THE RESPONSE OF
TWO BC SAWMILL COMMUNITIES
TO THE RECESSION OF THE EARLY 1980S

A Newspaper Analysis of
Social Capital in the Context of Economic Downturn

by

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ABSTRACT


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This study uses 6 identified dimensions of social capital in Canada to describe and characterize the response of two resource-dependent sawmill communities, Nanaimo and Powell River, British Columbia, during a period of severe economic downturn (1981-1983), using publicly available information found in community newspapers. Social capital is commonly conceptualized as a collective property of social relationships but is most commonly measured as an aggregation of individual survey responses. This study explores whether and how aggregated individual measures of social capital may be manifested in a collective context.

A factor analysis of responses to the Equality, Security, Community (ESC) Survey, a representative survey of Canadian adults designed to investigate civil society and the formation of social capital, identified 6 dimensions of social capital in Canada (1). Five of the six dimensions of social capital are composites of cognitive individual measures of social capital, the sixth is a structural measure of community participation. A 'collective' operational definition was developed for each of the dimensions prior to analyzing the newspaper data.

Results show that a structural measure of social capital, namely 'community participation', was substantially manifested in the newspaper coverage. The two dimensions related to trust – 'government trust' and 'social trust' – were not. One dimension, 'economic belief', was manifested in the newspapers of one town, but not the other. Some elements of the
dimensions pertaining to perceptions of ‘institutional performance’ and to values about ‘solidarity’ were manifested in each town.

The newspaper coverage on the community’s response was different in each of the two towns. The economic and resulting social structures in the two towns were quite different, as was the degree of relative geographic isolation, and these differences likely affected the nature of the social relationships, which would partly account for the different character of the community response in each town. If social capital is conceptualized as a collective property, a resource that is embedded in relationships that are features of the social structures of society, these results seem to suggest that economic base, degree of isolation, population size and composition and social hierarchy all matter in terms of social capital.
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CHAPTER 1

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose
The purpose of this study is to describe and characterize the response of two resource-dependent sawmill communities during a period of severe economic downturn, using 6 identified dimensions of social capital as a framework for analysis of publicly available information found in community newspapers.

1.2 Rationale
A discrepancy exists between the conceptualization of social capital as a collective/contextual characteristic arising from people’s shared experiences (2), and its measurement. Social capital is commonly conceptualized as a collective property of social relationships but is most commonly measured as an aggregation of individual survey responses. Several authors have pointed to the need for measures that reflect the collective property of social capital.

Collective community measures of social capital would not only be more true to the concept of social capital, as a resource that is inherent in the relationships that are embedded in social structures, but they would also be simpler and less expensive than surveys.

Further, this type of measurement could easily incorporate context (historical, economic, social, geographic, etc.) in the analysis.
A specific timeframe, corresponding to a period of acute economic crisis (early 1980s), was chosen for this study, as the need for resources is more acute and the presence and the use of social capital is more evident at such a time.

This study is set in two resource-dependent communities. The rural/small town context has to date received little attention in the literature on social determinants of health in general and on social capital in particular. The two communities chosen for this study were Nanaimo and Powell River, British Columbia. These communities were selected because we have substantial information from multiple sources on them. Also, carrying out the research on more than one community helps to validate the process of analysis. And further, as features of local social or physical environments may influence health (3), investigating differences between the communities may yield hypotheses regarding pathways linking social capital and health.

Based on a factor analysis of responses to a nationally representative survey called the Equality, Security, Community (ESC) Survey, Hertzman et al. (1) identify six dimensions of social capital in Canada: social solidarity, government trust, community participation, social trust, institutional performance, and economic belief (Appendix 1). The ESC Survey is a random sample telephone survey of Canadian adults designed to investigate civil society and the formation of social capital.

This study uses these 6 identified dimensions of social capital as a framework for analysis to characterize the response of two communities during a period of severe economic downturn, using publicly available information found in community newspapers.

1.3 The Research Questions

The two research questions addressed in this study are:

1. Can the 6 identified dimensions of social capital in Canada be operationalized at a collective level, through an analysis of publicly available information found in community new papers?
2. Can the 6 identified dimensions of social capital be used as a framework for analysis to characterize a community's response to economic crisis?

Chapter 2 is an overview of the literature on social capital. The literature review traces the origins of the construct of social capital, situates the main issues in relation to the social determinants of health, reviews outcomes of empirical studies on the relationship between social capital and health, and identifies some of the main gaps in knowledge. Chapter 3 outlines the rationale for this study. Chapter 4 details the methods of this study: the study design, the framework for analysis, description of the data sources, details of the data collection and preparation, limitations of the data, description of the units of analysis, detailed description of how the variables are operationalized and finally the data analysis procedures. Chapter 5 presents the results of the analysis. Chapter 6 discusses some of the limitations associated with the methods and the main findings, provides a summary and some implications of the findings for future research.
CHAPTER 2

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON SOCIAL CAPITAL

2.1 Introduction

While the notion of social capital is not new - in fact its history dates back to the time of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim (4) - it became popular about 15 years ago, influenced especially by the work of Robert Putnam. In the last few years there has been a wave of publications linking social capital to health and the role of social capital is increasingly a topic in policy discussions about determinants of health (5-7). In spite of the many publications, there is still little agreement on the precise definition of social capital, or on the conceptual frameworks relating social capital to health outcomes (8;9). As well, empirical studies tend to vary in social capital indicators measured as well as in units of analysis.

This review aims to trace the origins of the construct of social capital, situate the main issues in relation to the social determinants of health, review outcomes of empirical studies on the relationship between social capital and health, and identify some of the main gaps in knowledge.

2.2 Origins and Definition Social Capital

The theoretical origins of social capital are in sociology and were developed by Bourdieu and Coleman (4), but credit for popularizing the concept mostly goes to Robert Putnam, a political scientist. Coleman and Putnam are considered the initiators of the more recent discourse on social capital. In the process of gaining popularity, the concept of social capital has crossed disciplinary boundaries and undergone some changes (4;10).
Bourdieu (4) defined social capital as

"the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition"(11).

According to Coleman (1990), who, amongst others, refined Bourdieu's definition, social capital

"is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors – whether persons or corporate actors- within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence. [...] A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others. Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of relationships between and among persons. It is lodged neither in individuals nor in physical implements of production"(12).

For Putnam (1993), in turn, social capital

"refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (13).

Bourdieu's definition of social capital is instrumental and emphasizes the benefits that are derived by individuals, by virtue of their participation in groups. He distinguishes two elements of social capital: the social relationship itself, which allows individuals to access resources possessed by their associates, and the amount and quality of the resources (4). Bourdieu's concept is based on the role played by social capital in the reproduction of class relations, where social capital is a resource to which different people have varying degrees of access (11). For Bourdieu, it is the differential access to capital (social and other) that
explains economic and social outcomes (6). Interestingly, current conceptions of social capital tend to ignore social conflict and class (6;14-16).

Coleman focuses on the function of social capital, but he equates the term itself with some of the mechanisms that generate it (4). Coleman distinguishes several forms of social capital: the obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures, information channels, norms and effective sanctions; he also emphasizes the public-good aspect of social capital, which distinguishes it from other forms of capital (12;17).

Putnam gives the term social capital a new and also vaguer meaning by defining it as a property of cities and nations (13;18) and he further states that it leads to better governance, more effective policies, greater economic prosperity and more democracy.

Various authors have compared social capital to other forms of capital (economic and human capital) and it has been suggested that the premise behind the notion of social capital is actually simple and straightforward: investment in social relations with expected returns (19).

Originally, the concept sought to explain how people cooperate with each other in a purposeful way for the benefit of either individuals or communities. More recently, public health researchers have looked at social capital to explain differences in health status across geographic areas (2).

2.2.1 A Characteristic or Property of Individuals and/or Groups; A Resource for Individuals and/or Groups?

The methodological issue of whether social capital reflects individual or group characteristics remains unresolved and is also unclear whether it constitutes an individual or collective resource or asset. The conceptual issue of whether social capital is an individual or a collective property frames the issue of how to measure social capital: at the individual or at the community level. A related issue is how best to measure social capital at the community level: by aggregating individual characteristics, or by using collective indicators.

For Bourdieu, social capital reflects a characteristic of groups (11), while for Coleman it is a property of individuals and their social relations (12;17); Putnam sees social capital as
characteristic of groups and specifically of political units and as the property of individuals, but only by virtue of their membership in a group (13); and Portes considers social capital to be the property of individuals (4;10).

How social capital is conceptualized - i.e. as an individual or a collective characteristic - frames the issue of how social capital is best measured.

Social capital is distinct from the concepts of social networks and social support, which are both attributes of individuals (2). While there may be a growing consensus that social capital is a collective characteristic, empirical studies of social capital have tended to use survey methods and individual outcomes (e.g. expressions of degrees of trust in others), creating the impression that social capital is the property of individuals (20). Szreter and Woolcock view social capital as a collective property, resulting from individual’s relations with each other, that constitutes a resource that individuals can draw on in certain circumstances (20). Mackincko and Starfield (21) note that “the term social capital refers to available resources (capital) that accrue to people by virtue of their mutual acquaintance and recognition (social) and that can be used for a variety of productive activities” (11;12). Other authors, as well, view social capital as a feature of social context, a property of social structure (22;23), not of the individuals who live within the social context (24) and propose that social capital should be seen as an ecological characteristic (2).

Although social capital is often conceptualized as a collective characteristic (22;25), most of the measurement strategies are based on aggregating individual perceptions, which, in turn, are influenced by a range of individual characteristics (26) and may not actually capture collective characteristics. Subramanian et al. (27) conducted a study that addressed the discrepancy between the conceptualization of social capital as a collective characteristic and its measurement by aggregation of individual perceptions. They found, through the use of multi-level modelling techniques, significant neighbourhood differences in individual perceptions of trust, even after accounting for individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. It was noted that the individual and contextual factors should definitely be seen as interrelated. Individual factors such as low education or certain health behaviours
such as smoking are often influenced by the places where people live and, at the same time, individuals have an effect on the contextual factors (28).

Kawachi et al. pose the question of the theoretically appropriate unit of analysis: individual or collective. In their view, the novel contribution of the concept of social capital lies in its collective dimension, i.e. its potential to account for group-level influences on individual health. They note that conceptualizing social capital as a collective variable directs attention to group-level mechanisms such as informal social control, collective efficacy, collective socialization, and social contagion, each of which has plausible linkages to health-related behaviours and to health outcomes (25).

The lack of consensus on the basic definition of social capital, on whether it is an individual or collective property, how it should be measured and what level of analysis would be appropriate, underlies much of the debate around the concept of social capital (21). I will review these issues by first considering the different conceptions of social capital.

### 2.3 Different Conceptions of Social Capital

Social capital has been conceptualized mainly as bonding, bridging, or linking; or as market, bureaucratic, associational and communal.

#### 2.3.1 ‘Bonding,’ ‘Bridging’ and ‘Linking’

‘Bonding’ social capital refers to trusting and co-operative relations among members of a network who see themselves as being similar in terms of their shared social identity.

