sign on my front gate; it says this person’s life jacket and it’s a boom chain which weighs 85 pounds. It’s his life jacket and I’d be happy to fit it for him and take him prawn fishing.

Interviewer: Why prawn fishing?

Interviewee: Because it’s not less than 300 feet deep. I don’t have to dig a hole. Off the boat (QUA Interview 141, Male).

Charlotte interviewees noted the norms of sharing and reciprocity were formed in the Haida Gwaii long before first contact, having their roots in the Haida custom of potlatching, and are now so well-ingrained to have become “the custom”.

Interviewee2: But a lot of that stuff I find more, is more like sharing than it is, like a trade. You know, like I don’t have a boat, so friends of ours who can get fish a lot, I mean we do get some fish, with friends, we go out. But you get friends drop off fish, here have some, I’ve got more than enough you know, but then in the fall I have – and I’ll give – they don’t have, so I’ll give them deer meat and some other, whatever. So it works out really well that way and I find overall the whole community tends to work that way, it’s like some people will give a little time and...

Interviewee1: It becomes almost the thing to do. I mean, there’s so much abundance like that, when the salmon are running you get so much of it so sharing is part of it as well, it’s part of the custom here.

Interviewee2: Yeah, certainly the Haida’s background, that is how you measure your wealth; it’s not what you collect, it’s what you give away (QUE Interview 105, Male & Female).

This was confirmed by another Charlotte interviewee, who noted, “Yes, it’s always reciprocated. The thing I’ve noticed around here is, if you help somebody, they’ll always help you in return” (QUE Interview 048, Male).

In many ways, generalized reciprocity operates very much like the principle of “paying it forward”,55 that is, sharing with or helping people in need without expecting

55 A moral philosophy first presented in Between Plants, a book written by science fiction author Robert Heinlein in 1951 and then as a title for a novel by Catherine Ryan Hyde in 2000 which was made into a Hollywood movie that same year. It has now become part of popular culture and is used by educators and
anything back, and with the knowledge that doing so is helping to create a community (and possibly a world) where people in need can always find help. As one interviewee noted,

...you know if someone is needing, you hear “oh, I haven’t had any fish for a while” and the next thing you know something is showing up on your doorstep (QUE Interview 018, Female).

A New Masset interviewee explained it thusly,

I think it may be not so much in stuff you need, although I think that does happen, too, fish or deer or whatever, trading. I think more in that kind of need is more done on a shared basis without really an actual formal trade. It’s just friends will bring somebody a deer. Like I know of people that have five kids, and they’ve said lots of people, you know, they’ll just come out and there will be a deer just right there for them. Or people dropping off without any kind of idea of trading or getting something back. No expectations for something back, just helping. And I think that’s also part of being in a small community. Like in Vancouver, you wouldn’t know who needed a deer, but in Masset you do. And if you caught three in one weekend, and you only need two, you know who to give the other one to. Not like I say, not on a paid or trade even, just as a common courtesy. Cause you know people in a small community, and know that they can use it. You know that it will come back to you some time, if not from that person, somebody else in the community. You help so and so get unstuck, and then you know, somebody helps you get unstuck, whatever (MAS Interview 098, Female).

This norm of “generalized reciprocity”, of helping people out with no expectation of immediate reciprocity, was expressed in all three communities as a valuable part of small town life. And while people may not think of these actions as supporting a “norm” or “value”, there are definite consequences for those who flout them. People who refuse to share or help out when called upon may soon find themselves in a situation where they need help and are unable to find anyone to do so.

From a social capital perspective, this system of generalized reciprocity represents a vital source of social capital to residents of these communities. Through their relations with others, they are able to access resources to which they might not otherwise have

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56 The first section of this chapter refers to Quadra, Charlotte and New Masset only. A separate section will discuss the informal economy in Old Massett, as the informal economy takes on a different meaning and role within a First Nation reserve community.
access, and which do not require monetary compensation. All that is required is they help their fellow resident in return when they can. As such, the informal economy represents social capital at both the collective level and the individual level. Social capital, as defined by Coleman “inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons” (1990: 302). The informal economy is based on these relations between people; without them, it could not exist. However, it is the structure of these relations, their extensity and multiplicity, and their basis of implicit trust, accountability and reciprocity that allows the informal economy to operate to the benefit of rural residents.

Reimer (2001) supports this view where he argues the informal economy is actually the basis of social capital in rural communities. He notes the type of reciprocity demonstrated through the informal economy “not only involves the exchange of goods or services, it also affirms the trustworthiness of the people involved and the networks that support them” (2001: 4). He further notes the informal economy also plays an important role in community cohesion by reducing the insecurity faced by many rural residents, therefore allowing them to remain in their communities and maintain their lifestyles despite decreases to their economic stability (Reimer 2001: 4). As such, the informal economy represents a collective source of social capital, operated and regulated not by individuals alone, but by the community as a whole through a system of generalized reciprocity whereby helping others is not only encouraged but expected from those with the resources to do so. Social capital in this system, as Coleman notes, is, “an attribute of the social structure in which a person is embedded...not the private property of any of the persons who benefit from it” ((1990: 315, 317). Therefore, the benefits of the informal economy go beyond its individual participants to the community as a whole. As Coleman states,

…the kinds of social structures which make possible social norms and the sanctions to enforce them do not benefit primarily the persons whose efforts are necessary to bring the norms and sanctions into existence, but all those who are part of the particular structure (1990: 315, 317).

Within this system, the informal economy is able to operate in such a way those who need help in whatever form are able to get it, regardless of whether they are able to reciprocate. As such, its greatest benefit is the contribution to both individual and community resilience, allowing residents facing constant economic insecurity to stay and
live in their communities long-term by providing them with an ongoing source of goods, services and assistance to which they might not otherwise have access.

Reimer (2006) supports this contention where he states the informal economy provides an alternative source of goods and services where exclusion from the formal economy exists. He states in cases where people are facing job loss, low wages, health problems or discrimination, the informal economy is an appealing or necessary alternative for survival (Reimer 2006: 28). Ratner provides further support for this view where she states, “The more insecure and un.rewarding the formal economic environment, the more likely are households to turn to the informal economy for support” (2000: 12). The loss of stable, high paid employment in the primary industries in all three sample communities has led to out-migration, downsizing of services and economic instability, making the informal economy all the more important to those who have decided to stay.

The informal economy takes many different forms, from self-provisioning or “living off the land” to trading goods and services, to sharing skills or goods with others who would not have access to them otherwise. All of these things would ordinarily cost money many people in these communities do not or no longer have, and as such, participation in the informal economy is a way to maintain a lifestyle they might otherwise have to give up. For instance, one interviewee in Quadra Island noted she was an aspiring writer with small children at home and as such, her family was living on only one income. In order to maintain this lifestyle, she became actively involved in the informal economy.

...last year I was trying to contribute more to our family economy, and so I decided that rather than getting a minimum wage job, which is pretty much the only job you can get out here, that I’d just work harder for us. And so I put in a really big garden, and we have goats as well. And we added it up, if we were to buy the same amount of organic produce and dairy, that it was a large chunk of money. It was like $7,000... (QUA Interview 027, Female).

As a result of this involvement, she is now able to stay home with her kids and work at her writing, and as well, she trades goat milk and organic produce for things like salmon, violin lessons, help with construction, and other things she and her husband need (QUA Interview 27, Female).
Another Quadra Island interviewee noted trading is very common, and for newcomers, a good way to get to know people.

*When we first moved here, we didn’t have anything to trade, so we felt kind of goofy. “They won’t have any money…” Well, I brought him some salmon, so he’s doing me up a couple of turkeys this fall. Everybody does that. And then I’ve built some benches like that for people in winter, and for deer meat and turkeys and plants and stuff like that* (QUA Interview 154, Male).

One of the self-employed business people on the island noted she would take food in exchange for her services if people didn’t have any money to pay her, although it could be hard to reconcile a “bag of oysters” on a balance sheet and for that reason she didn’t do things “in the underground” as much as she would like.

*I’m hoping to get some concrete work done out front there, and the guy that is offering to do it has said maybe we could just write it off against my bill…and I’m going, okay, yeah, we could do that, but again it would be with the understanding that the paper work’s all there and it’s done at fair market value* (QUA Interview 229, Female).

Another self-employed business person in Charlotte noted if the government didn’t require her to keep books on her business, she wouldn’t even bother, and would be happy to do business “in kind” rather than having to deal with money.

*Interviewee: If I didn’t have to deal with money, I would be much happier. I’m terrible with – I don’t have respect for it, so therefore I’m always behind.*

*Interviewer: So therefore, if someone came up to you and said, “I’ve got two salmon, need a [service]”, you’d be like, “Sure”?*

*Interviewee: No problem. Yes. Oh yes, I’m terrible at books, I’m a mess. I mean, I don’t make any money. I mean, I do what…I live well* (QUA Interview 128, Female).

In all other parts of her life, she is deeply involved in the informal economy, and has a couple other things she does “off the books” strictly for trades such as berries, jam, fish and deer.

Many interviewees in the Haida Gwaii noted the high cost of living there, especially in terms of gas and groceries. Many thus turn to the informal economy to offset these costs, like the following couple from Charlotte:

*Interviewee2: Anything that’s brought on, obviously it’s on average 15 to, probably between 15 and 30%. The 15% is typical shipping costs, I think that’s fair value to put on it. When it
gets over that, it’s just price gouging, it’s you know, really
the only game in town, so it’s us or the other guy, and he’s
doing fine too, so I don’t really care?

**Interviewee1:** There’s not much to spend your money on either so for us, it’s food.

**Interviewee2:** Our biggest cost is food.

**Interviewee1:** All our red meat is deer meat.

**Interviewee2:** Yeah, and fishing. And we just got chickens and that...mushroom gathering, things like this, we can...

**Interviewee1:** Berries to make jams...

**Interviewee2:** Yeah, and that really picks up for the...I mean, we’re at a high cost for food anyway, right, I mean we have two teenagers, like they just, that’s what they do, eat and sleep...

**Interviewee1:** They could eat a couple of cows (QUE Interview 105, Male & Female).

Others note they rely on the informal economy as a way to stretch a much-reduced income, and without it, they would not be able to maintain their chosen lifestyle. One interviewee from Charlotte noted,

*I mean, I can afford to live in this house. If I were to go somewhere else, I could not afford another house and with what I have – you know? I think that’s a huge part of what keeps me here. My age – I, if I were younger and needed a job, I would probably be leaving because there are so few opportunities here but I can get by on a fairly small income and have a comfortable lifestyle with all of this. And I do live on very little. I live on very little.

I certainly sell the mushrooms, that contributes to my income. I eat the mushrooms and berry-picking, I preserve, I do jam and stuff which I can often trade for fish – you know? (QUE Interview 047, Female).

Still others rely on the informal economy for everything, as they exist completely outside of the formal economy. In all three communities, interviewers were told about people who were self-sufficient and lived completely off the land, who in any other context would be considered “squatters” or even homeless. As one Charlotte interviewee noted,

*There is a connection between this wild place and a lot of people who want to be somewhat independent, living off the land, so you get people that live off absolutely nothing. They fish, they hunt, they have their little shack, ten feet by ten feet by ten feet, they chop their wood, and that’s how they live. There’s a lot of people like that, that would have moved a long time ago (QUE Interview 082, Female).
In Masset, interviewers heard about people living out at Tow Hill\textsuperscript{57} and on the beach, where a small community lives year-round in shacks without power or running water. As one interviewee from the area noted,

...from what I see they don’t work an awful lot of hours, but their overhead is so minimal that they can afford to live that way. Our weather is such that we don’t get 40 below weather, so you don’t need the perfect house with central heating and stuff like that to get by. So to those kinds of people, yeah, definitely there’s enough to get by (MAS Interview 134, Female).

One Masset interviewee estimated “probably 40 percent of the stuff around here gets done by barter” (MAS Interview 134, Female). She went on to say,

I wouldn’t do professional things for barter. Like I would do housecleaning or mow the lawn, I would do stuff like that for people. I generally wouldn’t do [professional service] or work for barter, that’s just really hard on the ledgers, to put six fish in there somewhere and keep track of it. However, I do know from laughing about it with the owner of [business name removed], who runs a regular storefront business and then has people bring him in an argillite\textsuperscript{58} carving for the bill, I know from talking to his bookkeeper what a wonderful headache that is to try and record that properly for the books (MAS Interview 134, Female).

Participation in the informal economy varies widely according to many factors, including finances, employment, and lifestyle. There are also gender differences in terms of the degree of involvement, and type of activities in which men and women are engaged. As noted in Chapter 2, Reimer states, in general, that a greater amount of men’s time is spent in activities related to the formal economy whereas for women, informal activities tend to predominate, largely through home production (2001: 14). Specifically, he notes women are more involved in the informal economy because of their responsibility for domestic activities, health and child care (2006: 42).

Reimer states for rural women, part-time employment means an important increase in informal activity, as does self-employment (Reimer 2001: 14). As noted in the previous chapters on Quadra, Charlotte, and New Masset, in every community, women are more likely to be employed part-time, and for many of them, this does translate into greater participation in the informal economy. Little (1994; 1997) and Pupo

\textsuperscript{57} Tow Hill is a prominent land formation at the far northern tip of Haida Gwaii. A small community has formed there, stretched out along the road to North Beach, a long expanse of beach comprising much of the northern shore of Haida Gwaii.

\textsuperscript{58} A black slate-like stone that exists only in one place in the world – Slatechuck Mountain on Haida Gwaii – and has been used for carving by Haida artists since the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.
& Duffy (2007) note the importance of informal exchanges through social networks, without which many women would not be able to stay in their rural communities.

What does remain constant, however, is the extent to which the informal economy provides both economic and social benefits for residents of resource-based communities facing ongoing economic insecurity in allowing them to adapt to their circumstances and remain in their communities for the long term.

**Conditions under which the informal economy operates**

As noted above, the system of generalized reciprocity under which the informal economy operates is vital to its continued functioning. For many residents, participation in the informal economy is what provides them with stability in an uncertain economic environment. They know they are able to access what they need when they need it, reciprocating when and if they are able to do so, and this knowledge allows them to stay in their communities and maintain their chosen lifestyle. However, there are also other conditions necessary to the successful functioning of the informal economy, such as time and commitment to lifestyle; assets such as tradeable resources, skills & knowledge; and, as noted above, extensive social networks characterized by trust and reciprocity. This is supported by research done by Reimer (2006) and Ratner (2000).

**Time and commitment to lifestyle**

By its very nature, participation in the informal economy takes a significant investment of time. For instance, in Haida Gwaii, many food gathering activities require first procuring the foodstuff (i.e., fishing, dip-netting crab, digging clams, gathering plants), then cleaning, cooking and/or smoking, and then finally preparing for storage (i.e., canning, freezing, etc.). All of this is very time and labour intensive, as noted by Ratner where she states “substantial self-provisioning...requires having time that can be bracketed and defined as discretionary” (2000:12). For this reason, many residents of coastal communities choose not to work full-time so they can devote the necessary time to self-provisioning and involvement in the informal economy. The movement to a service-based economy means the majority of the available jobs are less well paid and less secure than former positions in the resource industry. Working full-time at such
positions can be detrimental to residents of rural communities, as noted by Ratner (2000: 12). She states:

...low-wage jobs that demand flexibility of their workers and do not provide reliable scheduling have a doubly damaging impact on households. Not only do they fail to provide a living wage, but, by introducing uncertainty over one’s schedule, they prevent people from participating effectively in the informal economy (Ratner 2000: 12).

Bad jobs limit self-provisioning, and without the ability to engage in that activity, bad work households with but a single earner are even poorer than wage levels would suggest (Nelson & Smith 1999 as quoted in Ratner 2000: 12).

This is supported by the qualitative data from Charlotte and Masset, as presented in Chapters 8 and 9. Interviewers continually heard that while low-wage full-time jobs were usually available, particularly during the tourist season, as this was also the peak of self-provisioning, many people chose not to work full-time in order to participate in the informal economy. Many people elected to work only seasonally or part-time rather than full-time, preferring to be, as one Charlotte interviewee put it “underemployed voluntarily” (QUE Interview 179, Male). Another noted, “…with the resources of the Island, I think if you didn’t want full-time employment you could actually be quite comfortable” (QUE Interview 180, Male).

This is confirmed by other interviewees, many of whom noting not wanting full-time employment was quite common. An interviewee from Masset noted,

Up here, basically people work out of just what they need, you know. They don’t – like no one here likes to work full-time and no one really wants to work full-time. Nine to five jobs are really rare (MAS Interview 045, Female).

Another interviewee from Charlotte agreed,

...from what I hear from a lot of the business owners who have needed employees, it’s actually hard to get employees – there’s a lot of people here who don’t want to work, they work only enough to survive.

...you can get somebody and they’ll work just great but they’ll only work for a month and a half...they made enough in a month and a half and they can take the next three-four months off (QUE Interview 018, Female).

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59 Ratner refers to “bad work” or “bad jobs” as those that are full-time but low paying, insecure and with few benefits.
Thus, for many residents of rural communities, commitment to work is overshadowed by commitment to lifestyle and the community that supports it. As one interviewee stated,

_Hunting, fishing, smoking fish, and all the stuff that you can get really involved...I find that it becomes more of a...lifestyle, the whole place becomes a lifestyle, and if you’re into that and you want to...get involved in that...then it’s a wonderful place to be_ (QUE Interview 105, Male).

As such, residents do not want work to interfere with their enjoyment of their chosen lifestyle. As two interviewees noted,

...that’s the lifestyle people want. They’re much happier to work for short periods of time than to work for full-time... (QUE Interview 180, Male).

...a lot of people do that, they’d rather work less and enjoy life more and just consume less, right? (QUE Interview 179, Male).

As has been noted in previous chapters, the consumerism so rampant in an urban context simply does not exist in small, rural communities; there is less to buy, and people are able to get along with considerably less. As one interviewee noted,

Our expenses are actually pretty low, but we’re a pretty Bohemian bunch anyway...we don’t spend any money – there’s nothing to spend it on here... (QUE Interview 048, Male).

One interviewee noted it simply did not make sense for her to work full-time, as that would mean necessarily cutting back on her self-provisioning and force her to buy food from the grocery store that was nowhere near of the same quality she could gather and prepare herself (MAS Interview 045, Female).

Therefore, it can be seen from the above that, while self-provisioning and participation in the informal economy are both time and labour-intensive, many people choose this involvement at the expense of working full-time due to a commitment to a lifestyle based on living off the land and helping others. Without such time and commitment, the informal economy could not exist in these communities.

There are some important gender differences in terms of who is more likely to have the time to devote to these activities. Reimer found women who were _self-employed_ or _employed part-time_ spent the most time in informal economy activities, but this was not the case for men, who only spent time in informal activities if they were _unemployed_...

In this particular context, we can explore these implications to some degree. The women in all three communities were more likely than men to be working part-time, whether employed by others or self-employed. However, this is not a disadvantage but rather a choice. As noted above, in many of their comments, many women in rural, resource-based communities choose to work part-time or be self-employed so they can have the flexibility to continue their activities in the informal economy, as these are the activities allowing them to live in their communities and maintain their desired lifestyle. As such, this part-time involvement is an advantage, allowing them to remain very active in their communities without having the added burden of attempting to juggle a full-time job with their other activities, all of which contributes to their ongoing resilience in the face of economic instability. Furthermore, it is not the case only unemployed men are involved in the informal economy, although it is likely they would spend more time in such activities than those who are fully employed.

As noted above, interviewers in these communities were repeatedly told even if there were full-time jobs available, often they were minimum wage positions in the service industry, and residents were happier only working part-time and spending the rest of their time participating in the informal economy. As one interviewee noted, “…no one here likes to work full-time and no one really wants to work full-time” (MAS Interview 045, Female). Further she noted that,

**Interviewee:** But there’s not a lot of drive to work, because you really don’t have to. You do, you do, to a point, but there is so much food here. It’s just crazy, right?

**Interviewer:** Like off the land type of food?

**Interviewee:** Yes, that you can, you know, I would much rather spend half, or three-quarters of my time gathering food than working so I could buy schwag (sic) from the grocery store. You know, like it doesn’t make sense to not do that. And a lot of people live, like eat off the land here. Lots. Almost all (MAS Interview 045, Female).

A resident of Charlotte summed it up,

*I kind of like the fact that it’s not, that I’m not as busy as some, even guys here, I probably could have more work, but then, if I’m working five days a week, you*
know, then you’re not going to be out hunting and fishing, so I can do a lot, you know, chop wood and, you know? That’s like a $3,000 saving; it does it cost me some money to go out and get it, whatever, and my own labour, so yeah, but to me, that’s an enjoyable cost. Yeah, if I was working steady, I wouldn’t be doing a lot of that stuff...(QUE Interview 105, Male).

**Assets such as tradeable resources, skills & knowledge**

But the ocean here is so integral to our way of life. On the coast you still have the Mainland, you can go get stuff. But if something happened to the waters here, like for me in particular, my food source would be gone. Like we eat so much food from the ocean, we rarely get meat from the store. We eat salmon easily four, five times a week, halibut, crab...(MAS Interview 187, Female).

This time of the year everybody’s putting...all of the fish into the freezers. And then, the hunting season here is open for the deer except in the spring, when they’re breeding. So people live off of the venison or the deer meat here, and crabs...and in the winter time when the winds shift to a certain direction it’s almost like a parking lot out on the beach because you can get sea scallops right on the beach. Plus there’s berry bushes...and then a little bit later in the season you’ll see people along the sides of the road...picking cranberries (MAS Interview 212, Female).

Reimer argues that, in order to participate in the informal economy, people need access to resources to trade or barter, and/or time to provide the required services. He states residents of rural areas are more likely to have access to the type of resources that make exchange possible (Reimer 2006: 27). This is certainly the case in all three communities focused on here, although people living on Haida Gwaii have more access to seafood simply because of their location, and Quadra Island residents are more likely to have gardens and orchards due to the milder weather and long growing season. Many residents acknowledge they would not have such access should they live in the city. As one Quadra Island respondent noted,

...I can live the way I want – I would like to live and it’s not bankrupt. I mean, think about it, I used to have, I used to rent a piece of property out just east of Langley and a fellow ended up selling it for some huge amount of money, but I mean that was the closest I came to ever having an area where I could have my own chickens or I could have my own, you know, actually plant a garden and this type of thing. You can’t do that, you couldn’t do that in the Lower Mainland. I mean I grew up at 5th and Cypress and Alma. You know...I mean, you had backyards and there were bylaws against chickens, I think...Maybe not, but I mean, you know, they certainly would never approve of it (QUA Interview 085, Male).
A respondent from Haida Gwaii noted the level of self-provisioning was greater than in other non-island communities.

*It’s a very supportive community and you can get your own deer, get your own fish, get your own berries, you know, there’s still lots of harvesting going on. And I find in other communities off-island...that’s not happening so much anymore* (MAS Interview 090, Female).

Another interviewee from Charlotte noted that, as a self-employed computer technician, he was happy to be paid for his services in fish because he did not have a boat to catch them himself.

*I fixed a lady’s computer out on reserve in Skidegate and she said, “What do you want to be paid in, cash or fish?” and she gave me about fifteen pounds of frozen halibut, salmon – smoked salmon – and she also gave me about two gallons of salmon berries that she picked over the summer and I was perfectly happy with that because in Victoria that would probably cost me one hundred dollars* (QUE Interview 048, Male).

Several interviewees in Masset noted living off the land allowed them a level of self-sufficiency and independence they would otherwise not be able to achieve. As one stated,

*So here is the perfect place for hunting, for fishing, for gathering food, sort of any endless cycle of life that starts with, say, for instance, in the spring, it starts with halibut and cod and it moves into clams and salmon and berries, and I’ve got my own garden and greenhouse, so pretty well self-sufficient* (MAS Interview 063, Male).

**Skills and knowledge**

*It’s really amazing to see all the homes people have built and I mean, out of nothing. Very little money, just a lot of work* (MAS Interview 045, Female).

Reimer notes most of the good and services produced as part of the informal economy require a wide range of knowledge and skills, and rural residents, and particularly residents of resource-based communities, are more likely to have a greater variety of skills due to the diverse nature of their employment and lives in rural communities (2006: 28). For instance, many people in Quadra, Charlotte and Masset hunt deer or fish for food, and these are skills few urban residents would have, or use. For those who do not fish or hunt, they can trade other goods or services for deer and fish, as it is common for those who do to bring back more than they need, in order to give
to friends or trade for other things they do not have. One interviewee in Masset noted that people were often very generous with what they had.

We don’t – we don’t hunt the Bambies. My husband has thought about it – he likes to crossbow hunt. I just don’t – we don’t do that – we don’t have a boat, but our neighbours are very generous. Like we just got a huge load of fish. And there are certain times of the year, or certain times in the summer where one boat or two boats will go out and just dedicate one or two trips to what they call “food fish” for the people in the village, Old Massett. And that food just gets handed out to the people who are unable to fish, and that also gets shared into the white community. You know, people will – like they’ll say, “Well, you know, the food fish is staying on the government docks” so you’ll go down and you can pick up one, two, three, four salmon, I don’t know, whatever the limit would be, and people also tend to share “Oh, I’ve got a bunch of crabs, do you want some crabs?” (MAS Interview 212, Female).

Another Masset interviewee noted sharing skills was just part of living in a rural community – part of life in “any small community where everybody knows everybody else, and knows where to get stuff” (MAS Interview 098, Female). She stated,

My husband is always fixing somebody’s car in exchange for something else, or doing something. Or even just for a couple of extra bucks in the pocket. So again, it’s that entrepreneurial...I think it’s just living in a small community, if you have a skill of any kind, other people need it at some time, some point. And so you either trade or sell that. So you do need to rely on your own skill set (MAS Interview 098, Female).

A third Masset interviewee agreed, noting he found it hard to come up with examples of his participation in the informal economy, because it was so much a part of his everyday life.

Interviewee: My semi-professional life I’ve been an inveterate collector of tools and equipment, way too much. But folks know that I’m that type of a person, so if they need something, “Hey [named removed], have you got so-and-so?” “Yeah.” “Can I borrow it?” “Yeah, but don’t break it this time.” That’s almost sort of every week somebody’s borrowing this or that.

Interviewer: Do these people when they ask for your help, or advice or questions, or borrow your tools and stuff, do they ever do anything for you in return?

Interviewee: Oh, yeah.

Because of their small size, many people on Haida Gwaii refer to the deer population as “Bambies.”
Interviewer: What kinds of things?
Interviewee: You know, they’ve got a skill set, I’ve got a skill set. If I need help, I don’t feel any compunction at all about saying, “Hey, how do I do so and so?” Or “Whom should I see?” Or “What’s the best way of doing this? And can you give me a hand?”
Yeah, like I’ve said, “I’m looking for some red alder, and I want something about 18 inches across on the stump. You know where any is?” I’ve found a number of trees like that. Folks that were out in the bush, and they know things. Food and vegetables appear. But it’s hard to sort of, maybe to come up with something.
Yeah, it’s sort of natural as, you know. I mean it’s constant (MAS Interview 207, Male).

A Quadra Island interviewee noted trading skills allowed people to get things done they otherwise would have to pay for, and the trades benefited both parties.

Interviewer: So what kinds of things do people trade? Is it mostly food and things you can make and stuff? What about services?
Interviewee: No, it would be services, too. There are...a lot of people do work bees. Like up on Hope Springs Road, all the neighbours up and down that road get together and do work bees together. Eight families get together and go over to one person’s house and then they just rotate around, and they all have a big dinner at the end of it.
...some people up there are carpenters, and there’s one guy who’s a groundskeeper sort of garden-maintenance guy. They just work on each other’s properties. But I know that the trades guys do trade, and...One of them did an addition on this house, and instead of paying him in money, he did the carpentry for us, but I did some work for him just helping him on his carpentry stuff in payment, and I traded him an old van that I had...so it works with trades people as well, not just food, although there is a lot of that (QUA Interview 154, Male).

A pair of Charlotte interviewees (a husband and wife who were interviewed together) noted trading skills allowed them to obtain artwork that otherwise would be too high-priced for their budget.

Interviewee1: He’s done carpentry in exchange for artwork.
Interviewee2: Well, I was just doing some repairs, and this girl was a – did some Haida art, some west coast art, and I knew she was a single mother and not really working. I don’t know where she was financially. So I said, “Look, why don’t you – I’ll do the work and then you can do, you know, give us
Interviewee1: some art” and she did some stuff. And it works out great.

Interviewee1: A lot of people do that. Like I find a lot of the Haida artists do that, like give me five loads of wood and I’ll give you a gold--

Interviewee2: Gold bracelet.

Interviewee1: Or carving (QUE Interview 105, Male & Female).

Interviewee: A Masset interviewee summed it up best when she noted helping out by using your skills was something many local people did automatically, without thinking about getting anything in return.

Interviewee: ...you’re driving down the road, somebody’s got a flat tire or a fan belt off or whatever, you give them a hand and you help them out and they go, “Well, I’ll have to pay...” “No, no, no, no, just help somebody else – help ten other people and tell them to help ten out.”

Interviewer: Yeah, pay it forward.

Interviewee: And they go, “Okay this is different.” Because, we seem to be a society where everybody is thinking of the almighty dollar instead of just helping. Where around here, there’s more of that help goes back and forth...(MAS Interview 015, Female).

There are very distinct gender differences in terms of what type of activities and skills are most likely to be utilized in the informal economy. Reimer found the nature of home production activities varies by gender; while men are more likely to engage in house maintenance, vehicle maintenance and home improvement activities, women are more likely to provide home crafts, baby sitting, housework assistance and adult care (Reimer 2006: 35).

This is certainly the case in the three communities under investigation, although men’s activities also consist of hunting and fishing, including crab fishing and clam digging. Though women tend not to be involved in hunting or fishing, just as many women as men are engaged in dip netting crab (catching them in nets in the surf when they come near the beach to mate) and digging clams. However, once the food has been shot or caught, women are almost solely responsible for cleaning, preparing and storing it, and this is both time consuming and work intensive. Many women in these communities still make preserves and can large amounts of food such as deer meat, clams, crab, and fish (which can be dried, smoked, frozen or canned). Canning seafood is
more common in the Haida Gwaii than Quadra, where canning vegetables and fruits from
the garden is more common. Women also gather fruits and berries for canning and
preserves, and some gather mushrooms, salal and medicinal plants as well. Without the
work of women, many families would have a difficult time making it through the winter,
and their skills and knowledge are heavily relied upon. Many women trade and barter
their stored foodstuffs for other food they were unable to obtain, or for goods and
services.

Summary

The informal economy is a valuable example of the process of social capital
operating at the ground level. While measures such as the Position Generator are able to
provide insight into the structure of social capital (i.e., the ties people have to resource-
rich positions in their social networks), they cannot and do not provide information
regarding the process of how people actually use those networks to attain access to
resources they might otherwise not be able to access, or which might otherwise cost more
than they can afford. In addition, such measures do not incorporate the idea of
cooperation, which as noted in Chapter 2, is a key component in the process of social
capital. Cooperation is essential because, even if a person has an enormous social
network, if the people in the resource-rich positions within that network are not willing to
provide access to those resources when needed, that network represents little social
capital.

As such, norms of generalized reciprocity become all the more vital in that such
norms all but guarantee cooperation. Generalized reciprocity in many ways acts as a
proxy for cooperation, assuring access to resources based on both individual and
community-level norms and sanctions. In essence, those who help others are assured of
help when they need it, and those who don’t will soon find themselves without help or
allies once word gets around. This benefits both the individual and the collective and
contributes to resilience at both levels: individuals are able to access the resources
necessary to stay and live in their communities while their communities are able to retain
their residents. Key to this process are the presence of trust and accountability, both of
which are necessary for the operation of generalized reciprocity. Trust ensures people
know each other well enough to be assured of a positive interaction by way of a fair trade or helping hand, while accountability ensures such trades or help will be “paid forward” or reciprocated when necessary.

As can be seen, the informal economy relies on both material and non-material aspects in order to work effectively. In order to take part in the informal economy, people must have the time available to devote to it, and a continuing commitment to this investment in time and effort. As such, many residents of rural communities choose to work less than full time in order to allow them to participate more actively in the informal economy. Finally, residents must have access to whatever resources, skills and/or knowledge are useful or needed by others so they may trade them for the things they need in turn.

An investigation into gender differences in the informal economy shows that as women are more likely to be working part-time, they are also more likely to be involved in the informal economy, and this involvement can range from child care, to self provisioning to trading goods and services with other women in their social networks. While men in these communities are also involved in the informal economy, the type of activities they are engaged in tend to be more maintenance-related (i.e., home renovations and repairs, car repairs, yard work) and less work and time-intensive than women’s activities, which are often centered around food gathering and storage.

**The Informal Economy in Old Massett**

There were no questions on the Old Massett Community Survey that directly addressed participation in the informal economy. However, participant observation over multiple occasions has shown the informal economy is not only an important aspect of life in Old Massett, it is essential. Many people currently living in Old Massett would not have anywhere near their current standard of living without their involvement in the informal economy. The majority of personal transactions occurring in Old Massett would be classified as being part of the informal economy, as the collapse of the fishing and forestry industries and the downsizing of the army base have left many people either unemployed or working only seasonally, and thus very reliant on subsistence and trading activities.
It is difficult, however, to discuss the informal economy in Old Massett as such, because living off the land and trading and sharing with others is an integral part of Haida life, practiced for thousands of years. As noted in Chapter 5, the pre-contact Haida were skilled canoe builders and excellent navigators, as well as expert hunters, fishers and plant gatherers. They caught or gathered the vast majority of their food, as well as the materials for their housing, clothing and art, and what they couldn’t find on Haida Gwaii, they traded for with other native bands up and down the coast. Therefore, what goes on in Old Massett under the heading of “informal economy” is simply a continuation of Haida culture and tradition, now with a more modern manifestation.