‘Bridging’ social capital comprises relations of respect and mutuality among people who know that they are not alike in some socio-demographic (or social identity) sense (differing by age, ethnic group, class, etc.). The precise nature of the social identity boundaries and the political significance of bonding and bridging groups are thought to be highly context-specific.

‘Linking’ social capital consists of norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships among people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalized power or
authority gradients in society. The latter refers to relationships that connect people across explicit ‘vertical’ power differentials, particularly as they pertain to addressing public and private services that can only be delivered through on-going face-to-face interaction (20). This three-dimensional approach to conceptualizing the forms of social capital, which was elaborated by Szreter and Woolcock, also acknowledges the role of the state (20). Szreter and Woolcock further underline that, while it is possible to study social capital empirically as if it were merely a phenomenon of civil society (to make the research job manageable and tractable), study findings should be placed in a theoretical and political context. However, as Ellaway & Macintyre caution, the distinctions among these three kinds of social capital are so subtle that the terms could be used interchangeably by decision makers of all political hues to further their own agendas (28); as well, Muntaner states that this terminology conceals the power and class differentials between groups and institutions (29).

2.3.2 ‘Market,’ ‘Bureaucratic,’ ‘Associative,’ ‘Communal’

Tiepoh, an economist, and Reimer, a sociologist, classify social capital as a feature of four modes of social relations (30):

- Market relations are based on the exchange of goods and services; strong market-based social capital contributes to income creation and distribution.

- Bureaucratic relations are impersonal and formal relationships based on a rationalized division of labour, where authority and positions are structured through formal principles and rules, and allocation of rights and entitlements are based on position or status. These are often associated with state or corporate structures organized as hierarchies.

- Associative relations are primarily based on shared interests and characterized by focussed objectives, informal structures and a short-term life span; this form of social capital contributes to income by transferring information, building trust and enabling low-cost evaluation of prospective partners and clients.
Communal relations are those founded on strongly shared identity, rights and obligations of members are largely determined by custom; these are most likely to be found within family or close friendship networks.

The authors argue that these four modes of social relations occur within both relatively bounded organizational/institutional structures and diffuse social systems. They further make a distinction between the availability and the use of social capital and define the role of social capital in economic development. This conceptualization of social capital is useful, in that it at once reflects the collective and contextual nature of social capital; the distinction between the availability and the use of social capital is also important, as it allows for further study of how the economic and societal relationships interact.

2.4 Measures and Measurement

2.4.1 The Usual Measures of Social Capital

According to Putnam (18) the level of social capital in a community can be measured by indicators such as the density of membership in voluntary associations, the extent of interpersonal trust among citizens, and their perceptions of the availability of mutual aid (2). These three indicators have been widely used to measure social capital (31). Other measures have included the nature and extent of informal or everyday socializing, sources and forms of social support (both given and received), perceived reciprocity, sources of information and transport routes, political engagement (knowledge of politics, letters to newspapers, protesting/campaigning, running for office, voting behaviour), personal efficacy, social cohesion/exclusion, sense of personal security, and sources of local-level conflict (32).

The indicators used to measure social capital have been subject to much criticism: in many studies a key indicator measured is associational activity. First, the nature and meaning of groups vary widely. For instance, the implications of belonging to a bingo club, a street gang, a tenants’ rights association or a union are probably quite different. Also, group practices vary in different cultures and communities. As well, people’s values regarding community, social relationships and sense of obligations tend to be culture specific and may differ among countries and within countries and specific groups (33). Further, measures of group
membership can be biased toward the educated middle-class (15); these indicators of social capital tend to downplay or do not include forms of social organization that are representative of working class communities such as unions (34). Community research in the UK has demonstrated that different types of networks have different implications for their participants (35), such that a simple measure of associational membership may be quite meaningless.

Two other unresolved questions are which indicators of social capital are meaningful at different levels of spatial aggregation, and whether trust is a valid measure of social capital or a consequence of it (2).

While this study is not concerned with the appropriateness of social capital measures as such, this issue will be addressed again in the discussion of the findings.

2.4.2 The Usual Methods for Measuring Social Capital

Studies to measure social capital frequently employ data from surveys on values or general social surveys usually aggregating these to different levels - from individual to state and nations (7;36-39). Forbes and Wainwright present a broad-ranging critique of the use of survey data; they identify that validity is a major issue and suggested that survey data can at best describe general trends (15). They point to issues of construct validity with survey items, particularly group membership: associational practices are different in different communities and types of organization vary. As well, questions in large surveys are sometimes culturally alien to – and lack meaning within – working class and rural communities. They further point to the methodological problem of poorer response rates in rural, working class and marginalized communities. They also caution that survey items on group membership and trust may be place- and time-specific, rather than community- or person-specific. Another issue related to aggregated survey data is that of geographical scale, as there may be large variations within quite small areas, suggesting that large-scale aggregations can be misleading.

‘Ecological’ approaches to measurement that do not rely on aggregating individual responses, but that measure observable features of a community, such as counting the
number of civic associations in a community, direct observation of social interactions, observing the extent to which sidewalks are cleaned after a snowstorm (measure of reciprocity), etc., are time-consuming and expensive (2,27); truly ‘ecologic’ and comparable social capital measures are rarely used (37). Kawachi and colleagues note that, if social capital is conceptualized as a contextual variable, the most appropriate study design and analytical approach are within a multi-level framework (i.e. individuals nested within areas that vary with respect to their levels of social capital) (25). While a multi-level framework does take context into consideration, by distinguishing individual characteristics associated with social capital, the measures themselves are still aggregations of individual responses.

In their 2001 review of studies on social capital, Macinko and Starfield (21) identify several methodological difficulties in interpreting and comparing study results:

- most of the indicators used in surveys to measure social capital have not been subjected to widespread psychometric testing (e.g., including internal consistency reliability, item-total correlations, or factor analysis).

- the measures used in the literature were not consistently based on any one major theoretical framework, which in itself is not seen as a problem, except that most studies failed to justify why one conceptualization of social capital should be preferred over another and why certain measures were chosen over others.

- few studies addressed weaknesses in the social capital measures they utilized such as membership in groups and interpersonal trust.

- the studies lack sufficient empirical justification for the validity and reliability of the social capital measures utilized, casting doubt on the validity and generalizability of proposed explanatory pathways.

Harpham et al. (37) point at an emerging pattern whereby large-scale studies tend to use one or two measures of social capital (typically trust and membership in groups), while smaller studies tend to measure social capital in a more comprehensive fashion. In some cases the large-scale studies have matched theory and empirical evidence by the use of factor analysis
to identify dimensions of social capital (Bullen and Onyx, 1998, cited in Harpham (38). Still, these quantitative measures remain simplistic and need to be substantiated with other, more qualitative approaches (37) that also take into account gender, class, and culture, as well as features of place.

2.4.3 The Levels at Which Social Capital is Measured

Macinko and Starfield identify at least four levels at which social capital has been conceptualized and measured (21):

- The macro-level is the level at which historical, social, political and economic context is considered to condition the type of social relations or societal structures that may produce social capital and that determines how social capital is distributed. (e.g., Navarro and Shi (39) suggested that the social bonds and economic performance in northern Italy may have had to do more with the presence of the Italian Communist Party in these regions than with the "social capital" measures studies by Putnam.)

- The meso-level includes characteristics of neighbourhoods or communities that may affect production and use of social capital within those areas.

- The third level is composed of individual-level behaviours, such as voting, membership in groups, and cooperating with others, which have been aggregated to various levels and which comprise a large part of the social capital measures used by health researchers. Usually these indicators are presented as if they took place in a neutral historical, political and socio-economic context.

- The fourth level, individual-level attitudes, are primarily psychological constructs, such as trust in neighbours, trust in government, and expectations of reciprocity. They are also aggregated to various levels (7).
2.4.4 Summary

In health research, the vast majority of studies have focused on the relationship between individual measures of social capital and health (40) and even studies in which social capital is conceptualized as a collective property generally use aggregated individual measures.

Studies that use aggregated measures and that show an effect of social capital on health generally do not distinguish between the individual and the collective effect of social capital on health (41); geographical variations in health outcomes can be associated with either a collective effect of social capital or with differences in composition (in other words, is social capital at the aggregate level more than the sum of individual social ties and social support networks?).

The various studies use different measurement tools. There have been few studies to validate these, so it is difficult to determine which are the best tools. (40).

Existing studies of social capital and health rely almost exclusively on Putnam’s conceptualizations of social capital, which can essentially be classified as social cohesion or social support. Alternative conceptualizations that consider social capital in terms of resources (Bourdieu and Coleman) have been marginalized (16;42).

2.5 Social Capital and Health

Richard Wilkinson was the first to introduce Putnam’s notion of social capital into public health research (20;43). Szreter and Woolcock point out that Wilkinson treated social capital as if it was a more sophisticated formulation of the broader concepts of ‘social cohesion’, ‘social support’, ‘social integration’ or ‘civil society’; they classify this view as the ‘social support school’(20). This school views social capital simply as the nature and extent of one’s social relationships and associated norms of reciprocity, and links social capital to health via social support. While there is a wealth of empirical evidence linking social support with health, Szreter and Woolcock note, the relationship between health and trust and inequality remains particularly unclear; health-related implications of trust and reciprocity are possibly quite context-dependent.(4). Wilkinson (43) later argued that social capital was relevant to the extent that it was part of the psycho-social effects of widening levels of socioeconomic
inequality. Michael Marmot (44;45) also sees increasing socioeconomic inequality as a primary factor in health outcomes, but he links social support with more concrete notions of the effects of 'stress', caused by issues such as lack of control over one's life circumstances, on the neuro-endocrine system. Lynch et al. (8) offer an alternative explanation for the relationship among social capital, income inequality and health: "absolute and relative income differences may represent the unequal distribution of the material conditions that structure the likelihood of possessing and accessing health protective resources; of reducing negative health exposures; and of facilitating full participation in the society" (8).

2.6 Mechanisms Linking Social Capital to Health

The mechanisms that link social capital to health are not clear (8;9) and likely vary according to the level of aggregation at which social capital is conceptualized and measured (46). At the state level, political processes are hypothesized to affect health outcomes (47;48); at the neighbourhood level, social capital may affect health via processes of informal social control, healthy norms and access to various forms of social support (46).

Various hypothesized "pathways" have been mentioned in the literature (49): social capital may provide affective support and may be the source of self-esteem and mutual respect (50). It may increase access to local services (22). It may also promote more rapid transmission of health information, adaptation of health behaviour norms and social control over deviant health-related behaviours (51). Finally, social capital may help prevent crime (52). Social capital has also been shown to be associated with lower total mortality, lower cardiovascular mortality and lower mortality in accidents and suicide (53).