In addition, as noted earlier, the principal Haida ceremony, known as the potlatch, is based on the premise “from those to whom much is given, much shall be required”.\textsuperscript{61} Therefore, status is not based on what a person has, but rather on what they give away. In Haida society, the more potlatches a person has had, the more highly they are regarded in the community. Therefore, rank and status was and still is expressed as giving and sharing, and as such, is a fundamental part of daily life. And while hard economic times have lessened the scope of this giving to some extent, family and clan responsibilities and obligations are still deeply felt, and much of this is related to ensuring all members have enough to eat. Therefore, those who fish or hunt fill up their family’s freezers first, and then distribute the remainder to non-related elders and/or close friends. In addition, the OMVC sends out a boat to food fish at least once during the season, and fish is distributed to all the homes in the Village that cannot access it in any other way, to ensure everyone is able to store food for the winter.

A question on the Old Massett Community Survey referred to cultural knowledge and skills, and from whom people learned them. The learning and practicing of these skills assures residents will not only be able to self-provision and thus be more self-sufficient, but for many, make a living as well. In addition, the learning and practicing of these traditional skills ensures Haida art, culture and practices are passed down to each successive generation.

\textsuperscript{61} Luke 12:48
Many of the skills referred to on the survey are associated with the informal economy in one form or another, as noted below:

1. Artistic skills (e.g. weaving, carving, painting, button blanket-making). Traditional Haida forms of weaving and sewing are making a comeback among the women of Old Massett, and practices long dormant are being revived. There is much demand for this artwork, and several Old Massett women are operating successful home-based businesses. There are also many Haida carvers and painters operating in Old Massett, and while the majority of them are men, as was the tradition, more young women are now being encouraged to explore their artistic talent in this way. Much artwork gets traded for goods and services in Old Massett and New Masset, and it is seen as beneficial to both parties: the artists get the exposure and goods and/or services they need, and the other party receives an original piece of Haida art that otherwise might be financially unattainable.

2. Canning and/or preserving. This is generally considered the domain of women and many women are involved in the processing and storing of food in the summertime. While some pick berries or dig clams or dip net for crab, others process them and can them. Many trade the raw product for the canned goods, or trade one type of canned goods for another.

3. Cedar bark gathering and/or spruce root gathering. This is mainly done by the female weavers or family members and friends of the weavers. Gathering cedar bark and spruce roots is a strenuous activity, as is the stripping of it for weaving, which is a time-consuming, multi-level and meticulous task. For the most part, these tasks are completed by women, as weaving is considered a female art form. Very often the weavers will barter with someone to gather for them, to avoid the difficult trip into the woods and search for the appropriate materials. Woven hats, baskets and other goods fetch a very high price from collectors all over the world, and as this activity is solely the dominion of women, they alone benefit from it, although many weavers will ask an artist to paint a design on the hat, and share the proceeds with them.
4. Fishing. This is primarily a male activity in Old Massett, although sometimes women will go along on the boats for the day to try their luck. For the most part, the men catch the fish, and the women clean them and cut them up to dry, freeze, can or smoke. Fish is the staple diet of the majority of residents, and during the spring and summer, they spend considerable time processing fish to fill their freezers for the winter. Fish is accepted currency in Old Massett, and people with boats are able to trade their catch for many goods and services.

5. Food gathering (e.g., berries, mushrooms, clams, crabs). This is largely a female activity, although men do go clam digging, which is hard, back-breaking work, and dip netting crab, which requires only agility and patience. However, the cleaning and processing of the clams and crab usually falls to the women, as does the foraging for berries, mushrooms and other plants.

6. Hunting and trapping. Like fishing, this is primarily a male activity, and while there is little trapping still being practiced in Old Massett, deer hunting is very common, and deer meat is more common than any other red meat due to the ease of procuring it. The chore of cleaning and cutting the deer meat is usually carried out by men, while women are generally responsible for cooking and canning the meat. Canned deer is considered by many as valid currency and is traded for a variety of goods and services.

7. Medicine gathering, plant gathering. This practice is carried out by both men and women, based on their knowledge of plant life and medicines and skill in medicine preparation. Traditional medicines are greatly valued for certain ailments in Old Massett. They are rarely sold for money but rather traded or shared.

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62 A variety of very small deer are plentiful on Haida Gwaii, introduced at some point by someone who wanted prey for hunting, without checking first to see if there were any natural predators on the islands to keep the population under control, which there are not. Haida hunters are permitted to kill as many deer as they wish every year, as long as they don’t kill the pregnant does in the spring, while non-Haida hunters are permitted to kill 10 deer per year. Even so, the deer population continues to expand and is a nuisance on the roads and in people’s gardens.
8. Traditional food preparation techniques, cutting. Many of the foods gathering in Old Massett take a considerable amount of effort to clean and process, and people with such skills are in high demand. For example, it is common for one person to dig the clams and another one to clean and can them, and then for the two to share the final product. The same goes for fish, crab, berries and deer meat. In general, food preparation and storage is carried out by women.

The informal economy is a vital and essential part of life for residents of Old Massett, as it was for their ancestors. Many people spend a considerable amount of time during the spring and summer gathering provisions and processing them, which then sustain them throughout the long winter months. For those without the ability to gather and/or process, they can still have access to them through sharing and trading, both of which are a highly valued aspect of life in Old Massett. It can therefore be argued involvement in the informal economy is what allows people to stay in their community and maintain their way of life despite the ongoing economic instability. Although these activities have been practiced by the Haida for centuries, they take on a new meaning in the current context of high unemployment and exclusion from the formal economy. The traditional division of labour continues in Old Massett, with the men being primarily responsible for hunting and fishing, and women taking on the time-consuming tasks of cleaning, preparing and storing the food. As such, many families are very dependent on the skills of women in the community to ensure they have enough food to get through the winter months.

Final summary

As noted above, the informal economy is an integral aspect of life in B.C.’s rural, coastal communities. The resource-based nature of many of these communities means they have been experiencing cycles of boom and bust since their inception, and the residents have had to learn to live with varying degrees of financial insecurity. The most recent bust period has also been the longest, and many fear the boom may never return to these communities. Many have already made the transition from a resource-based to a service-based economy, and many more are in the process. However, jobs in the service
sector are often low-wage and seasonally dependent, meaning those who have chosen to stay in their communities must now make do with less than they may have been used to in the past.

A key contributor to their ability to do this is their ongoing participation in the informal economy, which by promoting and supporting norms of generalized reciprocity, trust and accountability, allows residents to access the resources they need when they need them, without having to provide monetary compensation. As such, the informal economy acts as a “buffer” or “socio-economic safety net” for the economic recession residents are experiencing (Reimer 2006), allowing rural residents access to goods and services they might otherwise not be able to afford due to ongoing economic hardship and insecurity, and therefore allowing them to stay in their communities and maintain their chosen lifestyle. For many residents, the informal economy is their only economy, having either by choice or by chance become completely dependent on it for all their material needs. Such a lifestyle is unlikely to work effectively in a more urban context, but in these communities, where nature provides much of what is needed and social networks the rest, very few if any go without the basic necessities of life.

The informal economy also has many non-material benefits, perhaps the most important of which is the creation and maintenance of social capital at both the individual and collective levels, which contributes to resilience in the face of economic instability. It has been noted in this chapter that while sharing and trading are a fairly common practice in the four communities, such activities rely on people knowing and trusting one another. While many people stated they gave without any expectation of receiving anything back, they also noted they always did receive something back at some point, even if not from the same person. It is clear from this such norms of generalized reciprocity are well-ingrained; people share and trade knowing it will come back to them and, in order for this to continue, they need to keep it going. It is also obvious people have a high degree of trust in the people with whom they are sharing and trading. While they do not know when their actions might be reciprocated, they are certain at some point, they will be. It can also be seen from the above that such trading and sharing brings people together through a common goal: neighbours at a work bee, friends going fishing or hunting, women processing food together. This sort of positive interaction...
leads to the building of strong, beneficial social networks based on trust and norms of reciprocity, and thus represent a vital source of social capital for both the individual and the community.

In summary, the informal economy is a vital resource helping residents adapt to changing circumstances and remain in their communities, particularly in the context of resource-based communities, where unemployment, seasonal employment and economic security are commonplace. It gives them access to resources they might not otherwise be able to obtain, brings them into contact with others through positive interaction, and helps them build the kind of social networks they can rely on in the long run, which allow them to maintain their chosen lifestyle.
CHAPTER TWELVE

Summary And Conclusion

...tides you’ve never seen
Assault the sands of What-has-been,
And from your island’s tallest tree,
You watch advance What-is-to-be...^63

The mystic spell these Islands of the Charlotte group casts on those who are attuned is as magical today as it was when the first Haida felt it centuries ago. No matter how far they travel or how many years pass, for those who have once felt even a tinge of their bewitchment – this too, can never change (Dalzell 1968: 316).

This study investigates the relationship between gender, social capital and resilience in the context of four of British Columbia’s rural, resource-based communities. As has been shown, these communities have many similarities, and just as many differences. As a result, the operation of social capital within them also varies according to their unique circumstances. Thus, each community provides a distinctive context in which to study the relationship between social capital and gender and its link to resilience, and each case study contributes to our knowledge of how social capital and gender interact. Quadra Island with its labels and divisions and yet high levels of interpersonal trust, Charlotte with its decreasing resource dependency and strong female leadership, New Masset with its military past, and Old Massett as a First Nation reserve community, all have historical differences that contribute to their current functioning, and effect the way that residents relate to both the community and to each other.

What is clear, however, is that in all four communities, social factors are integral to resilience in the face of economic instability. The social structures operating within these communities provide a buffer to the economic storms they are experiencing and are critical to residents’ abilities to adapt to the changing economic situation. The stronger the social infrastructure in each community, the better able the residents are to create and maintain long-term adaptive strategies that allow them to defend their chosen way of life.

^63 Edna St. Vincent Millay, There Are No Islands Any More, June 1940.
The contribution of context

The emphasis on investigating each community separately in order to ascertain how its history and current situation affect the operation of social factors within it highlights one of the central contributions of this study: the essential need to include context in any study of social capital and social networks. As noted in Chapter 2, context has often not been included or considered as a key factor in many studies of social capital, particularly when theorizing what types of social ties are most beneficial. As this study shows, to overlook the contribution of context in any investigation of social capital can lead to generalizations and assumptions regarding the utility and usage of social ties that do not hold true.

In order to understand how ties are used and which are the most beneficial, one must understand the context in which they are being made and utilized. In short, the process of social capital is just as, if not more, important as its structure of relationships in understanding how it is used by people in actual situations. Equally as important is understanding people’s goals and how these needs are fulfilled by their social networks. In the rural, resource-based communities that are the subject of this investigation, status mobility is secondary to adaptive capacity, and as such, weak ties are not necessarily the ones that help them achieve this goal. Without understanding the context in which people live, it is impossible to identify which ties will have the most utility.

The contribution of social ties

What then do different types of ties mean in this context? Are weak and strong ties the same regardless of where the social network is located? The findings from this study suggest this is not the case. In the context of small, rural communities, where most people are known to one another, weak and strong ties function quite differently than has been reported for urban contexts. The size of these communities suggest that the entire community can be considered one social network, with people having relationships of varying strength and intensity within it. As such, we would then expect that residents would have more weak ties than strong to the resource-rich positions represented by the Position Generator measure, as these are likely to be well-known people within the
community. The data confirm this to be the case; in every community, residents had more weak ties than strong ties overall.

For the people in these resource-rich positions, while they would represent a weak tie to the majority of the community, limited resources would dictate that they could not share them with everyone who claimed that relationship. It is much more likely that they would share these resources with their strong ties, who are people they know well and with whom they interact the most, such as family and close friends. It can be concluded then, that social ties operate somewhat differently in this rural community context.

Social capital in New Masset and Charlotte, and to a lesser degree, Quadra, operates very much within a closed network as theorized by Coleman (1990). Because community members are all known to one another, they are not members of different social networks but rather members of one large network that essentially encompasses the entire community. As such, weak ties do not operate as bridging ties, as they do not link residents to other social networks, but rather to people within the larger network that they don’t know as well and therefore may trust less. Weak ties in this context function similarly to strong ties in that they represent potential access to social resources within the same network. The only time weak ties function as bridges to other networks are when they are to people in other communities. However, given the relative isolation of New Masset and Charlotte, these ties would be of limited utility in promoting adaptive capacity, except in the case where residents might be moving away and could utilize those ties to access resources in other communities.

In this particular context then, it is the strong ties, or ties to people most known and trusted, that represent the most beneficial source of social capital. Strong ties, created through repeated interaction and based on reciprocity and accountability, are most likely to provide access to needed resources. The importance of these ties is confirmed by the qualitative data, which emphasize the importance of being “known” in order to access important social resources (such as participation in the informal economy, or

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64 Quadra to a lesser degree because it is not as isolated as the other two communities. The quantitative data show that Quadra residents have more weak ties outside the community than the residents of the other two communities. This is likely because of their proximity to Campbell River. Therefore, it is more likely that their weak ties would function as bridging ties to social networks outside the community, and thus their social networks could be considered more open as a result.
accessing job information). The qualitative data establish that being “known” essentially means a resident has proven they could be trusted not to take advantage of others in the community and thus would be given access to “insider” social resources.

The data are also very clear on the best way for residents to become “known”, or to make the sort of social ties that are based on reciprocity and trust. As stated in Chapter 2, there is ample evidence (see, for example, Putnam 1993, 2000; Granovetter 1973) asserting the connection between social participation and the making of beneficial social ties, and this study provides further confirmation of that relationship. In every community, residents stated that the best way to become “known” in the community was through social participation in formal and/or informal groups.

**The contribution of social participation**

Social interaction in this context takes place in the public sphere and those involved are very visible to one another as they all represent either a weak or a strong tie in the community-wide social network. Such visibility in interaction leads to accountability, as interactions that occur within the community network have the potential of being known to the entire network. In every community, interviewers heard about the high level of accountability that accompanied social interactions within a small community that compelled people to be honest and forthright in their dealings with others. The visibility that comes with being “known” can also have a dark side should someone prove not to be accountable. In every community, residents shared stories of what happened to people who attempted to take advantage of others in some way. For them, the dark side of social capital means they face very public and very serious consequences. These sanctions are strong enough to send a warning out to anyone else considering such actions, while enforcing collective norms within the network.

This supports Burt (2001) and Coleman’s (1990) assertion that ties within a closed network create norms of reciprocity and a set of effective sanctions that monitor and guide behaviour. In addition, as residents interact, they build up obligations to one another that cannot be reneged upon without damage to their reputation or their continuing ability to participate in the beneficial, reciprocal social networks in the community. Portes (1998) refers to this system of mutual reciprocity built on frequent
interaction as the accumulation of “social chits”, in which “donors provide access to privileged resources in the expectation that they will be fully repaid in the future” (7). In this investigation, the author has referred to this process as “generalized reciprocity”, because it is found to operate at the collective rather than the individual level. In every community but Old Massett, for reasons to be explained below, residents referred to this process of giving to others with the expectation that at some point in the future, should they need it, others would give to them. Rather than building up social chits to specific others, residents would simply give to those in need without expectation of receiving back from that same person, knowing that within a closed network based on visibility and accountability, their actions would be reciprocated by someone at some point in the future.

This process of “generalized reciprocity” represents the operation of social capital at the collective level, in that it requires high levels of visibility, accountability and trust from all individuals within the social network or community in order to be created and maintained. While individuals do derive benefits in that this process is integral to their ongoing adaptation in the face of economic instability, the greatest benefits are derived by the community. Processes of generalized reciprocity promote and preserve community cohesion and unity through the formulation of strong ties and dense networks, as well as by providing a way to distribute goods and services to people who need them most, allowing them to stay in the community even when experiencing ongoing economic crisis. Thus, generalized reciprocity directly promotes resilience by creating a social atmosphere of support, generosity, and cohesion even in times of economic upheaval and uncertainty, and preventing the out-migration of residents.

**The contribution of trust**

This study is also able to offer some clarity on “the great trust debate” that continues to plague the sociological literature on social capital regarding the relationship between the two concepts. This investigation offers support to the assertion (Govier 1997; Granovetter 1973, Putnum 2000; Lin 2001) that trust is an *outcome* of social interaction.
The visibility and accountability that accompany interactions within a closed network also facilitate the creation of trust. Constant interaction in the public sphere, visible to most members of the community, leads to the creation of accountability, which makes residents answerable for their actions and provides powerful sanctions should they not follow through. This high level of accountability in turn creates a high level of trust, as residents know that they can count on one another when necessary. Continued positive interactions build and maintain trust between residents, as weak ties become strong ties over time and access to resources becomes guaranteed through processes of generalized reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity is based completely on trust, as residents have no way of knowing when they will be repaid or given back in return, but strong norms of accountability built through continued interaction ensure residents that their trust is not misplaced, and the threat of harsh penalties is associated with breaches of that trust.

Quadra, Charlotte and New Masset are all examples of how this process works within a community to support residents’ adaptive capacity strategies, and contribute to their resilience in the face of economic insecurity. In all three communities, the quantitative and qualitative data display a high level of trust for others in the community, backed by the knowledge that others are not likely to try to take advantage of them. Quadra in particular shows the highest levels of trust in the sample, even despite the deep divisions between the various groups in the community. The qualitative data show that even while Quadra residents may not agree with one another, they are still accountable to one another, and thus these divisions do not lead to mistrust. This accountability is developed through social participation and visibility, and supported by the knowledge of what happens to people who breach the network norms. Disagreement is acceptable to most Quadra residents, and they practice it vociferously; dishonesty or deceitfulness is most definitely not. This finding shows the power and durability of trust once formed, and supported by strong ties, dense networks and mutual norms.

In the cases of Charlotte and New Masset, the same norms apply, but without the active disagreement between community groups. But here again, there are some distinctions based on community differences. In Charlotte, trust is something that takes a while to earn; newcomers are not automatically welcomed into the community nor
trusted. Charlotte’s historically stable population means that residents are somewhat wary of newcomers until they prove they are there for the long run. As a result, processes of generalized reciprocity are mostly reserved for those who are connected by strong ties, and who are well-known within the community network. The best way to form these ties is through social participation which, as has been proven, is the means by which residents become part of the community network and prove themselves accountable and trustworthy.

In New Masset, on the other hand, where residents had to adjust to the constant coming and going of military personnel, newcomers are more quickly welcomed into the community network and given access to the benefits of that network even if connected through weak ties. According to the qualitative data, New Masset residents put more faith in the power of their network to sanction anyone who would try to take advantage of others, and as such, help others freely, regardless of length of residence. While New Masset residents do display lower levels of trust overall, and the qualitative data suggest that this is due to their military past, this does not affect the collective benefits of a closed social network once people have become ‘known’ within it.

Old Massett, as noted in Chapter 10, is an example of the theory not fitting the context. Applying a social capital framework to the issues of trust in Old Massett, we would assume that the lack of generalized community trust is due to a lack of accountability that exists at the community level in the other non-reserve communities. It is true that while social interaction in Old Massett is visible in that residents are well-known to one another, it does not create collective accountability in the same way as in the other communities. This is because social interaction takes place among family and clan members, bringing together people who already know each other well and have long been accountable to one another. Relationships among the residents of Old Massett are long-standing and historically binding. While colonialism and near extinction have changed the social structure of the community irrevocably, the historical ties based on lineage and rank still resonate into the present. Non-reserve communities benefit from social groups and organizations that bridge all the groups in the community and bring together diverse others to work together in positive interaction. However, this course of
action is simply not realistic in a community where lineage and rank still organize most of the social interactions that occur.

Thus, while community social capital does not exist in the same way as the three non-reserve communities, social capital at the level of family and clan is powerful and very effective, and contributes greatly to adaptive capacity in times of economic instability. Family groups operate as their own closed social networks made up of strong ties. While certain people within them may have weak ties to other family group networks, this often does not provide access to resources through those ties. This situation, as confirmed by the qualitative data, has come about as the result of competition for scarce resources and the band council system that ignores the traditional lineage and rank-based authority structure and puts power in the hands of those who can garner enough votes to secure a position. Those in power are then put under pressure to help family and clan first and community second. The destruction of the traditional authority structure, which ensured that all members of the village, regardless of position in the hierarchical structure, had access to clan-held resources, results in many residents having to rely on family members to provide what they once could have accessed themselves.

Thus, as noted by Portes (1998), those same strong ties that bring benefits to members of one group may also act to bar member of another group from access. The qualitative data support this assertion in Old Massett as a result of Band Council governance over contested community resources. While the relatives of Band Council members may benefit from access to those resources by means of their strong ties, members of other families not in power may be unable to gain such access as they are outside of the clan, and have only weak ties to those inside. This leads to negative affect and accusations of unfairness being levelled against the family and clan groups in power. Because community leaders and others with access to resources share them mainly with family, they are seen as reneging on their responsibilities as community leaders and lacking commitment to the community they are supposed to represent. Divisions already created by the traditional social structure are increased by present evaluations of inequitable leadership. The result is that the collective process of generalized reciprocity does not exist in Old Massett as it does in the other three communities. Instead, what is
seen is contextual reciprocity, meaning people interact with and fulfill their obligations and commitments to family and clan members, as historically has always been the social structure of interaction. This represents social capital at the group level for the people within the specific family and clan networks who hold the resources, but it does not aggregate to the collective or community level.

The quantitative data from Old Massett support this interpretation, confirming that Old Massett has the lowest levels of interpersonal, generalized, social/community and social/institutionalized trust in the sample, despite high levels of social participation. In fact, close to half of all respondents stated that most people in the community would take advantage of them if given the chance and approximately three-quarters stated there were groups in the community they did not trust. The qualitative data contain repeated accusations of nepotism and patronage among the elected leadership.

Given this, one would assume that social capital in Old Massett is lacking, and that this would result in Old Massett residents being less resilient or less adaptable to economic change than the other three non-reserve communities. This is, however, not the case. In Old Massett, strong family and clan networks operate much the same way that the community network does in the other three communities. Within these networks, residents are very active in the informal economy, ensuring that all family members are provided with the resources that they need. This form of social structure is a continuation of the traditional Haida way of life where villages were clan-specific and families were self-sufficient, holding the rights to shared territory and resources. Colonialism has stripped the Haida of many of these rights, but the importance of family and clan continues to organize much of the interaction in the village.

On the other hand, these strong family networks also demonstrate what Portes (1998) refers to as the problem of “free-riding. This occurs when less diligent members of a social network or group use the normative structure (i.e., norms of reciprocity created through strong ties) to make demands on the members of the group who hold the most resources, but do not reciprocate when it is their turn to provide such access. The “First Nation crab story” as recounted in Chapter 10 illustrates this problem in anecdotal form. Members of the network with more resources are required to share even while
knowing that others may not reciprocate. This essentially “pulls them back down” by not allowing them to benefit from their position or the resources to which they have access. While other networks may impose sanctions for this behaviour, this is considerably more difficult to carry out with family members, particularly in a First Nations reserve context where historical processes dictate the importance of lineage and clan over the larger community.

Another drawback to this system of social interaction is the lack of bridging ties to people with resources outside the community. While the leaders may have these ties, they will benefit only members of their family and clan, and not other community members who may need them. For residents who are attempting to get a small business off the ground or attain outside funding for various ventures, such ties to people with access to resources outside the community could be the difference between success or failure. This is particularly problematic for young people who are leaving the community in order to access post-secondary education or employment, as ties to people outside the community with access to information and resources can be a vital source of assistance and greatly increase their educational and/or vocational outcomes. This is yet another reason for the negative assessments of leadership in Old Massett; leaders are seen to be using their positions and the ties made through those positions to help only family and clan, regardless of the needs of the rest of the community.

Thus, context must be a key component of any study seeking to investigate the operation of social capital. Ignoring this component will invariably lead to a reliance on untested assumptions and generalizations. Particularly in the case of social network research, the context must be examined in order to understand how social ties operate and for what purpose. To assume that everyone has the same needs and goals and uses his/her social ties in the same way to achieve these is an oversimplification that simply does not stand up in practice. In addition, given the complex relationship between social capital and trust, it becomes all the more important to understand the context in which these processes are operating if we are to truly understand their contribution to the functioning of individuals and communities.
A primary example of the pitfalls of ignoring context is the general finding that women are disadvantaged because their networks often contain a higher percentage of strong ties that are theorized to be of lesser utility for achieving status mobility. These studies tend to assume that status mobility is the goal for all participants and weak ties are necessary to achieve this, and thus do not investigate the context in which ties are being made and used. In fact, entrenched gender roles often mean women have very different needs from their networks than men, and thus also require a different composition of social ties in their networks to meet those needs. Looking at these needs and goals through the context of where they live gives a much clearer picture of how they create and utilize social capital to benefit their daily lives.

**The contribution of gender**

As noted in Chapter 2, there are relatively few studies that focus on the impact of gender on processes of social capital within a rural context, or on how those processes relate to resilience in the face of economic instability. As such, the findings of this study contribute greatly to the understanding of the role of gender in the composition of networks and the utility of social ties. They also provide insight into the role of gender in community involvement, leadership, social participation, and processes of individual and community resilience in this context.

Unlike many studies looking at the composition of social networks (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982; Moore 1990; Beggs & Hurlbert 1997; Smith 2000; Lin 2000; Burda, Vaux & Schill 1984), this study did not find that men have more diverse networks made up of more weak ties to other men in resource-rich positions, while women have smaller and less diverse networks, with more strong ties women and kin, thus giving them less access to valuable resources. In fact, women and men generally had approximately the same number of both weak and strong ties. In one case, women had significantly more weak ties than men. This is a notable finding, given that the Position Generator measure used to capture respondents’ social ties to resource-rich positions within the community contained an inherent gender bias, including mainly positions within the male-dominated resource-industry and economic and political leadership positions, and very few key social positions normally filled by women in rural, resource-based communities.
As such, the argument could be made that women are not disadvantaged in this context, as they have equal numbers of weak ties to resource-rich positions that are theorized to be the most beneficial in achieving status mobility. As noted above, however, understanding the context in which these social ties operate means that we know that weak ties do not function in the same way in these communities, and status mobility is not the goal for the majority of residents. They have other needs and uses for their social ties, and this impacts very much on the process of attaining them.

The qualitative data make it clear the goal for the majority of respondents is finding a way to stay and live in their communities, and defend their chosen way of life. Economic factors are not nearly as important as social factors in making that happen. In particular, it depends on being part of a strong, dense community network based on norms of accountability and reciprocity, which ensures that residents can get access to the things that they need despite economic uncertainty. Many respondents, and particularly women, noted that full-time work was not their goal, and the quantitative data support this assertion, showing that in every community, women are more likely to be employed part-time. Part-time employment allows them the freedom and flexibility to fulfill their family responsibilities and participate in the informal economy, where they gather, trade and barter food, goods and services with others in their network. This involvement is a crucial component of their adaptive strategy, allowing them to stay in their communities and support their families by accessing the goods and services they need.

The data are also clear on the best way to become part of, and accepted in, the community network: social participation. The data show that women are more involved in their communities, in both formal and informal social groups. This level of participation is not specific to just resource-based communities; social participation, particularly in community-based and domestic-oriented groups, has long been considered the role of rural women, and is often expected of them. Rural women and their social groups often take over where governments leave off, filling integral roles in the educational, health and service sectors of the community. Women are also the “social centre” of the community, running the community centre, arts clubs, and the many social events that are the lifeblood of rural communities.
In resource-based communities, women have additional roles to play, as they often have to fill in for the men who are gone for long periods of the year. Thus, they are involved in many different groups and organizations that they ordinarily might not join. Quantitative data on social participation support this conclusion, showing that in three of four communities, women do not follow the pattern of social participation found by network researchers such as McPherson & Smith-Lovin (1982) and Beggs, Hurlbert, & Haines (1996). These authors found that women tend to participate in smaller, more peripheral organizations and activities with a focus on domestic or community affairs whereas men tend to participate in organizations related to economic institutions and in non-domestic activities. The conclusion is that as a result of this gender-based participation, men are able to make more weak ties that give them access to beneficial resources.

That pattern was not found in any community but Quadra Island, which is no longer a resource-based community, and thus may no longer exhibit patterns of social participation more common to resource-based communities such as that found in the other three communities. However, even despite this finding, Quadra Island women did not have fewer weak ties than men, and thus could not be considered disadvantaged as a result of their more gender-oriented involvement.

Women in the other three communities were not only involved in a diverse array of groups, but they were also more socially involved overall. The quantitative data show they have either equal to or more weak ties than men to resource-rich positions in the community. Men and women also had equal numbers of strong ties as measured by the Position Generator, but it is important to emphasize the majority of positions within the community that were most likely held by women were not represented on this measure.

What the qualitative data show is that the combination of being more likely to work part-time and being more involved in the community leads to women maintaining social leadership within the community, and increasingly, as shown in Charlotte, economic and political leadership as well. What is interesting is what the data contribute to our understanding of gender and leadership roles in this context. In every community, when asked to name the leaders of their community, men were more likely to name other
men who were economic, political and business leaders and overlook women’s leadership roles in the community. In other words, they were more likely to acknowledge the formal, and most visible, leaders of the community. This supports Lorber’s (1994) contention that women are only seen as legitimate leaders in areas considered of direct concern to women (i.e., the type of groups noted by McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1982 and Beggs et al. 1996), whereas their contributions in men’s fields tend to be invisible to or denigrated by the men in those fields. This is supported by the data from Charlotte, where women are involved in many formal positions within the community, but male respondents did not refer to these female leaders when asked, and the quantitative data shows that Charlotte male respondents have more negative views of their leadership than in other communities.

The women, on the other hand, when asked to name the leaders of the community, named either more women or equal numbers of both sexes, and focused more on the social and informal leaders, acknowledging their important role in the community. These leadership positions, so integral to the social functioning of the community, often operate “behind the scenes” rather than in the more visible economic and political spheres. In addition, these positions are mainly dominated by women, and thus not seen by men as representing community leadership in the same way as the positions more traditionally dominated by men. This further supports Lorber’s (1994) argument that even where women are the majority, men are still more often acknowledged in their positions of authority, because both women and men will accept to a greater degree male leaders as representing their general interests.

The benefits of this high level of social participation and leadership for women are the creation and maintenance of strong social networks characterized by norms of accountability and reciprocity. There is ample evidence that women in these communities are using these ties to their benefit. Compared with men, women are less likely to be unemployed, just as likely to be self-employed or running their own businesses, and more likely to be involved in the informal economy. They appear to be leading the transition to the new service economy that is inevitably replacing resources in becoming the primary basis for economic growth. In nearly every community, women have significantly more education than men, making them more suitable for employment
in this new economy that is centred around education, health and services. They dominate in all three of these areas. In addition, they are used to finding creative strategies for employment, as the male-dominated economy in resource-based communities has always presented an employment challenge for women. Working part-time, juggling multiple jobs, self-employment, involvement in the informal economy, all of these adaptive strategies become all the more essential to surviving in an economy where full-time, full-year jobs are scarce, and seasonal, low-paying service jobs prevail.

The overall role of women in these communities, then, is one of promoting adaptive capacity in every sense of the term. Their social involvement in formal and informal groups has led them to vital leadership roles in the community where they are responsible for the social well-being of their communities, and they take this responsibility very seriously. Increasingly, they are becoming more responsible for the economic well-being of their communities as well, as their education and knowledge move them into more formal leadership roles in the changing political and economic structure. Socially, they are involved in a diverse array of groups and organizations and as a result, have equal numbers of ties to men, and are not disadvantaged in terms of their networks. This participation has helped them build strong social networks based on accountability and reciprocity, which they use to access goods and services through the informal economy, and promote a high level of collective social capital through the operation of generalized reciprocity that benefits all community members.

All of these factors combine together to promote community resilience in the face of ongoing economic instability, and provide a solid explanation for why residents of the resource-based, rural communities of British Columbia’s coast are able to stay in their communities, despite the ongoing economic issues associated with the downturn in the resource industry, despite the loss of jobs and out-migration of residents, despite the cuts to social programs and community resources, and despite the insecurity of never knowing what will happen next. To these residents, there is indeed “no other land, no other life but this” and they are determined to stay right where they are, come what may.

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Future Directions

This study contributes much to our knowledge of how social capital works in reality, and the contribution of gender to this process. But one area which requires further research is the specific composition of men’s and women’s networks, not just in this context, but in rural communities in general. The Position Generator measure utilized for this study contained few, if any, of the positions in which women are most likely to be found; those social, informal positions that are the foundation of most rural communities and represent social resources not just for other women but to all community members due to their central position within the community network. As a result, it is likely that women’s networks are not as well represented as they could be in this particular study, and the number of ties is likely considerably less than if those positions had been included. Future studies of the operation of social capital and networks within rural communities should include both formal and informal leadership positions on the Position Generator in order to give a more realistic representation of women’s social networks, and the type of social ties that they have to resource-rich positions within the community. This will provide a deeper understanding of both women and men’s networks within rural communities and of how they use their social ties to access the important social resources needed for their daily lives.

This study was conducted over a five year period from 1999-2004. As such, it presents a comprehensive picture of life in these four communities at that period in time. However, as noted previously, these communities are undergoing enormous changes, politically, economically and socially. In their transition from resource economy to service-based economy, fundamental shifts are taking place that impact residents in multiple ways. Education is becoming essential to employment in these communities, and as women have traditionally been more educated in resource-based communities, this has contributed to their ability to take the lead in the new service economy. However, as this shift continues, and resource dependence declines, men will invariably have to follow in women’s footsteps, and attain education that allows them to find employment as well. In addition, as positions within the resource industry disappear and men move into the service economy, this may also lead to them to become more socially involved in their communities (as seen in Quadra), a role that has traditionally been filled by women.
Thus, men may begin challenging women for the social leadership in these communities, which may present another set of associated issues regarding social ties, social networks, and community functioning. Thus, it would be of some interest to replicate this study in 15-20 years, and see how the ongoing changes have impacted the functioning of social capital and gender roles in these communities.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Websites

Council of the Haida Nation website: http://www.haidanation.ca
Government of Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, www.aicc-inac.gc.ca
Government of Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, First Nations Profiles, http://sdiprod2.inac.gc.ca/fnprofiles
Resilient Communities Project, University of British Columbia, Community Profiles, www.resilientcommunities.ca
Village of Queen Charlotte website: www.queencharlotte.ca/history.php
APPENDIX A

Maps:
Quadra Island
Haida Gwaii
Page 370 has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

The information removed is a map of Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) printed by Parks Canada.