Krieger (54) distinguishes three main theories that seek to elucidate principles capable of explaining social inequalities in health (54). They represent theories of disease distribution which presume but cannot be reduced to mechanism-oriented theories of disease causation:

- psychosocial: directs attention to endogenous biological responses to human interactions (43);
- social production of disease and/or political economy of health: explicitly addresses economic and political determinants of health and disease, but leaves biology opaque (8);

- ecosocial theory and related multi-level frameworks: seek to integrate social and biological reasoning and a dynamic, historical and ecological perspective to develop new insights into determinants of population distributions of disease and social inequities in health (54).

Berkman et al. (33) present a conceptual framework suggesting the mechanisms by which social networks may affect health. The mechanisms are conceptualized as social support, forces of social influence, levels of social engagement and participation, and access to material goods and resources. These mechanisms, which may operate simultaneously, are hypothesized to impact other downstream factors via biological and psychological pathways that can plausibly affect health outcomes. They include: (1) direct physiological stress responses, (2) psychosocial processes through psychological states including self-esteem, self-efficacy and security, (3) health behaviours, (4) exposure to infectious agents. Their framework can examine the effects of labour markets, organizational relations, economic pressures, and culture on the structure of networks; and integrates factors related to the political economy to health outcomes, mediated by social relationships.

2.7 Issues in the Current Social Capital and Health Debate;
   Criticisms and Controversy

Szreter and Woolcock (20) made a major contribution and brought some clarity to the debate by outlining three perspectives of social capital as it relates to population health: the ‘social support’ perspective which focuses on informal networks as central to objective and subjective welfare (Putnam); the ‘inequality’ thesis, which considers that widening economic disparities have eroded citizen’s sense of social justice and inclusion, leading to heightened anxiety and compromised rising life expectancies (Wilkinson, Kawachi); and the ‘political economy’ approach (8;29;55), which sees the primary determinant of poor health outcomes as the socially and politically mediated exclusion from material resources (Muntaner, Lynch,
Davey Smith). In an attempt to reconcile these three perspectives, they propose a more comprehensive theory of social capital, and further argue for the need to include historical considerations, politics, and empirical evidence with respect to mechanisms linking types of network structure and state-society relations to health outcomes. Their conceptualization of three main forms of social capital as 'bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking' clarifies some of the main issues in the debates surrounding social capital and health (20).

Kawachi and colleagues (25) added two issues to Szreter’s and Woolcock’s proposed synthesis of social capital, namely the distinction between individual versus collective conceptualization of social capital, and the methodological and empirical implications of adopting the bonding/bridging/linking distinction. They suggest that the effect of social capital on health should be analyzed at both the individual and the collective level, within a multi-level analytical framework. They also note that no empirical studies have made the distinction among the bonding/bridging/linking forms of social capital and that this framework would require questionnaire and instrument development.

2.8 Empirical Studies – Outcomes

The number of empirical studies has been rapidly increasing over the past 10 and especially 5 years. Most studies have tended to be based on what data are available – frequently these are data from surveys designed for other purposes rather than on an a priori theoretical conceptualization of the features of the social structure that might affect population health (56). As a result it is often difficult to compare results from different studies.

Studies vary in type – quantitative and qualitative, in level of aggregation, from country and state level to neighbourhood - and the type of analysis varies from cross-sectional to more recent multi-level nested studies, which allow for distinction between individual (compositional) and structural (ecological) effects.

It may well be that social capital has different effects depending on locality (3), the level of aggregation, individual or contextual effects, class, ethnicity, gender. For instance, Subramanian et al. (57) found in a study of neighbourhood social capital that people with
high trust fared better in high trust environments than in low trust environments, while people with low trust fared worse in high trust environments.

At broad levels of aggregation, such as state-level in the US, the majority of studies found social capital indicators to be associated with a number of different health outcomes (47;48;58;59). Wilkinson et al. (1998) found that violent crime is closely related to social trust based on US state-level data. Another study examining the relationship between income inequality, social capital and violent crime found that per capita group membership was negatively associated with firearms crime and lack of social trust was positively associated with firearms crime at the US state level, after controlling for poverty (52). While the latter were cross-sectional studies, an analysis of serial cross-sectional data for indicators of social capital and age-adjusted homicide rates over twenty years found that trust was strongly inversely related to homicide rates, when controlling for income, region and urbanization (60); the results further suggested that crime tends to erode social capital over time. In a Swedish study, social participation was found to be negatively associated with incidence of coronary heart disease, after adjusting for education, home ownership and smoking (61). Subramanian et al. used multi-level modelling to examine relationships between levels of mistrust (aggregated at the state-level) and variations in self-rated health among US states; a negative association remained after controlling for individual level factors, which were strongly associated with self-rated poor health (62). A recent multi-level international study using data from the European Survey found that individual levels of social trust and civic participation were strongly positively associated with self-rated health, but that aggregated trust and participation at the national level were not related to self-rated health, after controlling for compositional factors. This study also found an interaction across levels of aggregation: trusting and socially active people more often reported good health in countries with high levels of social capital, but were less likely to do so in countries with low levels of social capital (41).

An analysis of mortality rates across 40 regions in Russia found associations between indicators of social capital (mistrust in government, crime, quality of work relations, civic engagement in politics) and life expectancy as well as mortality rates (52). A recent study on
the association between income inequality and health in 108 countries found a weak association between social capital, measured as trust, and infant mortality (63).

Some studies conducted in wealthy countries failed to find an association between social capital indicators and health (8;64), while others found that the association disappeared after controlling for potential confounders such as income-inequality (65).

Associations between social capital and other health outcomes have been found at lower levels of aggregation such as municipalities (32;57).

The results of a multi-level study of neighbourhood linking social capital, conceptualized as electoral participation in local government elections at the neighbourhood level, showed a significant difference in coronary heart disease incidence among neighbourhoods, after controlling for compositional factors (66).

In a multi-level study, controlling for individual perceptions of trust, the effect of community social trust on self-rated health was rendered statistically insignificant (57). However, the same study found an interaction between contextual (structural) and individual (cognitive) trust perceptions: community social trust was positively related to self-rated health for people with high levels of trust, but negatively associated with self-rated health for people with low levels of trust. The authors concluded that multi-level investigations of social capital and population health should routinely consider the interactions between individual and community or neighbourhood effects.

A study of the relationship among social capital, health and regional health governance of thirty health districts in Saskatchewan found no association between social capital and the performance of the health districts, and found that higher social capital was associated with lower mortality (67). The same author conducted a study to distinguish between the health effects of socially patterned community characteristics - including social capital - and the effects of individual characteristics. Results showed that variability in health (self-rated health, emotional distress and overweight status) among communities was mostly or entirely explained by individual-level factors (ses, health behaviours, coping skills) and not by differences in social capital. This study found a neighbourhood effect on self-rated health,
after controlling for a number of individual characteristics, but did not find an interaction between neighbourhood and social capital (68).

Whitley & Prince (69) point out that, while there may be theoretical reasons to use large areas of aggregation as units of analysis, these gross units may not reflect the lived day-to-day experience of most people, and that a small town or urban neighbourhood may be a more appropriate unit of analysis. In recent years, social capital has been investigated at the neighbourhood level; some of these studies focus on the complexities of social capital while others consider different health outcomes in specific population groups. At this level, the findings have been even more equivocal.

Community health researchers have examined the complexities of the relationship between social capital and individual well-being (35). A number of qualitative studies of neighbourhoods suggested weak relationships between social capital and health (35); these studies indicated that social capital can play a role in determining health behaviours and that social capital is influenced by community infrastructure (23;70;73).

Whitley & Prince (69) found no association between perceived neighbourhood social capital and mental health.

Quantitative studies have found that social capital is associated with lower mortality rates, after adjusting for neighbourhood material deprivation (59); with lower rates of violence and crime (71); and with better access to health care services (32). Browning & Cagney (72) found that a measure of neighbourhood collective efficacy was significantly associated with self-rated health, while neighbourhood socioeconomic disadvantage was not found to be significantly related to self-rated health, after controlling for compositional factors. Wen et al. (73) found that neighbourhood economic context (affluence) might work through social resources to affect self-rated health and that greater income inequality at the neighbourhood level is not detrimental to self-rated health.

A multi-level contextual analysis of social capital, neighbourhood socio-economic deprivation, and children’s health-related quality of life (74) found that both socio-economic deprivation and social capital was associated with a number of quality of life dimensions,
while mental health and behaviour were associated with one aspect of social capital: informal social control, but not with social cohesion and trust. The authors suggest that the social environment may affect the emotional and physical development of young people through different pathways.

Other quantitative neighbourhood studies have found weak associations and no neighbourhood-specific effects of social capital on self-rated health and emotional well-being (68).

A neighbourhood-level study in the Netherlands on mental health service use found no association with social capital, but did find that the effect of neighbourhood poverty on mental health service use to be stronger in neighbourhoods with low social capital (75); Harpham et al. (38) also failed to find an independent effect of social capital on mental health, in a study conducted in Cali (Colombia).

Finally, when social capital was measured as an individual characteristic (individual associational involvement and interpersonal trust), some studies found a relationship with health outcomes (23;76), while others did not (28;38;77). In a study of the association between social capital, measured as attachment to community and behaviour problems in pre-school children, O’Brien et al. (78) found that the association between how well a parent knew her neighbours and the presence of child behaviour problems differed depending on the degree of economic impoverishment of the neighbourhood (in poor neighbourhoods low social capital was beneficial, in rich neighbourhoods low social capital resulted in higher levels of internalized problems).

It is extremely difficult to make sense of the findings from the empirical studies and as social capital means different things to different people, and studies not only use various analytical designs, but also use different indicators to measure social capital at varying levels of aggregation, it is virtually impossible to compare results.
2.9 Social Capital in the Rural Context

Most empirical studies have considered either large-scale aggregated effects of social capital or urban environments; few studies of social capital have focused on rural communities.

The economic infrastructure in rural areas tends to be different: resource extraction-dependent industries, a low-wage service sector and continued cutbacks in government services have had a disproportionate impact in most rural areas in Canada. Services play an important role in rural communities; they provide stability, quality of life and also employment (79).

Using data on household and community social capital from the New Rural Economy (NRE) project of the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation (CRRF), the investigators classify social capital in terms of market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal relations. This study found that except for bureaucratic relations, these modes of social capital are positively related to household income, suggesting that as incomes of rural households rise, their dependence on government bureaucratic sources of income is likely to decline (30).

2.10 Summary

In summary, the literature shows that social capital remains in many ways an elusive concept:

- It is complex, multi-facetted, not clearly defined and much debated.

- The exact relationship between social capital and health has not been clearly established and the hypothesized mechanisms linking social capital to health remain unclear.

- It is not clear that measures of voluntary membership and perceptions of trust can be considered to be valid indicators of social capital.

- There is a discrepancy between the conceptualization of social capital as a collective/contextual characteristic (construct) arising from people's shared experiences (2) and its measurement. Most measurement approaches continue to be
based on the aggregation of individual perceptions (mostly from surveys) to a particular spatial scale. Individual perceptions are not only influenced by a range of individual attributes (26), but also by economic, historical, cultural and ideological influences (for instance the media).

- Since social capital cannot be measured directly, there is a place for qualitative methods. As Swann & Morgan (80) point out: “qualitative methods are uniquely useful in the study of social capital, because they allow us to look beneath the surface at the hard to measure processes and actions of people’s relationships to others, at community structures and the life of communities and networks” (70).

- If social capital is conceptualized as a collective phenomenon that is embedded in social relationships, then it is necessary also to consider that the nature, role and function of groups may vary depending on an area’s social, economic and cultural history and context (15).

- The vast majority of empirical studies have considered social capital at large-scale levels of aggregation (national or state) or in urban environments; few studies have focused on rural and resource-dependent communities.
CHAPTER 3

3 STUDY RATIONALE

In attempting to explore collective measures of social capital through the lens of publicly accessible media, this study addresses a number of issues that were identified in the review of the literature: the issue of individual versus collective measures, the identified need for qualitative studies and the paucity of social capital studies in rural environments.

Social capital is commonly conceptualized as a collective property of social relationships but is most commonly measured as an aggregation of individual survey responses. Several authors have pointed to the need for measures which reflect the collective property of social capital.

Collective community measures of social capital would not only be more true to the concept of social capital, they would also be simpler and less expensive than surveys.

Further, this type of measurement could easily include context (historical, economic, social, geographic, etc.) in the analysis.

A specific timeframe, corresponding with a period of acute economic crisis (early 1980s) was chosen for this study, as the need for resources is more acute and the presence and the use of social capital is more evident at such a time.

This study is set in a rural context which has to date received little attention in the literature on social determinants of health in general and on social capital in particular.

The two communities chosen for this study are Nanaimo and Powell River, British Columbia. These communities were selected because we have substantial information from
multiple sources on these two communities. Also, carrying out the research on more than one community helps to validate the process of analysis. And further, as features of local social or physical environments may influence health (3), investigating differences between the communities may yield hypotheses regarding pathways between social capital and health.

Based on a factor analysis of responses to a nationally representative survey called the Equality, Security, Community (ESC) Survey, Hertzman et al. (1) identified six dimensions of social capital in Canada: social solidarity, government trust, community participation, social trust, institutional performance, and economic belief (Appendix 1). The ESC Survey is a random sample telephone survey of Canadian adults dealing with civil society and the formation of social capital. Funded by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the study includes two oversamples. The first of these is an oversample of respondents in the principal immigration destinations of greater Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. The second is an oversample (n=1427) of individuals living in sawmill communities of BC.

This study uses these 6 identified dimensions of social capital to characterize the response of two communities during a period of severe economic downturn, using publicly available information abstracted from community newspapers. As such, this study does not address the meaning, value, use or outcome of social capital, nor the mechanisms of formation of social capital – it addresses the manifestation of the identified 6 dimensions of social capital in the context of two rural resource-dependent sawmill communities.

In other words, this study tries to bridge between survey data, in which social capital is implicitly conceptualized in ‘aggregate of individual’ terms, and information which is inherently more contextual.

By ‘community response’ I mean what people did to deal with the challenges posed by the effects of the economic downturn. The way in which a community responds may be more or less effective in mitigating the effects of a crisis on the economic, social and emotional well-being of families and of the community at large. A particular community response may affect the creation of employment or the availability of certain services; it may lead to a more – or less – cohesive community. A community’s response is determined by various factors, including the existing social structures and the nature of the relationships embedded within

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those structures. Since social context tends to affect people’s actions (17), it is important to
distinguish between the quantity and the quality of interaction (frequent hostile or derogatory
interactions would make access to social capital very difficult and thus could discourage the
production of social capital). Characterizing the response is to some extent a subjective
judgement that would vary depending on what paradigm is used (81;82).

The global economic recession in the early 1980s resulted in large cuts to government
expenditures at all levels, depressed conditions for local economies and high interest rates
(problematic for home owners with mortgages). Sawmill communities were particularly hard
hit because of mill closures and massive lay-offs due to depressed market conditions. The
effects of economic downturn can be seen in a rise in unemployment, reduction in income
through unemployment or wage reductions and a general increase in economic insecurity.
Other effects included cutbacks in civic institutions, in services and in education, resulting in
reductions of various services to the community, at a time of increasing need. In this context
- in response to decreased material resources and increased material and social needs - social
capital resources are drawn upon and also created. Rich sources of various forms of social
capital can potentially act as a buffer to some of the effects of economic downturn.

It can be argued that the two most important forms of social capital with the potential to act
as a buffer to severe economic downturn are social solidarity and social capital embedded in
vertical/power relationships. Social solidarity (which consists mainly of bonding and
bridging social capital) is a resource for support and, more importantly, also has the potential
to affect vertical relationships of social hierarchy/power, through mobilization and collective
action. Especially during a period of economic crisis, the nature of vertical relationships
takes on a particular importance, as it is these relationships which have the most noticeable
effects on people’s material circumstances:

- the nature of labour-business relations
- the community-civic government-provincial government-federal government
  relationships
- various bureaucratic/institutional relationships (welfare offices, employment offices,
etc.)
relationships with and within community institutions: schools, libraries, etc.

All these relationships occur between and amongst people at different levels of the social hierarchy and the nature of these relationships directly affects access to power - power to affect decisions that have a direct bearing on quality of life in the community. These relationships determine access to economic resources (employment, income, income assistance, daycare, government policy with respect to job creation, economic development, financing of services and various other government policies).

3.1 The Research Questions

The two research questions addressed in this study are:

1. Can the 6 identified dimensions of social capital in Canada be operationalized at a collective level, through an analysis of publicly available information found in community newspapers?

2. Can the 6 identified dimensions of social capital be applied as a framework for analysis to characterize a community’s response to economic crisis?
CHAPTER 4

4 METHODS

The section on methods contains the following parts:

- study design- framework of analysis;
- description of the data sources;
- details of the data collection and preparation;
- limitations of the data;
- description of the units of analysis;
- detailed description of how the 6 dimensions of social capital are operationalized;
- data analysis procedures.

4.1 Study Design

This study is an historical qualitative case study, based on a thematic content analysis of local community newspaper articles. The purpose is to describe and characterize the response to economic downturn of two communities, using the 6 dimensions of social capital as a framework for analysis.

A case study design refers to the focus of the study. The focus of a case study is limited to a particular instance of something (82). Case studies often use multiple sources of evidence (83). Historically, case study research has drawn from various areas, primarily sociology and anthropology, as well as from clinical methods, the methods of historians and the techniques of newspaper reporters such as Robert Park, who coined the term ‘scientific’ or ‘depth’ reporting - the description of local events in a way that points to major social trends (83).
Robert Yin (84) describes a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident. He further underlines that this method is preferred when “you deliberately want to cover contextual conditions, believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study.” The case study method can deal with situations in which there are many variables of interest and for that reason often uses multiple sources of evidence; case studies also benefit from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide the process of data collection and analysis (84). Yin points out that a case study strategy, like other research strategies, is a way of investigating an empirical topic by following a set of pre-specified procedures and design components (questions, propositions, units of analysis, logic linking data to propositions, criteria for interpreting findings).

The method of analysis for this study is a thematic content analysis of newspaper articles. Content analysis refers to the study of recorded human communications (82). Essentially, content analysis deals with who says what to whom, why and how and with what effect. Content analysis involves the coding/transforming of raw data into categories based on a conceptual scheme. It is concerned with both manifest and latent content. One of the advantages associated with content analysis is economy in terms of time and money. It is easy to repeat the study. Content analysis allows the study of processes over a long period of time, and the measures are unobtrusive (82;84). The major disadvantage is that this method is limited to recorded communications; reporting bias is another possible disadvantage.

4.2 Data Sources

The data for this study come from three sources, of which the community newspapers are the most important:

1. Community newspaper files (and records of City Hall and School Board meetings) for Nanaimo and Powell River covering the period from 1981-1983.
The newspaper files consist of articles from 400 issues of the “Nanaimo Daily Free Press” from June 1982 to August 1983; and articles from the “Powell River Town Crier” and from the “Powell River News” from December 1981 to November 1983.


3. The Equality, Security, Community Survey (ESC) sponsored by the SSHRC is a random sample telephone survey of Canadian adults designed to investigate civil society and the formation of social capital. A factor analysis of responses to 21 questionnaire items in the ESC Survey, which included a representative sample of respondents from 7 BC sawmill communities (n=1427), identified 6 distinct factors of social capital in Canada (1).

4.3 Description of How the Data Were Collected and Prepared:

4.3.1 Newspaper Files

Community newspapers contain accounts of the recession by describing the nature of the economic crisis, such as government cutbacks and sawmill closures; the effects of the crisis, such as unemployment, crisis calls, housing vacancies; and the responses and activities of residents and government institutions.

The period of 1981-1983 was the timeframe when BC sawmill communities were most acutely affected by economic crisis. The newspaper articles were numbered by page, catalogued by date and coded by theme on EXCEL spreadsheets; a short description of the essential content of each article was entered on the spreadsheet, and articles that covered more than one theme were coded for several categories. Finally, a narrative summary was written for each theme.

Coding

The initial coding was done according to ten themes of a “community resilience model”, which was developed as a framework for describing community social fabric as a possible determinant of health and well-being for resource communities experiencing economic – and
resulting social stress (85). I coded, catalogued and summarized the newspaper articles. Because I am familiar with the data, rather than re-coding the data, I have maintained the initial coding system.

4.3.2 Demographic Data

Statistics Canada Census Data for the years 1981-2001. The census is conducted every five years and the data are aggregated by Census Sub-Division. Census data contain demographic information on population numbers, age, sex, education, income and source of income, employment status, occupation, etc.

Ethics approval for access to these data was granted by the UBC Research Ethics Board under the application of the ‘BC Sawmill Workers Cohort Study’ (Appendix 4).

4.3.3 ESC Survey Data and Factor Analysis Results

“Factor analysis tries to identify statistically the underlying dimensions of the set of questions, by locating clusters of questions that are related to each other. It does that by correlating every item with every other item, and identifying the clusters that emerge” (Onyx & Bullen, 1997, p.11, cited in Harpham et al. (37)). Factor analysis is essentially an atheoretical method, as it does not pre-specify the dimensions of social capital, or items within a dimension, based upon theory. In this case, factor analysis was applied to a data set (the ESC survey) that was designed according to a set of theories of social capital. Thus, the items in the ESC survey had already passed a test of face validity with respect to social capital. The results of the factor analysis represent empirical evidence of the dimensions of social capital in Canada, based on the aggregated individual responses to questions from the ESC survey (1). The six dimensions of social capital identified by the factor analysis are: social solidarity, government trust, community participation, social trust, institutional performance and economic belief (Appendix 1).
4.3.4 Limitations of the Data

The Community Newspaper files date from 1981-1983, are observational and subject to all the limitations and biases associated with small-town newspaper reporting. The newspaper reports were verified, where possible, by double checking with institutional records.

The Census Data are aggregated by Census Sub-Division at five year intervals from 1981-2001.

The ESC data are aggregated individual responses to survey questions, from 2001.