Website: www.pc.gc.ca
Thank you for taking the time to answer this questionnaire. Since you are taking the time to fill it in, we want to be sure you are clear on how to answer the questions.

- Please use the pencil provided in this package to darken the whole circle as in the picture below.

- If you decide you want to change your answer, be sure to erase the old mark completely.
- Most of the questions require you to fill in just one circle — the one that best represents your answer to the question.
- Where the questions require a different type of answer, we will provide specific instructions for you to follow.
- At first sight, the questionnaire may seem long, but you will find that most questions can be answered quickly. The questionnaire will take between 20 and 40 minutes to complete.
- Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.
Section A: Introduction

These questions are intended to tell us something about you. Please remember that your answers will be kept completely confidential.

1. What is your year of birth? 19 _ _  Example: 1947  19 _ _ 4 7

2. What is your gender?
   ○ Female
   ○ Male

3. Were you born in Canada?
   ○ Yes
   ○ No
   Were you born in British Columbia?
   ○ Yes
   ○ No

4. How long have you lived in this community?
   ○ Less than a year
   ○ 1–5 years
   ○ 6–10 years
   ○ 11–20 years
   ○ 21–30 years
   ○ Longer than 30 years
5. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did your ancestors belong?  
(Please select ALL that apply.)

- African
- Canadian
- Chinese
- Dutch (Netherlands)
- English
- French
- German
- Inuit/Eskimo
- Irish
- Italian
- Jewish
- Metis
- North American Indian
- Polish
- Portuguese
- Scottish
- South Asian (ie, East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sri Lankan)
- Spanish
- Ukrainian
- Welsh
- Other (Please specify ________________________________)

Are you a member of a First Nation?

- Yes Which one? Please specify ________________________________
- No To which Band do you belong? Please specify ________________________________

6. What is your current marital status?  
(Please select only one.)

- Married
- Living with a partner
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Never married

7. How many children do you have living with you?
(If none, go to question 8.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>More than 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>○</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7b. How many of these children are in school (either elementary or secondary)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>More than 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Including yourself, what is the total number of people currently living in your household?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>More than 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section B: Employment

This section asks questions about your occupation (if applicable). Please remember that your answers will be kept completely confidential.

9. What is your current work situation?
(Please select ALL that apply.)
- self-employed full-time (30 or more hours per week).
- self-employed part-time (less than 30 hours per week).
- employed by others full-time (30 or more hours per week).
- employed by others part-time (less than 30 hours per week).
- not working or laid off.

How long have you been laid off or not working?
- less than 3 months
- 3–6 months
- 7–12 months
- 1–2 years
- 3–4 years
- 5–6 years
- more than 6 years

10. If you are currently not working, what is your status?
(Please select only one.)
- On temporary layoff, expecting to return to same job When? in ________ months
- Looking for work. For how long? ________ months
- Homemaker
- Retired
- On illness or disability leave
- Going to school or taking training
- Other (Please specify ________________________________________________________ )
11. What was the main reason that you stopped working? (Please select only one.)
   - a. Laid off or let go
   - b. Company downsizing or closure
   - c. Own illness or disability
   - d. Other person’s illness or disability
   - e. Child care responsibilities
   - f. Other personal or family responsibilities
   - g. Returned to school
   - h. Retired
   - i. Other (Please specify ____________________________________________)

   If you have not been employed or self-employed in the past 12 months, please go to Section C (Your Community) on page 7.

12. If you have been employed or self-employed within the past twelve months, do you or did you have more than one job?
   - Yes
   - No

   If you are currently self-employed, either part-time or full-time, please answer the following two questions. If not, please go to Question 15 on page 6.

13. How long have you been self-employed?
   - Less than one year
   - 1 to 2 years
   - 3 to 4 years
   - 5 to 9 years
   - More than 10 years

14. Apart from your immediate family, how many others do you employ?
   - None
   - 1–3
   - 4–6
   - 7 or more

   Please go to Question 15 on the next page.
15. If you have been employed or self-employed within the past twelve months, what is or was your main job (ie, the one in which you spend or spent the largest number of hours)?

Please specify __________________________________________________________

16. How did you find out about your main job?
(Please select ALL that apply.)

- I am self–employed in my main job
- A help wanted ad
- Family member or close friend
- Neighbour or acquaintance
- Friend of a friend or relative
- Former workmate or employer
- Union posting
- Canada employment centre or other government agency
- Internet
- Other (Please specify __________________________________________________)
- Don’t know

17. In the past 12 months, in which of the following areas were you employed or self-employed?
(Please select ALL that apply.)

- Aquaculture
- Band Council employment/Band Administration
- Construction
- Education
- Farming/Agriculture
- Fish Processing/Fish Plant
- Fishing
- Forestry/Logging
- Government Services
- Health Care
- Hunting/Trapping
- Manufacturing
- Mining (includes oil and gas)
- Paper Mill/Pulp Mill
- Saw Mill
- Police/Law Enforcement/Legal/Justice
- Tourism/Service Industry
- Trades (eg, plumber, painter, mechanic)
- Transportation
- Other (Please specify __________________________________________________)
# Section C: Your Community

This section asks questions about your community and the people who live there.

For this next set of statements, please indicate your level of agreement by filling in the appropriate circle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. People in this community have a weak sense of community.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. I would move away from this community if a good job came up somewhere else.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. The future of this community depends more on what happens outside the community than inside it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. People like me don't have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful groups.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Compared to other communities on the B.C. coast, this community is doing pretty well economically.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. This community doesn't have enough services for the elderly.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Business leaders in this community are creating new economic opportunities here.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. The First Nation leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. First Nation groups are important to this community’s economic well-being.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Politics, Voting and Leadership

The following are questions about politics.

39. Did you vote in the last federal election on November 27, 2000?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not eligible
- ○ Don’t know/Can’t remember

If Yes, which party did you vote for?
- ○ Alliance
- ○ Liberal
- ○ NDP
- ○ Progressive Conservative
- ○ Other (Please specify ______________________)

40. How interested are you in national politics?
- ○ Very interested
- ○ Somewhat interested
- ○ Slightly interested
- ○ Not at all interested

41. Did you vote in the last provincial election on May 16, 2001?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Not eligible
- ○ Don’t know/Can’t remember

If Yes, which party did you vote for?
- ○ Green Party
- ○ Liberal
- ○ NDP
- ○ Unity Party/Reform
- ○ Other (Please specify ______________________)

42. How interested are you in provincial politics?
- ○ Very interested
- ○ Somewhat interested
- ○ Slightly interested
- ○ Not at all interested
43. Did you vote in the last municipal/regional elections?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not eligible

44. How interested are you in local community politics?
   - Very interested
   - Somewhat interested
   - Slightly interested
   - Not at all interested

45. If you belong to a First Nation/Aboriginal group, did you vote in the last Band Council elections?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not eligible
   - Don’t know
   - Not applicable

46. How interested are you in Band Council politics?
   - Very interested
   - Somewhat interested
   - Slightly interested
   - Not at all interested

### Inter–Community Relations

47. We are interested in the links people have with other places.
   Please fill out the following chart using the instructions provided.

For each of the **communities that you visit most often**, 
- list the **name**, then
- **indicate how often** you go there, and
- fill in the one **main reason for your visits**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community 1</th>
<th>Community 2</th>
<th>Community 3</th>
<th>Community 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the past 30 days, how many times did you visit this community? Fill in the appropriate circle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Using the categories listed above, please indicate your reasons for visiting this community.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
48. Which of the following places would you think of as part of your community rather than being neighbouring or nearby communities? (Please select ALL that apply.)

Section D: Trust

The next set of statements deal with issues of trust. Please indicate your level of agreement by filling in the appropriate circle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49. Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Most people in this community are likely to try to take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. First Nation leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. The politicians who represent this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Section E: Your Social Activities**

This section asks questions about some of your social activities.

The following question asks about your current involvement in various activities and where they are located.

62. Are you currently involved with any of the following?  
(Please select Yes for ALL that apply.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Inside</th>
<th>Outside</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby group (eg, Pottery Guild, crafter’s association, quilting club)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business (eg, Chamber of Commerce, Band Economic Development Committee, Community Economic Development Committee)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-related activities (eg, choir, bible study or care group, coffee or social committee)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Service Group (eg, Crisis Centre, Food Bank or Community Kitchen)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or ethnic associations (eg, Heritage Association, First Nations cultural groups)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational (eg, Parent Advisory Council, School Board/Trustee, Curriculum/Language groups)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental (eg, resource conservation/management/action groups)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health (eg, Cancer Society, Health Auxiliary, alternative or traditional healing groups)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood (eg, Resident’s Association, crime prevention groups)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political (eg, political party, Band or Tribal Council, town council)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help or support</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Club (eg, Lions Club, Rotary Club)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social club (eg, card playing, music, book club)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/religious group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation (eg, soccer, karate, Little League, Curling Club, weekly pick-up games)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-related (eg, union, cooperative, professional organization)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth (eg, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, 4H)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other activities not listed above. (Please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Yes, are these activities located mainly inside your community, outside your community, or both?
63. If you added up all of the hours you have spent with these groups in the past 30 days, approximately how many hours would that be?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1–5</th>
<th>6–10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>more than 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

64. Of all the groups or activities you are currently involved in, which ONE do you spend the most time at?

Please provide the specific name of this group or activity. If none, go to Question 67, page 13.

65. For this group or activity, please answer the following:

a. Approximately how many hours did you spend in the past 30 days?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1–5</th>
<th>6–10</th>
<th>11 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

b. When the group gets together, how many people are likely to attend?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1–5</th>
<th>6–10</th>
<th>11–15</th>
<th>16 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

c. Do you ever contact any members of this group other than for meetings?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

d. Do you ever get together with any members of this group other than for meetings?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

e. Please select one of the following statements:

- The members of this group are mostly men.
- The members of this group are mostly women.
- There is a fairly equal gender balance in this group.

f. Please select one of the following statements:

- The members of this group are mostly of the same ethnicity.
- The members of this group are mostly of different ethnicities.
- Don’t know.

66. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about this group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

a. I trust the members of this group more than I trust most other people.

b. Being a member of this group gives me more respect in this community.

c. I have increased my contacts in this community through this group.

d. Belonging to this group has given me more contacts with people outside this community.

e. If I needed a job, I could use the contacts I have made through this group to help me find one.
67. Do you currently help out as a volunteer in this community?

- Yes
- No

In the past 30 days, approximately how many hours did you volunteer?

- 0
- 1–2
- 3–5
- 6–10
- 11 or more

For what group(s)? ________________________________

We are interested in the activities that you do with people who do not live in your household.

68. In the past 30 days, have you done any of the following activities with people who do not live in your household? (Please select Yes for ALL that apply.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>This Community</th>
<th>Another Community</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had a meal at a restaurant with others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had a meal with others in your home or their home?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched a movie or television program with others in your home or their home?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Played cards or games with others in your home or their home?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone with others to a movie at a theatre?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone to a church social function?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone to a religious service?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a sports event?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated with others in a sports or recreational activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone with others to a bar or tavern?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone shopping with others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone sports fishing or hunting with others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated with others in a craft or artistic activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a First Nation ceremonial or spiritual activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a First Nation cultural or social activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
69A. Do you hold any of the following positions within your community right now? For example, you might be school teacher and a member of a Chamber of Commerce, in which case you would select both.
(Please select ALL that apply.)

- [ ] Aquaculture or fish plant manager
- [ ] Aquaculture related work of any kind (e.g. hatchery, grow out, processing, diver, etc.)
- [ ] Commercial fisherman
- [ ] Elected or hereditary First Nation Chief
- [ ] Local health professional (e.g., doctor, nurse)
- [ ] Local police officer
- [ ] Logger
- [ ] Manager or administrative officer of a First Nation Band or Tribal Council
- [ ] Member of the Chamber of Commerce
- [ ] Member of the Regional District Council
- [ ] Member of the Town Council
- [ ] Mine manager (includes oil and gas)
- [ ] Mine worker (includes oil and gas)
- [ ] Pastor, priest or other church leader
- [ ] Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill manager
- [ ] Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill worker
- [ ] School teacher (primary or secondary)
- [ ] Union leader or member
69B. The following are positions that might be held by other people in your community. We would like to know whether you know anyone in each of these positions. If you do, please indicate whether these people are acquaintances, close friends, or relatives, and whether these people live inside or outside of your community by writing how many of these people you know in the boxes below.

For example: If you have two acquaintances who are school teachers inside your community and one friend who is a school teacher outside your community, you would fill in the boxes like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Position</th>
<th>Number of ACQUAINTANCES</th>
<th>Number of CLOSE FRIENDS</th>
<th>Number of RELATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. School teacher (primary or secondary)</td>
<td>Inside: 2</td>
<td>Inside: 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type of Position

- a. Aquaculture or fish plant manager
- b. Aquaculture related work of any kind (eg, hatchery, grow out, processing, diver, etc.)
- c. Commercial fisherman
- d. Elected or hereditary First Nation Chief
- e. Local health professional (eg, doctor, nurse)
- f. Local police officer
- g. Logger
- h. Manager or administrative officer of a First Nation Band or Tribal Council
- i. Member of the Chamber of Commerce
- j. Member of the Regional District Council
- k. Member of the Town Council
- l. Mine manager (includes oil and gas)
- m. Mine worker (includes oil and gas)
- n. Pastor, priest or other church leader
- o. Pulp mill, paper mill or sawmill manager
- p. Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill worker
- q. School teacher (primary or secondary)
- r. Union leader or member
# Media Use

The following are questions about newspapers, television and computers.

## 70. How often do you read the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local community newspaper</th>
<th>every day</th>
<th>once or twice a week</th>
<th>once or twice a month</th>
<th>rarely</th>
<th>never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic or First Nation newspaper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional or national newspaper (eg, Vancouver Sun, Globe and Mail)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 71. How often do you watch the following on television?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News</th>
<th>every day</th>
<th>several times a week</th>
<th>once or twice a week</th>
<th>once or twice a month</th>
<th>rarely</th>
<th>never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anything else (including videos and DVDs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 72. Do you have access to the Internet?  

[ ] Yes  
[ ] No  

[Go to Question 75, next page](#)

## 73. If Yes, where do you have access to the Internet?  

(Please select **ALL** that apply.)

[ ] Home  
[ ] School  
[ ] Work  
[ ] Public library  
[ ] Other (Please specify ________________________)

## 74. In a typical week, approximately how many hours do you use the Internet for any of the following activities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Please select number of hours</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1–2</th>
<th>3–5</th>
<th>6+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E-mail.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding information on current events.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment (eg, surfing the Internet, playing games, chat rooms, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (1) (Please specify ________________________)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (2) (Please specify ________________________)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section F: Your Health

This section asks questions about your health and related activities.

75. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?  
(Please fill in the appropriate circle on the scale below.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Dissatisfied ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Satisfied

76. How would you describe the state of your health compared to other persons your age?

Poor ○ Fair ○ Good ○ Very Good ○ Excellent ○

77. How much of the time, over the past two weeks, have you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All of the time</th>
<th>Most of the time</th>
<th>Some of the time</th>
<th>A little of the time</th>
<th>None of the time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Been a nervous person?</td>
<td>○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Felt calm and peaceful?</td>
<td>○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Felt downhearted and blue?</td>
<td>○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Been a happy person?</td>
<td>○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?</td>
<td>○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78. Do you have any long-term health problem or disability which limits daily activities or the work that can be done?

○ Yes ○ No
Section G: Conclusion

This last section asks some questions about yourself which we can use to understand the social backgrounds of people on the BC coast. We will use this information to find out about the way that different people's social backgrounds influence their views.

80. What is your religious background or affiliation?

- ○ Protestant
- ○ Jewish
- ○ Roman Catholic
- ○ None
- ○ Muslim
- ○ Other (Please specify _______________________)

81. How often do you attend a regular religious service?

- ○ At least once a week
- ○ Two or three times a month
- ○ Several times a year
- ○ About once or twice a year
- ○ Rarely or never
### 82. Please indicate the highest level of education completed by you, by your mother and by your father. Please select only one choice per person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>You</th>
<th>Your mother</th>
<th>Your father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. No schooling</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Some elementary school</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Completed elementary school (Grade 8)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Some secondary/high school</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Secondary/high school graduation certificate or equivalent</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Some university</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Master's degree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Professional degree or doctorate</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Other (Please specify ____________________________________________)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 83. Please indicate all the types of technical, trade, and skills training each person has taken. Please select all choices that apply for each person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>You</th>
<th>Your mother</th>
<th>Your father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Some community college</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Community college certificate, diploma, or degree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Some trade training (e.g., carpentry, welding, plumbing)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Completed trade training</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Some job skills training (e.g., computing, massage therapy, herbal medicine, drafting)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Skills training certificate or diploma</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Professional-level crafts/skills (e.g., carving, music, dance, visual arts, weaving, pottery)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Other training (Please specify ______________________________________)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 84. Within the past 5 years, have you taken any job training or work-related courses?