4.3.5 Units of Analysis

This study is a case study of the response to economic downturn of two specific British Columbia sawmill communities; these two communities are the units of analysis.

This section contains a description of the setting and situates the study within a context. The description of the two communities comprises elements of the history, economy, location, degree of geographic and economic integration/isolation, demographic information on the numbers of residents, age, nationality, mobility, employment status, income, major employers, etc., and also compares some demographic elements (Census Data) of 1981 and 2001 (to coincide with ESC survey) of both towns.

Nanaimo

Nanaimo is one of BC’s oldest settlements. Situated at mid-point on the east coast of Vancouver Island, it is an excellent harbour, but it was coal that attracted the first white settlers around 1852. At that time Nanaimo was home to an estimated 5,000 Coast Salish people. Nanaimo has historically had a resource-based economy; coal mining was the base of the town’s economy for almost 100 years (the coal mines employed 3400 miners in 1923 and 17 in 1955), but for much of the last century, the forest industry was most important. After WWII, Nanaimo became the distribution centre for Vancouver Island. With trading, servicing and distributing industries, Nanaimo’s economy became more stable and less dependent on one main industry (86).
In 1981, MacMillan Bloedel employed about 1600 workers at its Harmac mill (and another 200 workers from Nanaimo at its Chemainus mill); the workers at Harmac were represented by the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada (PPWC). The economic base of Nanaimo was by then fairly diversified and service and clerical occupations were a major part of the work force (19% for males and 33% for females), while the proportion of males in traditional jobs was 57%. The city underwent rapid population growth in the late 1970s and, at the same time, a proliferation of retail development created new jobs in the community; the city was also gaining popularity as a retirement centre (87). A rapid decline followed, with the recession that started in 1981. The population of Nanaimo in 1981 was roughly 57,000 residents (88,000 residents in 2001). The ethnic composition of Nanaimo and the Regional District was largely of British origin and the First Nation population numbered 1240 in 1981 (and over 4,000 in 2001), according to Statistics Canada Census Data. A considerable proportion (12.3%) of the population was over 65 years of age. Women were predominantly employed in clerical and service occupations, occupations with low pay and high levels of unemployment (88). The prevalence of low income for unattached individuals was 38.6% (43% in 2001) in Nanaimo city, roughly the same as in Powell River (but Powell River was down to 35% in 2001). In 1982, the official unemployment figure reached just over 20%; 6200 persons were claiming Unemployment Insurance in the winter of 82/83. Although the newspaper reported an economic turnaround and an improvement in the economy at the end of 1982, the number of bankruptcies kept going up; business bankruptcies went from 26 in 1981, to 51 in 1982, 55 in 1983 and 51 in 1984, and the numbers for consumer bankruptcies were 35, 78, 96 and 61, in the same years (89).

Today, forestry remains a main economic source, but its role has irrevocably diminished since the recession of the early 1980s. In recent years, Nanaimo has changed and is increasingly dependent on other industries, including tourism, the service industry and the retail trade. Nanaimo also has a university college, a growing high-tech market and government offices, and has become a popular retirement destination. Over the past 25 years Nanaimo has developed a large series of malls along the northern outskirts of town to provide shopping access for the northern parts of the Island.
**Powell River**

Powell River is a medium-sized old mill town situated on the mainland approximately 150 km. north-west of Vancouver. Geographically, the town is somewhat isolated, situated along the ‘Sunshine Coast’, at the end of the coast highway, accessible by two ferries from Vancouver or one ferry from Comox on Vancouver Island.

The old town of Powell River is a heritage site, done in classic early twentieth century boom town style. Powell River was built around a sawmill and pulp mill complex which was established in 1912. By World War II, the Powell River Company had developed one of the largest pulp and paper manufacturing plants in the world at this site. MacMillan Bloedel took over the Powell River Company in 1966 (90).

Powell River is a one-company town: in 1981, MacMillan Bloedel employed almost 2000 workers and supplied 75% of the town’s tax base. The workers at MacMillan Bloedel were represented by the Canadian Paper Workers Union (CPU) local 76.

Other major employers in Powell River were the Powell River School District, the Powell River General Hospital and the municipality. There was also a university college.

Statistics Canada Census Data show that in 1981, the proportion of males in traditional jobs (74%) was higher than average in BC sawmill communities, while the percentage of males in sales and service occupations in Powell River was approximately 10% in the 1980s, and this was lower than the community average.

In the early 1980s Powell River had a small and stable (declining, but non-transient) population of approximately 18,000 residents (19,000 by 2001); the Aboriginal population numbered 355 in 1981 (around 900 in 2001) according to the Census Data. In Powell River, as in other communities, the population was aging. People in Powell River tended to stay in the community; the town had relatively small proportions of migrants compared with other sawmill communities. In Powell River, in 1981, the rate of young female participation in the labour force was much lower than the sawmill community average (54.5% compared with 62%). By November 1982, unemployment in Powell River stood at 25%, and at 40%
amongst those under 25; at the end of 1982, 10% of the population of Powell River was on welfare.

4.4 Operationalization of the 6 Dimensions of Social Capital

The scope of this study consists of operationalizing the 6 dimensions of social capital as a framework to characterize community response during a period of economic crisis (Appendix 1 lists the survey questionnaire items, of which the dimensions are a composite). Operationalization refers to the specific question or measure used to collect information about a given variable (91); the term refers to specific research procedures (operations) that allow us to empirically observe the concepts being measured. The advantage of an operational definition is that it achieves maximum clarity about the meaning of a concept in the context of a given study (82). An operational definition is a working definition for the purposes of inquiry; it specifies exactly how we will observe and what interpretations to place on the observations. We must ask whether the measure is a valid representation of the variables and concepts we want to measure (82) - this is a particular concern when measuring psychological/subjective dimensions. For instance, if we consider how to measure trust, we must also consider that the use of different measures may yield quite different conclusions A further consideration in this particular study is the fact that the dimensions of social capital emerge from a factor analysis of responses to specific survey items (Appendix 1), which themselves were an operationalization of underlying dimensions of social capital.

Finally, the 6 dimensions of social capital contain only one objective, directly measurable indicator, namely community participation. The other 5 dimensions - social solidarity, government trust, social trust, perception of institutional performance and economic belief - are all subjective concepts which for the most part cannot be directly extracted from newspaper reports. The question of whether, how, and under what conditions a subjective (cognitive) measure/dimension can be related to an objective/observable manifestation is difficult to resolve. In what follows I have attempted to relate the two.
4.4.1 Community Participation:

The community participation dimension is a composite of the ESC Survey responses to questions about service club membership, involvement in recreational groups such as sports leagues, music clubs or exercise classes, as well as membership in political action groups and, volunteering activities (Appendix 1).

A collective manifestation of community participation would be the existence and activities of various community organizations, as well as the turnout at events organized by these organizations. To operationalize this dimension, I examine and describe, for each town, the newspaper mention - if any - of the existence, activities and demands put on service clubs, recreational groups, political or environmental groups, cultural organizations/services, volunteer and ad-hoc organizations (food banks, unemployed committees, etc.), and community turnout at events.

4.4.2 Social Solidarity

The social solidarity dimension is a composite of the ESC Survey responses to questions about whether the respondent thinks that unemployed persons would be able to find work if they really wanted to, whether women should stay home with their children and whether people on welfare should be required to work for the community. This dimension appears to reflect the presence or absence of prejudice/values on the part of the respondents, rather than concrete actions/behaviours of solidarity. For the purposes of this study, I analyze evidence of concrete manifestations of solidarity.

To operationalize this dimension I describe, for each town, examples of solidity: formation of ad-hoc groups, financial contributions to food banks etc., job-sharing, reduced hours, training programs, educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities strikes, rallies and marches. Due to the economic and political climate of the economic crisis this section overlaps somewhat with the preceding community participation dimension.
4.4.3 Government Trust

The government trust dimension is a composite of the ESC Survey responses to questions about how much respondents trust the provincial and federal levels of government to do what is right and to rate the respective levels of government (Appendix 1). Again, this dimension is a psychological measure. Operationalizing this measure is problematic unless we only consider specific mention of government trust in the newspapers. People's trust in government may be influenced by government communication strategies, by media reporting and possibly to a lesser extent by concrete government policies and measures.

I address this issue by operationalizing government trust in three separate ways. First, I describe specific mention, if any, of government trust (provincial and federal). Next I describe government measures, both cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn, as well as government plans and promises. Finally, I describe the nature and "tone" of community government communications.

4.4.4 Social Trust

The social trust dimension is a composite of the ESC Survey responses to questions about how respondents perceive the likelihood that a lost wallet would be returned by someone who lives close by, by a store clerk, a police officer or a stranger (Appendix 1). Again, this dimension is a psychological measure.

Actually, trust is possibly the most problematic and contested dimension of social capital: first, it is debatable to what extent trust is the result of community social fabric or of a person's prior, perhaps very early, life experiences. Some authors suggest that trust should not be measured as an indicator of social capital because of the difficulty of separating the effects of behaviour (structural) and attitudes or perceptions (cognitive) (12;76). Kawachi (31) suggests that low levels of civic trust lead to low levels of government trust and low civic participation. Finally, the question remains of whether trust is a valid measure of social capital or a consequence of social capital.

Since the "social trust" dimension is based on wallet questions (rather than on the question of whether people in general can be trusted, unless they prove otherwise, which is not part of
the social trust dimension), it would make intuitive sense to consider the crime rate and the manner in which crime, along with any measures taken with respect to crime and its possible causes (poverty, lack of resources, facilities, opportunities, drug addiction, etc.) is reported in the newspapers.

To operationalize the social trust dimension I describe specific mentions of social trust (or distrust), if any. Next, I describe the articles which had to do with crime and its causes.

4.4.5 Institutional Performance

The institutional performance dimension is a composite of the ESC Survey responses to questions about how respondents would rate the business community and the local police (Appendix 1). This is yet another dimension that begs the question whether a subjective (cognitive) measure or dimension can be related to an objective, observable manifestation. A person’s opinions about the performance of institutions is likely related not just to the objective performance of the institutions in question, but also to a person’s political ideology and their socioeconomic position.

To operationalize the institutional performance dimension, I describe and analyze the business community’s response to the crisis. Specifically, I consider forestry cutbacks, labour-business relationships and communications; business initiatives related to job-sharing and job creation; business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development, etc. I also consider any mention of police activities.

4.4.6 Economic Belief

The economic belief dimension is a composite of the ESC Survey responses to questions about whether respondents had experienced a change in their household economic situation over the past 12 months and about their expectations for the next 12 months (Appendix 1).

To operationalize the economic belief dimension, I describe newspaper coverage on economic outlook, unemployment and job creation and economic development schemes for each community.
4.4.7 Community Response

This study addresses two questions: the first asks whether the 6 dimensions of social capital can be operationalized through an analysis of publicly available information found in community newspapers; the second, whether the 6 dimensions can serve as a framework for analysis to characterize community response to economic crisis. The question arises how to decide whether or not the 6 dimensions characterize the community’s response.