- [ ] No
- [X] Yes

Please specify ____________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________
85. Which of the following income categories best describes your *individual* income from all sources for the past year?

*(Please select only one.)*

- ○ Less than $5,000
- ○ $5,000 to $9,999
- ○ $10,000 to $19,999
- ○ $20,000 to $29,999
- ○ $30,000 to $39,999
- ○ $40,000 to $49,999
- ○ $50,000 to $59,999
- ○ $60,000 to $69,999
- ○ $70,000 to $79,999
- ○ $80,000 to $89,999
- ○ $90,000 to $99,999
- ○ $100,000 and over

86. Which of the following income categories best describes your *household* income for the past year?

*(Please select only one.)*

- ○ Less than $5,000
- ○ $5,000 to $9,999
- ○ $10,000 to $19,999
- ○ $20,000 to $29,999
- ○ $30,000 to $39,999
- ○ $40,000 to $49,999
- ○ $50,000 to $59,999
- ○ $60,000 to $69,999
- ○ $70,000 to $79,999
- ○ $80,000 to $89,999
- ○ $90,000 to $99,999
- ○ $100,000 and over

87. In the past year, what were your sources of income?

*(Please select ALL that apply.)*

- ○ Self-employment
- ○ Wages or salary
- ○ Employment Insurance (EI)
- ○ Social assistance (welfare)
- ○ Personal investments (including RRSPs)
- ○ Work pension
- ○ Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement
- ○ Severance package
- ○ Other *(Please specify ___________________________________________________________)*

88. Is your home:

- ○ Rented/Leased
- ○ Owned
- ○ Other *(Please specify ___________________________________________________________)*
APPENDIX C
Community Member Interview Schedule
THE RESILIENT COMMUNITIES PROJECT

Interview Code #: ______________________________
Interviewer: ______________________________
Date of Interview: ______________________________

Name: _____________________________________
Community: _____________________________________
Address: _____________________________________
_____________________________________
(Please be sure to include postal code)
Telephone Number: _______________________________

Date of Birth: Month _____________ Year 19_____
Gender: □ Male □ Female

Did you fill out the mail-out survey? Yes □ No □

IF NO: Who from your household filled out the survey? _________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

General Demographics

1. How long have you lived in this community? ______________________________

   b. If less than 2 years, where have you lived most of your life (or adult life, if older)? ______________________________

2. Where were you born? ______________________________

3. Where was your mother born? ______________________________

4. Where was your father born? ______________________________

5. What’s your ethnic background? ______________________________
6. If First Nation, which one? ______________________________________
   b. Which Band? ______________________________________________

7. What language do you usually speak at home? ______________________

**Household Composition**

8. What is your current marital status? ________________________________

9. How many children do you have? ______________

10. Including yourself, what is the total number of people currently living in your household? __________

11. Of these people, how many are family members and what is their relation to you? (Interviewer: For all members of the household, note relation to interviewee).
   __________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________

12. Are there any non-family members living in the household?
   b. □ Yes     How many? _____
   c. □ No (Go to question 13)

**Interviewer: If yes, ask what the relation and/or reason is (i.e., friend, boarder, exchange student, etc.).**
   __________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________
IDENTIFICATION AND COMMITMENT

I would like to ask you some questions about how you feel about your community as a place to live.

13. Imagine you are describing your community to someone who is moving here. How would you describe it? (Probe for as much characterizing detail as possible.) (Interviewer: If respondent is having difficulty, tell them that they can describe the community like a person, or as having a personality. For instance, they might say a person is open, closed, mean, full of optimism, and so on.)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

14. Many people see themselves as [community] ites. Is this true of you? (Prompt: How strongly would you say that you identify with this community? Is it a big part of who you are?)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

15. IF NEW TO COMMUNITY: What is it that brought you to this community?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
16. **ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS**: What keeps you here?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

17. **IF NOT RETIRED OR PERMANENTLY OFF WORK**: Would you move away from this community if a good job came up somewhere else? Why?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. If you did move for a job, would you still think of this community as home? Why or why not?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

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EMPLOYMENT

I would now like to ask some questions about making a living in this community.

18. Can you describe your job situation? (Prompts: on temporary layoff, looking for work, homemaker, retired, on illness or disability leave, going to school or taking training, etc.) (Note: ask for length of time as appropriate, e.g. years of retirement)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

19. Have you tried to find a new job or any additional job in the past year? If so, how did you go about trying to do it?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

IF WORKING IN ANY CAPACITY, GO TO Q. 21, IF NOT, GO TO Q. 20.

20. Have you attempted to become eligible for Employment Insurance in the past year? Are there ways you could go about getting enough weeks of work to do that?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

GO TO QUESTION 23, NEXT SECTION
21. **IF EMPLOYED**: What sorts of work do you do? Do you have more than one job? *(Probe whether self-employed, etc.)*

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

22. Let’s talk about how you came to get this work. Did anyone tell you about this job or let you know this job was available? *(Interviewer: IF YES, what is their relationship to respondent?)*

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. **IF NOT CLEAR**: Did you know beforehand anybody who worked at your present place of employment? **IF YES**: Did you talk to them about the job there before you applied for it? **IF YES**: Did they make any suggestions about how to get the job you have now? **IF YES**, what is their relationship to you?
CHARACTERIZING COMMUNITY ECONOMICALLY

Now I’d like to ask you some questions about the economic opportunities in this community.

23. Is this a good place to live in terms of employment or other economic opportunities?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. How does [name of community] compare to other places nearby that you know?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

Overall, would you say that the job possibilities and the economy in [name of community] have gotten better or worse over time? Do any particular examples or observations come to mind explaining why you’d say it’s [better/worse]?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

24. Many communities on the coast have experienced a recent economic shock such as a plant closure or the collapse of a fishery. Has anything like that happened here?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. IF YES: In what way has this community coped with it or changed as a result? Please be as particular as you can.

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

25. Is this the kind of place where people feel they must leave in order to get good work opportunities?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. Are there particular types of people who feel this pressure to leave the most? Why?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
c. Are there other people who try to do just about anything in order to stay and live here? For those that stay (or who want to return), what kinds of things do they do to make it possible to stay here?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

26. Are you aware of anything that people or groups in your community are doing to create new jobs, attract new businesses, improve tourism, that kind of thing? What kinds of things are they doing / trying? Could you describe them to me?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

27. **IF ACTIVITIES ARE IDENTIFIED IN QUESTION 26:** Tell me about the project you know the most about.

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. Which people and/or groups in this community are responsible for getting this activity going?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

c.  How have they gone about getting that to work?  [Did it work/Is it working] well or poorly?  Why?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

28.  **Interviewer: If this is not yet clear, ask:**  Have you been involved in this in any way?  What was your involvement?  How did you come to get involved?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
TRUST

Now I’m going to move on to some general questions about the levels of trust among people and groups who live in this community.

29. Generally speaking, do you think that most people in this community can be trusted?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

b. Do you lock your doors at night?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

c. In [name of community], if you are entering into an agreement with someone here, do you expect people to keep their word? Why or why not?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

30. Even more generally, do you think that most people in this world can be trusted?

_____________________________________________________________________

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_____________________________________________________________________

31. Do you think that people in this community are more trustworthy than those elsewhere (i.e., other places you know of or have lived), or less trustworthy? Why?

_____________________________________________________________________

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403
b. Do you think that this has changed over time?

_____________________________________________________________________
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32. If you were in need of help, is this the sort of community where you could ask most others to help you, or would you be pretty much on your own here? (Probe for neighbours versus family)

_____________________________________________________________________
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33. Can you think of some things that have happened in this community that really shows how well people here trust or don’t trust one another? (Probe: Things lost that were returned? Fights? Disputes over property? Conflict between groups in the community?)

_____________________________________________________________________
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34. Are there any groups in this community that generally don’t trust one another? (Note: If people say it’s not about trust but value differences, feel free to request elaboration.)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
**Personal Networks**

Now I’m going to ask you some questions about your personal relationships with people in this community.

35. I would like to talk about things that you do for one another. For example, in the past year, has anyone come to you and asked for help? This could be anything from fixing the house or car, chopping wood, hunting or berry-picking, dealing with government red tape, help learning how to do something, or help with looking after children or seniors.

b. ☐ No (GO TO QUESTION 35)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What help did you end up giving them, if any?</th>
<th>Did they reciprocate or do something for you in return? If yes, what?</th>
<th>What is the name of this person?</th>
<th>What is their relationship to you? (Are they a close friend, acquaintance, relative, co-worker, or neighbour?)</th>
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<td>Why did they come to you – because you had certain skills, contacts, influence, etc?</td>
<td>Do they live in this community?</td>
<td>What do they do for a living?</td>
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</table>
36. So now let’s look at this question in the reverse. In the past year, have **you** asked anyone for help? Again, for example, with things like fixing the house or car, chopping wood, hunting or berry-picking, dealing with government red tape, help learning how to do something, or help with looking after children or seniors.

b. □ No *(GO TO QUESTION 36)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What help did they end up giving you, if any?</th>
<th>Did you find yourself trying to pay them backing some way?</th>
<th>What is the name of the person who helped you?</th>
<th>What is their relationship to you? (Are they a close friend, acquaintance, relative, co-worker, or neighbour?)</th>
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<td>Why did you ask this person? For example did they have certain skills, contacts, influence, etc?</td>
<td>Do they live in this community?</td>
<td>What do they do for a living?</td>
<td>Did they suggest someone else to contact? If so, do you know why? Was this person able to help?</td>
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I’d now like to ask you some similar questions about seeking help with work or finding a job. Sometimes we call on people for help in finding work or to get information about jobs. These are often people whom we think have some influence or who may know somebody else who has influence. In the past year, have **you** been asked for help or advice from anyone looking for work, trying to raise money to start or run a business, trying to get clients or customers for a business, or needing help running or promoting a business? **(Interviewer: Use the information given in the employment section as a guide).**

b. □ No *(GO TO QUESTION 37)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What help did you end up giving them, if any?</th>
<th>Did they reciprocate or do something for you in return? If yes, what?</th>
<th>What is the name of this person?</th>
<th>What is their relationship to you? (Are they a close friend, acquaintance, relative, co-worker, or neighbour?)</th>
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<td>What do they do for a living?</td>
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38. Again, how about the reverse? Have you asked anyone for help or advice either finding work, getting money to start or run a business, help getting clients or customers for your business, help running or promoting a business, and so on? (Interviewer: Use the information given in the employment section as a guide).

b. □ No (GO TO QUESTION 38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What help did they end up giving you, if any?</th>
<th>Did you find yourself reciprocating in any way, or trying to pay them back in some way?</th>
<th>What is the name of this person?</th>
<th>What is their relationship to you? (Are they a close friend, acquaintance, relative, co-worker, or neighbour?)</th>
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<td>Why did you ask this person? For example did they have certain skills, contacts, influence, etc?</td>
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**Community Leadership**

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the leaders of this community. This can be **anyone** whom you think is a leader – it doesn’t have to be an “official” or elected leader.

39. Who are the leaders here, and how would you describe their role or position in this community? *(Interviewer: Record up to five.)*

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role within community</th>
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☐ Respondent listed self
40. Of the people you just listed, are there any people who really stand out because of what they have been able to make happen here? (For example, getting things going or getting things started?) Name up to three.

1. ____________________________________________________________

2. ____________________________________________________________

3. ____________________________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Named</th>
<th>What sorts of things have they done for the community?</th>
<th>How are they able to get these kinds of things done? Be as specific as you can.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>If not yet mentioned:</strong> Does this person have ties outside the community that make these things possible?</td>
<td><strong>What is your relationship to this person? (e.g. relative, friend, co-worker, acquaintance)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Is this someone whom you trust? Any specific examples why or why not?</strong></td>
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41. Going back to the earlier list, of the five people you listed as leaders, are there any who have been of help to you personally? If yes, who? *(Note: ONE example only.)*

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

b. How did that come about?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

c. What sort of help did you ask them for? Were they able to help? If yes, how?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

d. What is your relationship to this person? For example, are they related to you in some way: a close friend, a co-worker, an acquaintance, or a friend of a friend? How long have you known them?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

42. Officially or not, do you play any role in the leadership of this community? If yes, what do you do?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________
SOCIAL GROUPS AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

I would now like to ask you some questions about community events and associations.

43. If you had to describe this community in terms of the different groups or types of people who live here, what would those groups be (e.g., ethnic or cultural groups, different social groups such as retirees, neighbourhood groups, different interest groups, groups of workers or professionals, and so on)? (Note: wanting to get at perceived social landscape; avoid anchoring on any one group.)

_____________________________________________________________________
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44. Are there any associations or organizations in this community that stand out as being particularly important? (Probe for church groups, First Nations groups, service organizations, health or healing groups, etc.)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. Why are these associations and organizations important?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

45. Are there regular activities or special events in this community where people can get together? Can you give me some examples? (Probe for farmer’s markets, sporting events, Bingo, Legion, Church groups, quilting groups, etc.)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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46. Are there informal meetings or places where people get together to discuss things that seem to be particularly important to things happening around here (for example, in a local pub or someone’s house)?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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47. Is this a community where it is hard or easy to get volunteers? (Probe for examples, motivation, social pressures, identification. What encourages people in this community to become involved?)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
b. **IF NOT YET MENTIONED:** Are volunteers important in this community? What kinds of things do they do for the community?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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_____________________________________________________________________

48. Have you personally been involved in bringing about any community events or activities?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. Can you describe in as much detail as possible how and why that happened?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

c. Why did you agree to get involved?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
d. Have you made any important contacts or friends through this involvement?

_____________________________________________________________________
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e. **IF YES:** When you think about these particular ties, have they helped you or benefited you in any way? Can you give me some examples?

_____________________________________________________________________
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49. Do you pay much attention to local community or district politics?

_____________________________________________________________________
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b. Do you attend Town or Regional District Council meetings?

_____________________________________________________________________
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c. Do you read their minutes?

_____________________________________________________________________
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d. Do you keep up to date with what the Band Council is doing?

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50. Have you been personally involved in local community or district politics?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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_____________________________________________________________________

b. **IF YES:** Do you think your involvement has had an effect on how decisions are made in this community? *(Probe for how?)*

_____________________________________________________________________
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51. Do you travel outside the community for activities, work or events regularly? Often? Can you give me some examples, including where you go?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. Have you made any important contacts or friends by doing this?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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_____________________________________________________________________

c. **IF YES:** When you think about these outside ties, have they helped you or benefited you in any way? Can you give me some examples?

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d. Is this coming and going outside the community difficult or easy to do - because of cost, effort, physical or travel barriers?

_____________________________________________________________________

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52. Are there any local activists in the community that you know or are well-known generally? These might be environmental activists, peace or justice activists, or people who work to support resources workers such as those working in fishing or logging. Please list as many activists (and names of their organizations) as come to mind.

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

b. IF YES: How important are these local activists to this community? (Gist: defining, dividing or contribution to the community?)

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

c. Are they well-connected locally or are their ties mostly to people who live in other parts of the province or country? What about their organizations? Are they well connected locally or are their ties mostly outside of the community?

_____________________________________________________________________

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422
SOCIAL MEMORY AND TOURISM

I would now like to ask you some questions about the history of your community.

53. What would you say are some of the most important events in the history of this community?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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_____________________________________________________________________

b. Why or how are these particular events important?

_____________________________________________________________________
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54. Many communities have experienced a very negative event in their past. This can be anything from disease outbreaks or residential schooling in First Nation communities to disasters at sea, natural hazards like fires or floods, things like that. Has anything like that happened here? (Probe for particulars on dates, details, as possible.)

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b. Do people often talk about or tell stories of these events? Can you give me an example?

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_____________________________________________________________________

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_____________________________________________________________________

c. Do you think that these events helped bring people together or pulled the community apart?

_____________________________________________________________________

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_____________________________________________________________________
EDUCATION AND INCOME

55. What’s the last grade in school you completed?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. Have you taken any training or other courses? (Prompt for community college courses or diploma, trades training – i.e., plumbing, welding, job skills training such as computing, massage therapy, professional level crafts such as carving, music, dance, pottery, etc.)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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56. Approximately how much money did you personally make last year (before any taxes)? SHOW CARD 1.

1 □ less than $5,000 7 □ $50,000 to $59,999
2 □ $5,000 to $9,999 8 □ $60,000 to $69,999
3 □ $10,000 to $19,999 9 □ $70,000 to $79,999
4 □ $20,000 to $29,999 10 □ $80,000 to $89,999
5 □ $30,000 to $39,999 11 □ $90,000 to $99,999
6 □ $40,000 to $49,999 12 □ $100,000 and over
57. Approximately what was your household income for last year (before any taxes)? SHOW CARD 2.

1 □ less than $5,000
2 □ $5,000 to $9,999
3 □ $10,000 to $19,999
4 □ $20,000 to $29,999
5 □ $30,000 to $39,999
6 □ $40,000 to $49,999
7 □ $50,000 to $59,999
8 □ $60,000 to $69,999
9 □ $70,000 to $79,999
10 □ $80,000 to $89,999
11 □ $90,000 to $99,999
12 □ $100,000 and over

58. In the past year, what were your sources of income? (Please select ALL that apply.) SHOW CARD 3.

01. □ Self-employment
02. □ Wages or salary
03. □ Employment insurance (EI)
04. □ Social assistance (welfare)
05. □ Personal investments (including RRSPs)
06. □ Work pension
07. □ Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement
08. □ Severance package
09. □ Other (Please specify: __________________________)

59. Do you rent or own your home? __________________________
RESPONDENT COMMENTS

Are there any comments you would like to make about this interview?

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427
INTERVIEWER NOTES:

Describe the physical setting, any distractions or disruptions, emotional reactions, etc.

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APPENDIX D
Community Leader Interview Schedule
THE RESILIENT COMMUNITIES PROJECT

Interview Code #: ______________________________

Interviewer: ______________________________

Date of Interview: ______________________________

Name: _____________________________________

Community: _____________________________________

Address: _____________________________________

_____________________________________

(Please be sure to include postal code)

Telephone Number: _______________________________

Date of Birth: Month _____________ Year 19______

Gender: □ Male □ Female

General Demographics

1. How long have you lived in this community? _________________________

   b. If less than 2 years, where have you lived most of your life (or adult life, if older)? _______________________________________________

2. Where were you born? ____________________________________________

3. Where was your mother born? _____________________________________

4. Where was your father born? ______________________________________

5. What’s your ethnic background? ____________________________________

   ________________________________________________________________

6. If First Nation, which one? _______________________________________

   b. Which Band? ______________________________________________

7. What language do you usually speak at home? ________________________
Household Composition

8. What is your current marital status? _________________________________

9. How many children do you have? ________________

10. Including yourself, what is the total number of people currently living in your household? _________

11. Of these people, how many are family members and what is their relation to you? (Interviewer: For all members of the household, note relation to interviewee).

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

12. Are there any non-family members living in the household?
   b. ☐ Yes How many? ____
   c. ☐ No (Go to question 13)

Interviewer: If yes, ask what the relation and/or reason is (i.e., friend, boarder, exchange student, etc.).
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

CHARACTERIZATION / EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY

1. Has your community changed in the last 5 years? (Prompts: socially, economically).
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

431
2. How has your community changed **socially** in the last 5 years? How has it changed? Why has it changed? (*Prompts: new people coming in, people leaving/returning, crime, number and quality of services, social tensions, participation, trust).  
_____________________________________________________________________
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3. How has your community changed **economically** in the last 5 years? How has it changed? Why has it changed? (*Prompts: changes in employment opportunities, changes in the kinds of development proposed, businesses opening or closing).  
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4. What do you think drives economic development here?  
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5. What kinds of things, economically speaking, might “make or break” the community?  
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6. What do you see as the most significant strengths of this community? (Prompts:
Are they economic, social, political, geographic, etc.? Internal or external?
Individual or collective? Why are they strengths?)

_____________________________________________________________________
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7. What do you see as the most important weaknesses of this community? (Prompts:
Are they economic, social, political, geographic, etc.? Internal or external?
Individual or collective? Why are they weaknesses?)

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8. What opportunities do you see this community having?

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a. Are these opportunities being taken up? By whom? How? If not, why not?

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9. Do you see any threats to the social and economic well-being of this community?
What are they? (Prompts: What are the sources or root causes?)

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433
10. Over the next 5-10 years, how would you like this community to change?

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a. What sorts of things would need to happen for the community to change in this way?

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11. Over the next 5-10 years, how do you expect this community to change?
(Prompts: what are the sources of these expected changes?)

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12. Thinking about the changes that you just mentioned, which changes would you say are likely to be good for the community and which changes are likely to be bad? Why? (Prompts: social changes, economic changes, other changes. Prompt especially for view of economic development activities)

_____________________________________________________________________
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13. Can you tell me who you consider to be leaders in the community. They don’t have to be ‘official’ or elected leaders – just anyone that you think has a leadership role in the community.

a. What are their names and roles in the community? *Interviewer: if respondent lists self, say that will come back for detail in a moment*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role within community</th>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. Going back to this list of leaders, can you identify three who really stand out (because they make things happen)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Named</th>
<th>What sorts of things have they done for the community?</th>
<th>How are they able to get these kinds of things done? Be as specific as you can.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>If not yet mentioned:</strong> Does this person have ties outside the community that make these things possible?</td>
<td>What is your relationship to this person? (e.g. relative, friend, co-worker, acquaintance)</td>
<td>Is this someone whom you trust? Any specific examples why or why not?</td>
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</table>
15. What are your current leadership positions or roles?
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_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

16. How did you come to have your main or most important position/role?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

   a. Did you know anybody in your organization/field before you started there?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

   b. Were you asked to take on the role?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

PROJECTS
17. Have you worked on any projects intended to enhance the well-being of people in the community? Such as:

   a. Projects to create new jobs, attract new businesses, improve tourism, that kind of thing? What projects have you and/or are you working on?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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438
b. Projects to help out less fortunate community members, increase community cohesion, contribute to community health, that kind of thing? What projects have you and/or are you working on?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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18. Can you tell me about one of these projects in more detail?
   a. Who initiated the project?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

b. How did you or your organization become involved? (Prompts: were you approached? Did you seek out the project?)

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_____________________________________________________________________
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c. How have you gone about making the project a success?

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d. Has the project helped to bring different groups or individuals together?
e. Did you attempt to obtain support or help from, and/or did you come to collaborate or cooperate with, any organizations (including the government), businesses or individuals outside your community (Victoria, Ottawa, Vancouver, other coastal communities)? (Interviewer: specify whether help or collaboration or both)

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i. Did you approach them or did they approach you? How did that come about?

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ii. What kind of resources were they able to offer? (Prompts: funding, resources, opportunities, existing projects?)

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iii. What is your relationship to these groups/people? (Prompts: organizational contact, friend, family, acquaintance, co-worker)

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440
f. Did you attempt to obtain support or help from, and/or did you come to collaborate or cooperate with, any organizations (including local government), businesses or individuals inside your community? (Interviewer: specify whether help or collaboration or both)

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
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i. Did you approach them or did they approach you? How did that come about?

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ii. What kind of resources were/are they able to offer?

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iii. What is your relationship to these groups/people? (Prompts: organizational contact, friend, family, acquaintance, co-worker)

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441
i. Did you approach them or did they approach you? How did that come about?

ii. What kind of resources were/are they able to offer?

iii. What is your relationship to these people? (Prompts: friend, acquaintance, co-worker, organizational contact)

h. What is your sense of community support for your project?

i. Are people aware of the project? Are they interested in it? Do they think that it is a good idea?
ii. Is community support important to the success of your project?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

iii. Have you attempted to build support? If so, how?

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iv. Does the community trust the people involved with the project?

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_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

v. Has your project helped to increase the community’s trust of leaders and/or of each other?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

i. How **involved** are local people in your project?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

i. Have you attempted to get people, organizations or businesses involved through, for example, volunteering? If so, how?

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ii. Is it easy or difficult to get people involved?

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iii. What kind of assistance do you look for from volunteers?

(Prompts: Donations of time, physical labour, skills, machinery/tools, contacts, influence, etc.)

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j. Are there any barriers to the success of the project? What are they?

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k. Are you aware of any who do not want the project to go forward? If so, why might that be the case?

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l. Is there any way for us to get more information on the project? (Websites, brochures, proposals, etc.)

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EDUCATION AND INCOME (If not previously interviewed)

19. What’s the last grade in school you completed?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

a. Have you taken any training or other courses? (Prompt for community college courses or diploma, trades training – i.e., plumbing, welding, job skills training such as computing, massage therapy, professional level crafts such as carving, music, dance, pottery, etc.)

_____________________________________________________________________
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20. Approximately how much money did you **personally** make last year (before any taxes)?  **SHOW CARD 1.**

1  □ less than $5,000  7  □ $50,000 to $59,999
2  □ $5,000 to $9,999  8  □ $60,000 to $69,999
3  □ $10,000 to $19,999  9  □ $70,000 to $79,999
4  □ $20,000 to $29,999  10 □ $80,000 to $89,999
5  □ $30,000 to $39,999  11 □ $90,000 to $99,999
6  □ $40,000 to $49,999  12 □ $100,000 and over
21. Approximately what was your **household** income for last year (before any taxes)?

**SHOW CARD 2.**

1  □ less than $5,000  
2  □ $5,000 to $9,999  
3  □ $10,000 to $19,999  
4  □ $20,000 to $29,999  
5  □ $30,000 to $39,999  
6  □ $40,000 to $49,999  
7  □ $50,000 to $59,999  
8  □ $60,000 to $69,999  
9  □ $70,000 to $79,999  
10 □ $80,000 to $89,999  
11 □ $90,000 to $99,999  
12 □ $100,000 and over

22. In the past year, what were your sources of income? *(Please select ALL that apply.)* **SHOW CARD 3.**

01. □ Self-employment  
02. □ Wages or salary  
03. □ Employment insurance (EI)  
04. □ Social assistance (welfare)  
05. □ Personal investments (including RRSPs)  
06. □ Work pension  
07. □ Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement  
08. □ Severance package  
09. □ Other (Please specify: ____________________________)

23. Do you rent or own your home? ______________________________
RESPONDENT COMMENTS

Are there any comments you would like to make about this interview?

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447
INTERVIEWER NOTES:
Describe the physical setting, any distractions or disruptions, emotional reactions, etc.

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APPENDIX E
Old Massett Community Survey
THE COASTAL COMMUNITIES PROJECT
Old Massett Interview Schedule

Interview Code #: ______________________________

Interviewer: ______________________________

Date of Interview: ______________________________

Community: ______________________________________

Date of Birth: Day _____ Month _____________ Year 19___

Gender: □ Male □ Female

General Demographics

1. How long have you lived in this community? _________________________

b. If less than 2 years, where have you lived most of your life (or adult life, if older)?

2. Where were you born? ____________________________________________

3. Where was your mother born? _____________________________________

4. Where was your father born? ______________________________________

5. Which Band do you belong to? _____________________________________

6. What language do you usually speak at home? _________________________

7. Do you speak the Haida language? □ Yes □ No

8. Do you understand the Haida language? □ Yes □ No

Comments:

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________
Household Composition

9. What is your current marital status? ________________

10. How many children do you have? ________________
   b. How many children are currently living with you? __________
   c. How many of these children are in school (either elementary or secondary)? __________

11. Including yourself, what is the total number of people currently living in your household? __________

12. For each of these people, what is their relation to you? (Interviewer: If family member, get specific relation. For non-family members, ask for reason/relation – i.e., friend, boarder, exchange student, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation of Person to Interviewee</th>
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</table>
**Employment**

13. How many people in this household are currently working? ________________

   b. For each of these people, please tell me what type of work they are doing (i.e., full-time, part-time, self-employed, seasonal), provide a general job description, and tell me how long they have been working or will be working at this particular job. (*Interviewer – be sure to ask about seasonal employment both now and at other times of the year - probe as to what kind of work it is, when it started, and when it ends.*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Type of Work/Job Description</th>
<th>Duration of Work</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>
14. How many adults in this household are currently NOT working? ________________
   (Interviewer: Do not include anyone under the age of 18 here.)

   b. For each of these people, what is their job status?

   (Interviewer: Probe for current status: temporarily laid-off, expecting to return to the same job; looking for work, homemaker; retired; on illness or disability leave; going to school, etc.
   
   Probe for main reason for stopping work: laid off or let go; company downsizing or closure; own illness or disability; other person’s illness or disability; child care responsibilities; other personal or family responsibilities; returned to school; retired, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Person</th>
<th>Current Status</th>
<th>Main Reason for Stopping Work</th>
<th>Duration of Unemployment</th>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>
15. Is anyone living in this household currently looking for work and has been unable to find it?

□ Yes           □ No

b. If yes, what kind of work are they looking for?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

16. Does anyone in this household work as an artist and sell their art to help make a living?

□ Yes           □ No

b. If yes, how many? _______________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What kind of art?</th>
<th>Approximately how much did they make last year - more than $5,000? (Average Price)</th>
<th>Approximately how much did they make last year - more than $50,000? (Average Price)</th>
<th>How do they market their art to the public?</th>
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</table>
Your Community

17. I am very satisfied with this community as a place to live.

☐ Strongly Disagree  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Neutral  ☐ Agree  ☐ Strongly Agree

b. If disagree, what would you change to make this community a better place to live?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

18. People in this community have a weak sense of community.

☐ Strongly Disagree  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Neutral  ☐ Agree  ☐ Strongly Agree

b. Why do you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

c. If agree, what could be done to improve the sense of community here?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

19. It is hard for people to make close friends in this community.

☐ Strongly Disagree  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Neutral  ☐ Agree  ☐ Strongly Agree

b. Why do you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
20. I would move away from this community if a good job came up somewhere else.

- □ Strongly Disagree
- □ Disagree
- □ Neutral
- □ Agree
- □ Strongly Agree

b. Why do you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

21. The future of this community depends mostly on what happens on the outside of the community.

- □ Strongly Disagree
- □ Disagree
- □ Neutral
- □ Agree
- □ Strongly Agree

b. What makes you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

22. I don't have any say about what the political leaders in this community do.

- □ Strongly Disagree
- □ Disagree
- □ Neutral
- □ Agree
- □ Strongly Agree

b. Why do you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
23. The political leaders in this community are good, capable people.

[ ] Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ] Agree [ ] Strongly Agree

b. Why do you say that??

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

24. The political leaders in this community generally represent the interests of a few powerful people.

[ ] Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ] Agree [ ] Strongly Agree

b. Why do you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

c. If agree, who are those people?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

d. If agree, how does this affect how things are decided in this community?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

25. Compared to other communities on the B.C. coast, this community is doing pretty well economically.

[ ] Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ] Agree [ ] Strongly Agree

b. What makes you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________
c. If disagree, what do you think could be done to improve the economic situation here?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

26. The leaders in this community play an important role in its social life.

☐ Strongly Disagree  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Neutral  ☐ Agree  ☐ Strongly Agree

b. What makes you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

c. If agree, what sorts of things do they do?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

d. If disagree, what sort of things should they be doing?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

27. Using First Nation culture and history is a good way to promote economic development in this community.

☐ Strongly Disagree  ☐ Disagree  ☐ Neutral  ☐ Agree  ☐ Strongly Agree

b. What makes you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

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c. If disagree, how do you think economic development should be promoted here?

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________________
For each pair of items below, please indicate the number along the scale that comes closest to how you feel about your community.

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<tr>
<td>28. Good place to raise kids</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poor place to raise kids</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Good employment opportunities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poor employment opportunities</td>
<td></td>
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<td>30. Safe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td></td>
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<td>31. Isolated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not isolated</td>
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<td>32. Good schools</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poor schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. High crime</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Low crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Good health care</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poor health care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Good place for First Nation people to live</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poor place for First Nation people to live</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Politics, Voting, and Leadership

35. Did you vote in the last federal election on June 28, 2004?
   - □ Yes
   - □ No
   - □ Not eligible
   - □ Don’t know/can’t remember

36. How interested are you in national politics?
   - □ Very interested
   - □ Somewhat interested
   - □ Slightly interested
   - □ Not at all interested

37. Did you vote in the last provincial election on May 17, 2005?
   - □ Yes
   - □ No
   - □ Not eligible
   - □ Don’t know/can’t remember

38. How interested are you in provincial politics?
   - □ Very interested
   - □ Somewhat interested
   - □ Slightly interested
   - □ Not at all interested
39. How interested are you in Band Council politics?
   □ Very interested
   □ Somewhat interested
   □ Slightly interested
   □ Not at all interested

   b. If slightly or not at all, why?

40. Did you vote in the last Band Council elections?
   □ Yes
   □ No
   □ Not eligible
   □ Don't know

   b. If not, why not?

41. Are you planning to vote in the Band Council elections in December?
   □ Yes
   □ No
   □ Not eligible
   □ Don't know

   b. If no, why not?

42. What kinds of things does the Band Council do for the community?
43. What do you see as the role of the Hereditary Chiefs in the Village?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

44. What kinds of things do the Hereditary Chiefs do for the community?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

45. In the past year, how many times have you attended a Band Council Committee meeting (e.g., Health, Social Development, Economic Development)?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

b. Was there a specific reason why you attended?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

c. If you haven’t attended a meeting, why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

46. In the past year, how often have you attended a Band Council Community Meeting?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

b. If yes, what was the meeting about and what was your reason for attending?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
c. If no, why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

d. Would you be more likely to attend a Community Meeting if there were door prizes offered and refreshment were served? Why or why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

e. What would be more important for you to attend – a Community Meeting or a social event taking place at the same time? Why?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

47. In the past year, has anything come up that made you want to talk to the Band Council about it? If yes, what?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

b. Did you do anything about it? □ Yes □ No

i. If yes, what did you do? (i.e., attend a meeting, speak up in a meeting, write a letter to the Council).