To answer this last question, I analyze the community response in a separate section by describing the community response, along with the community relationships and communications, within the context of each community. Next, I compare this analysis of the community response with the summary of the analysis of the six dimensions of social capital. Figure 1 represents the structure of this study.
4.5 Data Analysis Procedures

Robert Yin (84) states that every case study should strive to have an analytic strategy – define priorities for what to analyze and why. He lists three strategies: relying on theoretical propositions, explanation building and developing case descriptions. The strategy for this study is essentially a case description (two cases). Further, he lists 5 techniques that can be practiced to use these strategies: pattern matching, explanation building, time series analysis, logic models, cross-case synthesis. The main technique I adopted is a form of pattern matching. In the methods section above, I have laid out, for each dimension, a set of characteristics that I have sought to match in examining the data. Pattern matching is one of the most desirable techniques for case studies – this technique compares empirically based patterns with predicted ones – if the patterns coincide, the internal validity of the study is stronger. Explanation building and logic models are actually variants of pattern matching, time series traces events over time, and cross-case synthesis applies specifically to the analysis of multiple cases.

Yin points out that, regardless of strategies and techniques, the challenge is to produce high-quality analyses. To this end he lists a number of ‘rules’ investigators should follow: attend to all the evidence; display and present the evidence separate from any interpretation; show
adequate concern for exploring alternative interpretations; focus the analysis on the most significant aspect of the case study (preferably defined at the outset of the study); use your own expert knowledge; if the study involves multiple cases, apply a simple replication logic; make comparisons to rival propositions and threats to internal validity within each individual case and display sufficient evidence (critical pieces of evidence must still be contained in the case study report; at the same time, limit the report to the most critical evidence).

These are the guidelines I have tried to follow.

4.6 Data Analysis Steps

The first step of the analysis consists of characterizing the community's response in each town. The characterization is based on a description of the response of the various community sectors (e.g. community groups, business groups, institutions, etc.) and the nature of their relationships.

The second step of the analysis consists of defining the operationalization of each dimension and of describing how and to what extent the operationalization of each dimension was manifested in the newspaper coverage for each town.

The third step of the analysis summarizes the newspaper manifestation of all 6 dimensions to describe and characterize the community's response in each town. Next, the characterization of the community's response resulting from a holistic analysis of the data is compared to using the 6 dimensions to characterize community response (Figure 2 represents the data analysis steps). Finally, some additional interesting newspaper content which is not addressed by the 6 dimensions/community response framework is noted.
Figure 2 – Data Analysis Steps

Data Analysis Step 1

community response \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of community response}

Data Analysis Step 2

dimension 1 (community participation) \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of dimension 1}

dimension 2 (institutional performance) \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of dimension 2}

dimension 3 (government trust) \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of dimension 3}

dimension 4 (social trust) \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of dimension 4}

dimension 5 (social solidarity) \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of dimension 5}

dimension 6 (government trust) \rightarrow \text{operationalization} \rightarrow \text{newspaper manifestation of dimension 6}

Data Analysis Step 3

6 dimensions as manifested in the newspaper articles \rightarrow \text{summary to characterize response} \rightarrow \text{Community Response according to framework of 6 dimensions}
CHAPTER 5

5 RESULTS

5.1 Overview

This section contains several parts: first, the characterization of the community’s response to the crisis based on a holistic analysis of the newspaper articles and next, the description of the manifestation of the 6 dimensions of social capital in Nanaimo and Powell River, followed by a summary for each town.

5.2 How to Characterize the Community’s Response

The severe economic recession of the early 1980s resulted in drastic cutbacks in government funding of all kinds and very high unemployment, especially in the resource sector.

In this section I attempt to characterize each community’s response to the economic crisis by describing first the similarities of the economic effects on each town, next the main differences in newspaper reporting, followed by a more detailed description of the response of the various sectors in each town (community at large, business community, institutions, workers) and finally, some points on the different economic and social structures in each town.

The two towns were similarly affected by the recession:

In Nanaimo, in 1982, the official unemployment figure reached just over 20%; 6200 persons were claiming Unemployment Insurance in the winter of 82/83. In Powell River, unemployment stood at 25%, and at 40% amongst those under 25; at the end of 1982, 10% of the population of Powell River was on welfare. In Nanaimo, business bankruptcies in 1982
were up by 40% and profits were down nearly 50%. In Powell River, according to the chair of the local Chamber of Commerce in 1983, businesses lost an average of 35 to 40% in gross revenue.

Although both towns were hit by similar government cutbacks and experienced similarly severe unemployment and difficulties for local small businesses, the newspaper reporting in the two towns was quite different.

The following stood out in the newspaper reports:

5.2.1 Nanaimo

In Nanaimo, political issues dominated. Nanaimo was characterized by a higher degree of awareness of political issues, more political action and more conflict, as relationships between groups with opposing or diverging interests tended toward confrontation and antagonism.

Several new organizations, such as self-help groups, food banks and unemployed committees, were formed to deal with the effects of the crisis. Numerous educational activities and protest actions took place. Social service organizations reported steep increases in demand for services (counselling, crisis line, etc.) and several appealed for volunteers and also offered volunteer training - partly in response to increased demand and also to lack of funds due to cutbacks. There were numerous examples of solidarity (work sharing, donations to food banks, volunteering). There was substantial evidence of cooperation amongst community groups. The Ministerial Association (an association of church ministers), the trade unions and the local college were instrumental in bringing various sectors of the community together and the local school board played a role in opposing the very severe cutbacks in education.

Some federal/provincial make-work programs were announced in 1982; they got a mixed reception. Several work-sharing applications were submitted (51 work-sharing projects were underway in February, 1982; in October, Harmac workers voted for reduced hours to preserve jobs).
The business community and the economy

In terms of the economy, the emphasis was on downtown development and revitalization, the promotion of tourism and the development of Nanaimo as a retirement destination. Downtown revitalization plans met modest results; there was a big controversy over a downtown parkade. A small business assistance program was made available and a government-funded economic development officer was hired by the regional district in the spring of 1983. A large section of the business community pulled together over a petition campaign (Groundswell) for reduced government spending and tax cuts. The private sector responded less than expected to a job-creation program. Harmac responded with shut downs, lay-offs and demands for wage concessions and wage roll-backs.

The workers

Voluntarily reduced working hours in an effort to preserve jobs and opposed wage deferrals and wage roll-back proposals. (The BC forest industry had asked the 3 major unions to defer a 13% wage increase that was scheduled to go into effect in July 1982 by 6 months – the unions collectively refused. The forest industry later requested that the 13% wage increase be rolled back to 6%.)

The institutions

As in many other municipalities, city council in Nanaimo increased recreation fees; the council budget met with much opposition, both from within council and without, and lack of trust between the parties appeared to be a problem. Within city hall relationships between council and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) staff were confrontational: the issues concerned contracting out, arbitrary lay-offs, etc. Towards the end of the recessionary period, agreement was reached on job project grants following several Labour Relations Board (LRB) rulings in favour of the workers.

Within the school board, relationships between the teachers and the administration were cooperative; the teachers firmly opposed pay cuts and reductions to programs or support staff. School board trustees clearly favoured cooperation with the teacher’s union and strongly protested government actions. The school board refused to consider salary reductions until the legality of the restraint programs was established, and generally
supported the teachers’ demands. The school board and the teacher’s association agreed on a restraint plan avoiding layoffs and salary reductions.

The local college also faced large cuts; administrators, faculty and union reps cooperated. The college also played a very active role in the community.

**Political issues**

The Ministerial Association was instrumental not only in bringing various sectors of the community together, but also in setting the political tone of the community response to some degree. An ad-hoc committee of the Association considered suggestions for action, including political pressure to have unemployment insurance extended (Msgr. O’Connell: “there is a great need for a show of solidarity in the community, with citizens working together, ‘shoulder to shoulder’ at the community level”); a Catholic Church representative addressed a public meeting and spoke on the reasons for unemployment and the changing nature of unemployment. The Catholic bishops put out a paper “Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis” as a tool to stimulate debate; the bishops also made a New Years statement on the economic crisis which was controversial. Hospital staff and patients protested government cutbacks. The school boards challenged the education ministry’s legal right to impose restraints; the school trustees also pressed for legislative changes, allowing for flexibility in responding to the economic restraints. The labour council condemned the legislative performance of the mayor and city council. Union leaders put the blame for the recession on the companies and the government and zeroed in on policies that could help the unemployed; demands such as extended unemployment benefits, reduction of the work day without loss of pay and prohibition of log exports were all political. The unemployed coalition demanded an increase of unemployment benefits and welfare to meet people’s needs, legislation to protect unemployed homeowners from foreclosures and the abolition of the federal and provincial restraint programs. The coalition urged the jobless and workers to fight wage concessions together. The jobless march to Victoria had political demands: a shorter workweek, more unemployment benefits and a moratorium on foreclosures and evictions. A new municipal party, the “Organized Progressive Electors of Nanaimo” (OPEN) was formed, with a platform of controlled growth, social planning, etc. “Groundswell” was an example of political action on the part of business for lower taxes and reduced government spending.
Economic Survival & Recovery (ES&R) called a meeting in support of “Operation Solidarity”, which was a province-wide political protest. (In July 1983, the BC Federation of Labour called Operation Solidarity; 20,000 people rallied in Victoria to protest the Social Credit government plans to take away collective bargaining rights, fire civil servants without cause, cut back social services, water down human rights and consumer protection and centralize power in cabinet.)

Education activities

A substantial number of information sharing and educational activities such as meetings, forums and courses took place. In May 1982, 200 people came out to a “Mayday Nanaimo” conference to learn ways of dealing with the recession. ES&R, the Labour Council and the Pulp and paper Workers of Canada (PPWC) jointly sponsored a meeting for Nanaimo’s unemployed workers. Later, ES&R organized “Awareness Week”, which featured information, training and support. A broad range of community service groups participated in “HOPE Day” (Home Owners Programs Explained) with officials from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (a federal agency) and the BC Home Program. Brainstorming sessions were held based on the Catholic Bishops’ Paper, and Bishop de Roo, along with five Nanaimo public figures, held a panel discussion. In July 1983, ES&R called a meeting in support of “Operation Solidarity”. Other meetings concerned the Pearse report (fisheries), community schools, and the part played by politics in civic affairs (OPEN). The forestry unions struck a committee to compile information on MacMillan Bloedel’s operating practices. A number of courses were held at Malaspina College: a course for volunteers to be more effective as board members of non-profit organizations; courses on topics such as unemployment counselling (Canadian Labour Congress sponsored); two lectures on BC education problems, and a conference on education cutbacks (by the “Defend Education Services Coalition”).

Protest actions

During 1981 there were numerous strikes and labour protests: Telecommunication Workers Union (TWU) members occupied a company building in response to lay-offs; the CUPE strike affected schools and colleges; the telecommunication workers and forestry workers were on strike; the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union (UFAWU) went on strike.
and the BC Federation of Labour “day of protest” virtually shut down all Nanaimo businesses, commercial and service facilities.

In 1982 calm returned somewhat - until the summer. In August, the BC Ferry service was shut down, the building trades were on strike and the longshoremen were locked out. Towards the end of 1982, protest actions started to centre around unemployment and its effects: 25 people picketed the Trust Company over mortgages. Jobless committees started planning an Island March to Victoria, which took place in April 1983 with much community support. The Unemployed Workers Committee issued leaflets about the lack of services at the local Ministry of Human Resources; a private commission was organized to investigate the banks. In July, the BC Federation of Labour called “Operation Solidarity”; 20,000 rallied to protest provincial government plans to take away collective bargaining rights and a host of other measures.

There were instances where workers collectively refused to accept and abide by arbitrary proposals and measures. Local teachers rejected the idea of a voluntary pay-cut; the Teacher’s Association also opposed reducing district programs for support staff. Harmac workers decided not to co-operate with the latest company lay-off scheme. CUPE members showed up for work despite a scheduled shutdown of city services (CUPE subsequently won the LRB ruling); laid-off TWU staff also decided to show up for work (another illegal lay-off); and the BC Government Employees Union (BCGEU) voted 93% against the latest government contract offer.

Relationships

Relationships amongst community organizations on the horizontal level were good; there was evidence of cooperation amongst different community groups, the unions and the ministerial association. Other relationships, however, tended to be confrontational. In particular, relationships between city hall and the city workers were adversarial (issues involved contracting out, arbitrary lay-offs). Conflict also affected relations between smaller downtown merchants and large real estate interests backed by the mayor (over the planned construction of a downtown parkade); between a business group (mostly realtors and developers) which led a petition drive calling for reduced government spending and a
rollback in property taxes, and the Labour Council. A new municipal party (OPEN) was formed in opposition to the mayor; the mayor was criticized for putting the interests of the real estate industry before the interests of Nanaimo. Even the fundraiser for the United Way adopted an adversarial stance by claiming that those who continued to be employed gave the least and that non-givers appeared to believe that the government would take care of them. She also claimed that Nanaimo was the least supportive in Canada of the campaign (Nanaimo’s average per capita donation was $1.64, compared to the Canadian average of $6.00) and that local labour groups would not support the campaign.

5.2.2 Powell River

In Powell River, community issues dominated: an abundance of community newspaper coverage provided much detail on small-town social organization. In Powell River the issues were decidedly de-politicized, there was no overt conflict, but instead an emphasis on cooperation and consultation. The focus was on protecting the community and the local economy and on diversifying the local economy. No mention was made of the formation of any new organizations to deal specifically with the effects of the economic crisis (such as food banks or self-help groups; not until November 1982 was there talk about opening an Action Centre set up by the Powell River & District Labour Council), nor was there mention of increased demand for services or appeals for volunteers. Instead, the community rallied around crime prevention (Powell River had the lowest crime rate in the province) and the need for alcohol counselling (Powell River had the second highest alcohol consumption in the province); economically, diversification was a prominent topic. Work sharing was implemented - for a while - at the mill and the community was successful in securing funding from some federal/provincial make-work programs. There was evidence of some disagreements over issues such as the environmental impacts of the planned fertilizer plant and the lack of public openness around the Economic Development Council, but no evidence of antagonism or community-wide political organizing, as was the case in Nanaimo. The main conflicts in Powell River were between the workers and McMillan Bloedel and between the town and the provincial government (Table 1 summarizes the differences in newspaper reporting between the two towns).
Protecting the community, diversifying the economy

The Powell River Society for the Treatment of Chemical Dependency completed a brief to the municipality concerning the need for an alcohol and drug treatment centre, and also met with the provincial health minister. The society brought together industry, clergy, local government, the legal system and Native groups in support of an alcohol and drug treatment centre.

The Chamber of Commerce (COC) initiated the formation of the Crime Prevention Committee in an effort to get the community more involved in crime prevention; various community sectors were represented at their meetings and subcommittees were formed.

In an effort to preserve existing jobs and to protect the local economy, the Powell River District Board decided in June 1982 not to back a Vancouver bus company plan for a second bus link connecting Powell River with the Lower Mainland. In the same vein, the Powell River town council asked the Canadian Transport Commission (CTC) to suspend Air BC's licence to operate a Powell River service. A local company, Powell Air, provided 18 local jobs and injected about $1.5 million per year into the local economy, which was considered to be a reason to protect this company from Air BC's competition.

The COC successfully applied for an Employment Bridging Assistance Program (EBAP) grant to work on the Powell River canoe portage route. Another EBAP-backed program, sponsored by the Economic Development Council (EDC), created a new recreation area.

Local 76 of the CPU voted 81% in favour of a shorter workweek in order to save jobs, the company agreed, which temporarily saved about 65 jobs until November 1982, when more layoffs were announced and the work sharing program was terminated.

In February 1982, the provincial government approved $51,000 for continued funding of the Powell River Regional District's EDC. The EDC had been involved in an ongoing battle with provincial government to get more say in resource decisions. A survival workshop for businesses was organized by the EDC and presented by the EDC and Provincial Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development.
The Rotary Club initiated a series of two “Town Meetings” to help spark the local economy. These meetings were well attended (150 people), brought together a broad cross-section of the community and were supported by numerous organizations.

There was much talk, activity and lobbying around the prospect of attracting a natural gas pipeline to Vancouver Island through Powell River; a fertilizer plant was to accompany the project. The local COC made efforts to get a public hearing on the natural gas pipeline issue. There was considerable support for the proposed pipeline in the community; however, support was not unanimous and questions were asked about whether the projected economic advantages would outweigh the social and environmental impacts. Eventually, the fertilizer project was condemned by the Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC) - it was suggested that more effort should go into mariculture.

Tourism development was seen as very important; the local COC collaborated with 3 other centres on the Sunshine Coast on a combined promotional effort to attract tourism.

The COC sponsored a business crime prevention seminar that attracted dozens of local business owners and employees. The chamber registered its concern to city council with regard to the summer closure of the recreation complex and recreation centre fee increases. The COC also conducted a membership drive: more than 600 municipal business licences had been issued, but COC membership was only 82.

The COC and MacMillan Bloedel succeeded in obtaining a reduction of the local business tax rate to 5.5%.

In November 1983, the manager of MacMillan Bloedel’s Powell River division addressed the COC to complain about the strain of local taxation; he urged the COC to help MacMillan Bloedel convince the municipal and school board officials that relying on a single industry for much of their revenue "leaves this town extremely vulnerable if something should happen to that industry".

**The workers**

Proposed work sharing and opposed wage deferrals and wage roll-back proposals.
The institutions

In order to offset budget shortfalls, city council increased recreation fees; this measure met with protest.

Malaspina College played a very active role in the community: new courses and employment counseling was offered at the Women’s Access Centre; surveys were conducted on academic needs in the community, improvement of services during tough economic times and on college expansion and a workshop was held on how the college could help people cope. A meeting on how to apply for federal/provincial “Community Recovery Program Funds” and a mortgage information meeting were also held at the college. The college also housed the Work Opportunities for Women program at the Women’s Access Centre; this program formulated three proposals for economic diversification: a greenhouse, computer industry and a non-traditional trades exploration course. A local college advisory committee was established to provide citizen participation in developing college programs and policy. The local campus was able to provide programs even though it did not have necessary staff or facilities. The Women's Introduction to Trades program succeeded because tradesmen pitched in to help, and general mechanics instruction got off the ground after a building and equipment were provided by MacMillan Bloedel. "We could not run these kinds of things if the community didn't respond that way," according to the college director.

Relationships at Malaspina College, between the administration, CUPE, BCGEU, and the College Faculty Association appeared to be harmonious and the open budgeting process was praised by all parties involved.

Relationships within the school board, among teachers, other staff and the administration, and also parents appeared to be cooperative and harmonious; school board-staff meetings were well attended. In November 1982, the school board and teachers failed to reach a negotiated agreement and submitted to arbitration. No other major divisive issues were evident from the reports.

City Hall and Regional District

In contrast to Nanaimo, there were no reports of major issues between city hall and the municipal staff. Also, there was no evidence of any major issues dividing council members.
It is of interest to note that the mayor of Powell River, Derry Simpson, was a Powell Air employee.

**Activities of community groups**

The local newspapers provided much detail on the routine activities of the many active social service organizations; fundraising was prominent and successful. Community participation appeared to be strong; several newspaper articles mentioned events such as the monthly meeting of the Senior Citizens Association, women’s church group luncheons, a women’s banquet with a NAC representative, meetings on the regional settlement plan and political fundraising dinners for the Social Credit and the New Democratic Parties that drew typically around 100 people.

Parental protest against education cuts gathered momentum in Powell River when parents were invited to an information meeting, following which a committee was formed to take further action, resulting in a telegram to the premier and the education minister.

**Table 1 – Differences in Newspaper Coverage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NANAIMO</th>
<th>POWELL RIVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Political and recession-focused</td>
<td>- Issues were de-politicized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Educational activities/protest actions</td>
<td>- Much detail on small-town social organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Formation of new groups/cooperation amongst community groups</td>
<td>- High level of community participation/cooperation amongst community groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Conflict and confrontation</td>
<td>- No new groups/protest actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- No overt conflict within community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.3 Reporting Bias and/or Different Contexts

Why was the newspaper reporting in both towns so different? Reporting bias must be considered. Reporting in Powell River showed evidence of insularity – inward focused, with little reporting on events outside of Powell River (for instance labour movement activities were not covered; there was no word of “Operation Solidarity”, which resulted in massive demonstrations all over the province. In Powell River, the newspaper reports contained no
accounts of participation in the Unemployed March, the Coalition of Unemployed Action Committees, Operation Solidarity, DESC, or even in the teacher's provincial AGM).

Reporting bias may have to do with personal bias on the part of the reporter, or with editorial policy, or with community culture determining what is considered “newsworthy”, or with the media's skills of the “newsmakers”. As well, a similar news item may be considered more ‘newsworthy’ in a small town like Powell River than in a larger centre like Nanaimo. For instance, the Nanaimo COC organized a crime prevention seminar in October 1981, but the event was not reported on in the Nanaimo Free Press. However, even after considering reporting bias, there were important differences between the two towns, which likely account for some of the different responses.

The economic and resulting social structures in the two towns were quite different, as was the degree of relative isolation, and these differences likely affected the nature of the social relationships.

Nanaimo, although mostly forestry-dependent, had a more diversified economic base, a larger population, was a larger centre as a gateway to northern Vancouver Island and had a greater degree of social stratification, resulting in more opposing and diverging interests. For example, the mayor was a major real estate developer - over the past 20 years, Nanaimo developed a series of large malls along the northern outskirts of town (causing a surplus of retail space in the early 1980s) – these provide shopping access for the northern parts of the island, while the smaller downtown merchants are still discussing the need for downtown revitalization.