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

ii. If no, why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
48. In the past year, have you approached a Council member to discuss an issue that is important to you?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

b. How did you approach them (i.e., by phone, by e-mail, in person, etc.)?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

c. Are there particular Councilors that you would approach? Why or why not?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

d. If you did approach a Council Member, would you expect him or her to do something about the issue? Why or why not?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

49. Have you considered, or would you consider, running for Council? Why or why not?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

50. Do you think the Council has a good balance of men and women? Why or why not?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

b. If there were more women on Council, do you think things would be done differently? What do you think would change?
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
51. Do you have or have you had any involvement with the Council of the Haida Nation? If yes, what sort of involvement is/was that?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________

52. Do you know what the Council of the Haida Nation does? If yes, what do they do? If no, why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________________
### Inter-Community Relations

53. We are interested in the links that people have with other places.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Please list the communities you visit most often.</th>
<th>In the past 30 days, how many times did you visit this community?</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Using the categories given, please indicate your reasons for visiting this community.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ____________________________</td>
<td>0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10+</td>
<td>1 Entertainment/Recreation</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ____________________________</td>
<td>0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10+</td>
<td>2 Shopping</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ____________________________</td>
<td>0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10+</td>
<td>3 Health-related (i.e., medical/dental appointments)</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ____________________________</td>
<td>0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10+</td>
<td>4 Visiting family or friends</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ____________________________</td>
<td>0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10+</td>
<td>5 Business</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54. Do you have family in other communities on the Island? If no, go to Q. 60. If yes, please provide the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to You</th>
<th>Community They Live In</th>
<th>In the past month, how many times have you gone to see them?</th>
<th>In the past month, how many times have they come to see you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
55. Which of the following places would you think of as part of your community rather than being neighbouring or nearby communities? (Please select ALL that apply)

- Masset
- Port Clement
- Queen Charlotte City
- Skidegate
- Tlaga gaw tlass/ Bluejacket
- Tlell
- None of the above
- Other (Please specify: ________________________)

Trust

The next set of statements deal with issues of trust.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>You can’t be too careful in dealing with people.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Most people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Generally, I don’t trust people from outside this community as much as I trust people who live here.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>There are groups in this community that I do not trust.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Young people in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>In this community, you should never leave your home without locking it.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Most people in this community are likely to try to take advantage of you if they get the chance.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>The police responsible for this community can be trusted to do a good job.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>I trust the leaders of this community to respond to community needs.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Business leaders in this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>The elected leaders (i.e., Band Council) of this community can be trusted.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Your Social Activities

68. The following question asks about your current involvement in various activities and where they are located.

Are you currently involved with any of the following? (Please select Yes for ALL that apply.)

If yes, are these activities located mainly inside your community, outside your community, or both?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>Inside</th>
<th>Outside</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Artistic or craft/hobby group (i.e., carving, painting weaving)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Business (e.g., Band Economic Development Committee, Native Brotherhood, North Coast Tribal Council)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Church-related activities (e.g., bible study or care group, coffee or social committee, Anglican Church Women)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Community Service Group (e.g., Meals on Wheels, Rediscovery, Fire Department, Food Bank)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cultural or ethnic associations (e.g., Repatriation Committee, Xaad Kil, Language Nest, Haida Dance Groups)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Educational (e.g., Parent Advisory Council, School Board/Trustee, Reading Club)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Environmental (e.g., Gowgaia Institute, Island Protection Society, Delkatla Wildlife Sanctuary Society)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Health (e.g., Health Auxiliary, alternative or traditional healing groups, Cancer Society)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Crime or justice groups (e.g., Restorative Justice Committee; Aboriginal policing committee)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Political – community level (e.g., political party, Band Council)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Political – Council of the Haida Nation</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Self-help or support</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Service Club (e.g., Lions Club, Legion)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Social club (e.g., card playing, music, book club)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If yes, are these activities located mainly inside your community, outside your community, or both?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>Inside</th>
<th>Outside</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please specify:

---

69. If you added up all of the hours you have spent with these groups in the past 30 days, approximately how many hours would that be?

- □ 1-5
- □ 6-10
- □ 11-15
- □ 16-20
- □ more than 20

70. Of all the groups or activities you are currently involved in, which ONE do you spend the most time at?

Please provide the specific name of this group or activity (If none, go to Question 79)

---

71. For this group or activity, please answer the following:

b. Approximately how many hours did you spend in the past 30 days?

- □ 0
- □ 1-5
- □ 6-10
- □ 11 or more

c. When the group gets together, how many people are likely to attend?

- □ 1-5
- □ 6-10
- □ 11-15
- □ 16 or more

d. Do you ever contact any members of this group other than for meetings?

- □ Yes
- □ No

e. Do you ever get together with any members of this group other than for meetings?

- □ Yes
- □ No
Please select one of the following statements:

- The members of this group are mostly men.
- The members of this group are mostly women.
- There is a fairly equal gender balance in this group.

Please select one of the following statements:

- The members of this group are mostly Haida.
- The members of this group are mostly non-Haida.
- There is a fairly equal balance of Haida and non-Haida in this group.
- Don't know.

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about this group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>I trust the members of this group more than I trust most other people.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Being a member of this group gives me more respect in this community.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>I have increased my contacts <strong>in this community</strong> through this group.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Belonging to this group has given me more contacts with people <strong>outside this community</strong>.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>If I needed a job, I could use the contacts I have made through this group to help me find one.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do you currently help out as a volunteer in this community?

- Yes
- No

In the past 30 days, approximately how many hours did you volunteer?

- 0
- 1-2
- 3-5
- 6-10
- 11 or more

For what group(s)? ____________________________________________
75. We are interested in the activities that you do with people who do not live in your household.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>This community</th>
<th>Another community</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had a meal at a restaurant with others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had a meal with others in your home or their home?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched a movie or television program with others in your home or their home?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Played cards or games with others in your home or their home?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Played Bingo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone to a church social function?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone to a religious service?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a sports event?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated with others in a sports or recreational activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone with others to a bar or tavern?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone shopping with others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone fishing or hunting with others?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated with others in a craft or artistic activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in a First Nation cultural or social or religious activity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please specify.
76. Do you hold any of the following positions within your community right now? (Please select ALL that apply.)

- [ ] Aquaculture related work of any kind (e.g. hatchery, processing, diver, etc.)
- [ ] Band Council employee
- [ ] Business owner
- [ ] Community Police Officer or Aboriginal Policing Officer
- [ ] Council of the Haida Nation employee
- [ ] Elder
- [ ] Elected Band Councilor
- [ ] Elected Chief Councilor
- [ ] Elected Member – Council of the Haida Nation
- [ ] First Nation artist
- [ ] Fishing boat owner or skipper
- [ ] Fish plant manager
- [ ] Health or wellness counselor
- [ ] Hereditary Chief
- [ ] Local health professional (e.g., doctor, nurse)
- [ ] Logger
- [ ] Manager or administrative officer of a First Nation Band or Tribal Council
- [ ] Mayor or Elected Councilor – Masset Village Council
- [ ] Member of the Native Brotherhood
- [ ] Pastor, priest or other church leader
- [ ] Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill manager
- [ ] Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill worker
- [ ] School teacher (primary or secondary)
- [ ] Traditional healer
- [ ] Traditional spiritual leader
- [ ] Union leader or member
The following are positions that might be held by other people in your community. We would like to know whether you know anyone in each of these positions. If you do, please indicate whether these people are acquaintances, close friends, or relatives, and whether these people live inside or outside of your community by telling me how many of these people you know in the boxes below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF POSITION</th>
<th>Number of ACQUAINTANCES</th>
<th>Number of CLOSE FRIENDS</th>
<th>Number of RELATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>Inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereditary Chief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected Chief Councilor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected Band Councilor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band Manager or Administrator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band Council employee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected Member – Council of the Haida Nation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of the Haida Nation employee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation artist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional spiritual leader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor, priest, or other church leader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of the Native Brotherhood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor or Elected Councilor, Masset Town Council</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish plant manager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture-related work of any kind (e.g., hatchery, processing, diver, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing boat owner or skipper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE OF POSITION</td>
<td>Number of ACQUAINTANCES</td>
<td>Number of CLOSE FRIENDS</td>
<td>Number of RELATIVES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local health professional (e.g., doctor, nurse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health or wellness counselor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill manager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulp mill, paper mill or saw mill worker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union leader or member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Media Use

78. How often do you read the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Every day</th>
<th>Once a week</th>
<th>Every two weeks</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queen Charlotte Observer</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Massett Newsletter</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional or national newspaper (e.g., Vancouver Sun, Globe &amp; Mail)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79. How often do you do the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Every day</th>
<th>Several times a week</th>
<th>Once or twice a week</th>
<th>A few times a month</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watch the news on television</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch anything else on television (including videos and DVDs)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play video games</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80. Do you have any means of access to the Internet?

☐ Yes       ☐ No► (Go to question 88)

b. If yes, where do you have access to the Internet? (Please check ALL that apply.)

☐ Home
☐ School
☐ Work
☐ Public library
☐ Other (Please specify: __________________________)
81. **In a typical week**, approximately how many hours do you use the Internet for any of the following activities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Circle number of hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E-mail</td>
<td>0 1-2 3-5 6+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding information on current events</td>
<td>0 1-2 3-5 6+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment (e.g., surfing the Internet, playing games, chat rooms, etc.)</td>
<td>0 1-2 3-5 6+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Please specify: _________________)</td>
<td>0 1-2 3-5 6+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Your Health**

82. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?

Dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Satisifed

83. How much of the time, over the past two weeks, have you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All of the time</th>
<th>Most of the time</th>
<th>Some of the time</th>
<th>A little of the time</th>
<th>None of the time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Been a nervous person?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Felt calm and peaceful?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Felt downhearted and blue?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Been a happy person?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84. If you would like to get some help dealing with any of the above issues, would you know who to contact? ☐ Yes ☐ No

a. If yes, who would you contact or where would you go?

_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

85. Do you have any long-term health problem or disability which limits daily activities or the work that can be done?

☐ Yes ☐ No
86. In the past 12 months, how many times have you had contact with any of the following about your physical or mental health?

Circle how many times

A. Family doctor or general practitioner
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
B. Nurse or nurse practitioner
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
C. Social service worker
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
D. Home care worker
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
E. Chiropractor, naturopath, alternative medicine
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
F. Traditional healer or elder
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
G. Co-worker
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
H. Pastor or priest
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
I. Close friend
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
J. Spouse or partner
   0  1-2  3-5  6+
K. Other family member
   0  1-2  3-5  6+

87. In the past year, have you used traditional healing methods for any of your health concerns?

□ Yes  □ No  □ Didn’t have any health concerns (Go to Q. 88)

b. If yes, whom did you go to?
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________

c. What did they do and were they successful in addressing your health concern? Why or why not?
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________

d. If no, why didn’t you consider traditional healing? (Go to question 89)
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________
88. If you were dealing with a health concern, would you consider traditional healing methods before non-traditional methods? Why or why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

89. What sort of health issues would you be most likely to seek traditional healing methods to help with? Why?

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

90. What sort of health issues would you be least likely to seek traditional healing methods to help with? Why?

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

91. Would you inform your doctor if you were using traditional healing methods? □ Yes □ No

b. Why or why not?

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

92. Whose responsibility is it to take care of your health, yours or your doctor’s? □ Self □ Doctor

b. Why do you say that?

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________
Conclusion

93. What is your religious background or affiliation?

☐ Anglican
☐ Jehovah Witness
☐ Mormon
☐ Protestant
☐ Roman Catholic
☐ Other (Please specify: __________________________)
☐ None

94. How often do you attend a regular religious service?

☐ At least once a week
☐ Two or three times a month
☐ Several times a year
☐ About once or twice a year
☐ Rarely or never

95. How often do you attend a traditional spiritual activity?

☐ At least once a week
☐ Two or three times a month
☐ Several times a year
☐ About once or twice a year
☐ Rarely or never

b. What types of activities are these?
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________
_______________________________________________________________________________
96. Please indicate the level of **formal** education completed by you, your mother and by your father. **Please select only ONE choice per person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>YOU</th>
<th>YOUR MOTHER</th>
<th>YOUR FATHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some elementary school</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed elementary school (Grade 8)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some secondary/high school</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/high school graduation certificate or equivalent</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional degree or doctorate</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Please specify: )</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97. Please indicate all the types of technical, trade, and skills training each person has taken. **Please select ALL choices that apply for each person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Training</th>
<th>YOU</th>
<th>YOUR MOTHER</th>
<th>YOUR FATHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some community college</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community college certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some trade training (e.g., carpentry, welding, plumbing)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed trade training</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some job skills training (e.g., computing, massage therapy, herbal medicines, drafting)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills training certificate or diploma</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-level crafts/skills (e.g., carving, music, dance, weaving, visual arts)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other training (Please specify: )</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98. Within the past 5 years, have you taken any job training or work-related courses?

☐ Yes  Please specify:

____________________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________________

☐ No
Many skills are learned informally, from parents, close relatives, and/or elders. These skills often take the form of knowledge about traditional activities such as fishing and food-gathering, or cultural knowledge such as customs and conventions. Which of the following skills have you learned and who did you learn these skills from?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge/Skill</th>
<th>Who did you learn from and what is their relation to you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Artistic skills (e.g., weaving, carving, painting, button blanket-making)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Canning and/or preserving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Cedar bark gathering and/or spruce root gathering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Cultural expression (e.g., dancing, singing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Cultural knowledge (e.g., stories, traditions, customs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Family/clan history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Fishing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Food gathering (e.g., berries, mushrooms, clams, crabs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Hunting and trapping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Medicine gathering, plant gathering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge/Skill</td>
<td>Who did you learn from and what is their relation to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Medicine preparation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Traditional food preparation techniques, cutting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Other, please specify:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Income**

100. Which of the following income categories best describes your **INDIVIDUAL** income from all sources for the past year? (Please check only one.)

- [ ] $less than $5,000
- [ ] $5,000 to $9,999
- [ ] $10,000 to $19,999
- [ ] $20,000 to $29,999
- [ ] $30,000 to $39,999
- [ ] $40,000 to $49,999
- [ ] $50,000 to $59,999
- [ ] $60,000 to $69,999
- [ ] $70,000 to $79,999
- [ ] $80,000 to $89,999
- [ ] $90,000 to $99,999
- [ ] $100,000 and over

101. Which of the following income categories best describes your **HOUSEHOLD** income for the past year? (Please check only one.)

- [ ] less than $5,000
- [ ] $5,000 to $9,999
- [ ] $10,000 to $19,999
- [ ] $20,000 to $29,999
- [ ] $30,000 to $39,999
- [ ] $40,000 to $49,999
- [ ] $50,000 to $59,999
- [ ] $60,000 to $69,999
- [ ] $70,000 to $79,999
- [ ] $80,000 to $89,999
- [ ] $90,000 to $99,999
- [ ] $100,000 and over
102. In the past year, what were your sources of income? (*Please check all that apply.*)

- [ ] self-employment
- [ ] wages or salary
- [ ] employment insurance (EI)
- [ ] social assistance (welfare)
- [ ] personal investments (including RRSPs)
- [ ] work pension
- [ ] Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security or Guaranteed Income Supplement
- [ ] severance package
- [ ] Other (Please specify: __________________________)

103. Regarding this house, do you:

- [ ] Rent
- [ ] Lease
- [ ] Own

b. If own, do you have a Certificate of Possession for this house?

- [ ] Yes  [ ] No

c. If no, who holds the COP for this house? What is their relation to you?
__________________________________________
__________________________________________
RESPONDENT COMMENTS

Are there any comments you would like to make about this interview?

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________

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_______________________________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________________________
INTERVIEWER NOTES:

Describe the physical setting, any distractions or disruptions, emotional reactions, etc.

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_______________________________________________________________________________
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484
Certificate of Approval

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR</th>
<th>DEPARTMENT</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, D.R.</td>
<td>Anthro &amp; Sociol</td>
<td>B01-0542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT**

UBC Campus ,

**CO-INVESTIGATORS:**

Veenstra, Gerry, Anthro & Sociol

**SPONSORING AGENCIES**

Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council

**TITLE:**

Resilient Community Project in BC Community, Social Cohesion and Economic Change

**APPROVAL DATE**

APR - 4 2002

**TERM (YEARS)**

1

**DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:**

19 March 2002, introduction and cover letters

**CERTIFICATION:**

The protocol describing the above-named project has been reviewed by the Committee and the experimental procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Approval of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board by:
Dr. James Frankish, Chair

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the experimental procedures