Powell River had a small and stable (declining, but non-transient) population, was geographically more isolated, situated at the end of the coast highway, accessible by two ferries from Vancouver and one ferry from Comox, on Vancouver Island. Powell River was a one-company town: MacMillan Bloedel employed almost 2,000 workers and supplied 75% of the town’s tax base. As a result, Powell River had a flat social hierarchy; there was little social stratification (e.g. the mayor was an employee at Powell Air) and there were few opposing interests in the town (Table 2 summarizes the contextual differences between the two towns).
Additional factors that may have contributed to the different response of the two communities were the roles played by the trade unions and the Catholic church. In Nanaimo, the workers at Harmac were represented by the PPWC, which had a reputation of being the more progressive, 'militant' and 'left wing' of the forestry unions, while the CPU, which represented the workers in the Powell River mill, was the more conservative, conciliatory and 'right wing' of the three unions in the forest industry. In addition, in Nanaimo the Catholic church played an important role. In particular Bishop de Roo was progressive, influenced by 'liberation theology' – a progressive current within the Catholic church that gained influence and popularity in the 1970s. These might be additional reasons why the response in Nanaimo had a more political character.

If social capital is conceptualized as a collective property, as a resource which is embedded in relationships that are features of the social structures of society, these results seem to suggest that economic base, degree of isolation, population size and composition and social hierarchy all matter in terms of social capital.
Table 2 – Different Contexts – Geography, Economy, Social Structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NANAIMO</th>
<th>POWELL RIVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gateway to Northern Vancouver Island/ larger centre</td>
<td>Isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More diversified economic base</td>
<td>One-company town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger population</td>
<td>Small and stable population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater degree of social stratification/ more opposing/diverging interests</td>
<td>Flat social hierarchy/ fewer diverging interests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 The 6 Dimensions of Social Capital as Manifested in the Newspapers

Appendix 2 contains the detailed results (with references to the original newspaper articles) of the operationalization of each of the six dimensions of social capital. This section contains the descriptive results for each dimension of social capital, followed by a summary which aims to describe the community's response, first for Nanaimo and then for Powell River. The interpretation of these findings will follow in the next section.

5.3.1 Nanaimo

Community Participation

This section describes the newspaper mention - if any - of the existence, activities, and demands put on service clubs, recreational groups, political or environmental groups, cultural organizations/services, volunteer and ad-hoc organizations (food banks, unemployed committees, etc.), and community turnout at events.

At the start of the 1980s a broad range of social resources existed in Nanaimo, consisting of numerous social service organizations, counselling centres and support groups. Several ad-hoc groups were formed during the summer of 1982, in response to the severe economic crisis; at least 8 were mentioned by name in the newspaper, of which the two main groups were ES&R and the Nanaimo Committee of the Unemployed. ES&R, initiated by the Ministerial Association, was a broad-based organization aimed at providing information and guidance, training of volunteers, opening self-help centres, etc. Nanaimo had at least 100...
active organizations, but not all were explicitly mentioned in the newspaper, and the routine activities of most groups received little mention in the paper. Art, music and theatre groups were well established and active in Nanaimo.

A fair amount of newspaper coverage centred on United Way fundraising and volunteer training activities of a number of groups, several of which experienced increased demand for services. For example, Malaspina College taught volunteers to be more productive members of boards of non-profit recreational and cultural services. The Nanaimo Citizens Advocacy Association and others appealed for volunteers; the Family Life Association realized a more than 400% increase in demand for its counselling and other services compared to the previous year.

The ad-hoc organizations were instrumental in bringing various groups together; an example was ‘Awareness Week’, in which several groups, including the United Way, the Salvation Army and the Society Promoting Environmental Conservation (SPEC) participated. A substantial number of information-sharing and educational activities, such as meetings, forums and courses were organized. These included “HOPE day” (Home Owner Programs Explained), sponsored by ES&R; brainstorming sessions based on the Catholic Bishops’ Paper and a panel discussion with representatives from the Catholic church (Bishop de Roo) and other public figures. Self-help groups, unemployed centres and food banks were organized by the ‘ES&R’ and the unions. ES&R called a community meeting in support of ‘Operation Solidarity’. Towards the end of 1982, protest actions started to centre around unemployment and its effects (the Bank of Nova Scotia was picketed over their ‘heartless business tactics’, the Trust Company was picketed over mortgages; an unemployed protest march took place; the Unemployed Workers Committee issued leaflets about the lack of services at the local Ministry of Human Resources). Other political activities included a parents’ group visiting Victoria to urge the education ministry to speed up the process of providing new schools and twenty-two persons attending a conference opposing cutbacks in educational funding. An organization mostly made up of developers and realtors, Groundswell, collected almost 5000 signatures in a campaign for reduced government spending and a roll-back in property taxes (the Nanaimo & District Labour Council considered a boycott of participating businesses).
About 200 Nanaimo residents turned out to a “Mayday Nanaimo” conference; ‘HOPE Day’ drew 200 people; Canada Day Celebrations attracted more than 300 people; the second annual Terry Fox run drew 566 participants and raised $5,000. Throughout 1982, the Nanaimo Volunteer and Information Centre recruited and placed 566 volunteers with agencies and individuals; more than 10,000 volunteer hours were contributed.

Institutional Performance

This section describes the business community’s response to the crisis: forestry cutbacks, labour-business relationships and communications; business initiatives related to job-sharing and job creation; business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development; bankruptcies and unemployment. I also consider any mention of police activities.

The performance of Nanaimo’s major employer, MacMillan Bloedel, was amply documented; the company experienced a difficult year with heavy losses in 1982. In response, it restructured and streamlined its operations, reduced operating costs through technological change, massive layoffs, wage rollbacks etc. and by the beginning of 1983 the company reported an optimistic outlook.

The performance of other business sectors was also documented: there was coverage on business initiatives related to economic revitalization and downtown development (a downtown beautification and development officer was hired), on the challenges faced by the retail industry (due to the economic situation and a surplus of retail space), on business initiatives to do with developing Nanaimo as a retirement city (the COC travelled to Eastern Canada and also organized a successful ‘Retirement Expo’), on the importance of tourism and on the state of the tourism industry. The economic upswing in early 1983 was also documented.

There was no mention of communication or business initiatives regarding job creation programs. However, several work sharing applications were approved; by February 1983, there were 51 work sharing programs in the area, involving 302 people; Harmac ended its work sharing scheme in December 1982 and continued with its plans to lay off more
workers. (The work sharing programs were put in place so that companies could keep their experienced workers.)

Business-labour relationships were also covered (workers' rejection of wage concessions; BC Tel strike; protest against banks seizing property; mortgage protest).

There was some coverage of police activities, reasons for the increase in crime in 1981 were examined and measures were taken, such as the hiring of additional police officers, resulting in more policing and the acquisition of a computer system to track the incidence and location of criminal activities. The crime rate stabilized over 1982.

Social Trust

*This section describes explicit mentions of social trust (or distrust), if any. I also consider the newspaper coverage on crime and its causes.*

The Nanaimo Free Press contained no explicit mention of social trust. As the original survey questions underlying this dimension pertained to the perceived likelihood of different types of people returning a lost wallet containing money, I hypothesised that an examination of newspaper crime reports might provide a context for ‘trust’.

Over the period covered in this study, the Nanaimo Free Press contained eight brief articles related to crime in the community. In 1981, the crime rate increased by 25% compared to 1980; the increase was attributed to both a population boom and a shortage in police staffing. The crime rate remained stable over 1982; by then the population had levelled off and police staff had increased; the individual police case load had dropped from 132 in 1981 to 104.5 in 1982. At the same time, Nanaimo also acquired a computer system, able to track where in the community crime happened.

Social Solidarity

*This section describes examples of solidarity: formation of ad-hoc groups, financial contributions to food banks etc., job-sharing, reduced hours, training programs educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities strikes, rallies and marches.*
Social solidarity was manifested in the Nanaimo newspapers in several ways. There was ample documentation on:

1. the formation of ad-hoc groups to deal with the effects of the crisis.
2. cooperation amongst existing and new groups; this cooperation was broad based: unions, church organizations, social service organizations, the local college – and happened around information sharing, educational activities, courses, etc.
3. donations to food banks, examples of work sharing, volunteering.
4. collective actions such as strikes, labour protests and political protests.

Several new groups were formed to assist the community, especially those who had lost their jobs, in dealing with the challenges of unemployment. Existing and new groups played an educational role, provided or facilitated various types of training and cooperated. There was evidence of solidarity amongst employed and unemployed workers, e.g. workers opting to work reduced hours to avoid layoffs, donations to food banks, jobless and employed workers fighting wage concessions, Unemployed Committee members volunteering for the Heart Fund drive. There were instances in which unemployed workers and unions, in particular the PPWC, picketed together.

**Economic Belief**

*This section describes unemployment and job creation and economic development schemes for each community.*

The Nanaimo Free Press carried relatively extensive coverage on economic outlook. In April 1983 the paper devoted a supplement to a variety of articles about people’s views on Nanaimo’s economic future: street interviews featuring the perspectives of retailers, business people, economist, clergy, social service agencies, etc. Other coverage pertaining to economic outlook included an article on increased car sales, on MacMillan Bloedel’s improved profit expectations, on 220 Harmac workers being called back to work and on the bright outlook for retail sales.

The paper also carried regular reports on unemployment, which in Nanaimo reached 20.4% in February 1983.
There also was coverage on various government make-work schemes, as well as on economic development plans, which on the whole were not very successful. It was reported that an economic turnaround occurred in Nanaimo at the end of 1982.

**Government Trust**

*This section describes specific newspaper mention – if any – of government trust; next, government measures, both cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn. Government plans and promises are described and finally the nature and “tone” of community-government communications are considered.*

Specific mention of government trust was confined to a number of editorials. One commented on the need for the parties representing various levels of government, the business community and labour to be trustworthy in the process of consultation (tri-partite consultations); another expressed a lack of trust in the provincial government’s spending habits. A third editorial was very critical of the provincial cabinet shuffle, particularly the appointment of the new education minister (Vander Zalm), and the government’s failure to come to grips with the economic issues. A number of other editorials called for ‘cooperation’ and were generally critical of big government and big unions – taking the line that workers with jobs should not be making demands, while others were unemployed.

There were major cutbacks in government spending which affected most sectors of society. Federal wage and price controls were put into effect and social programs were cut. Provincially, there were massive cutbacks in the public service, education, funding for municipalities etc.

Several job creation programs were announced; they were slow to get off the ground. Reactions to these programs were mixed; they were considered band-aid solutions by the labour organizations. Many workers did not meet the criteria to qualify for these programs and there was not much evidence of communication or business initiatives regarding job creation programs. (part of the reason for this may have been the absence of an economic development officer until the spring of 1983, when the province approved a $100,000 budget proposal for the position).
Communications between the various levels of government and the communities were often indirect (announcements, press conferences, petitions), or formal (letters and briefs); another characteristic of these ‘vertical’ communications was the sometimes confrontational nature of the communication (unilateral decisions, protests, strikes).

The school board criticized the provincial restraint plan and also questioned the legality of the provincial restraint program.

In the summer of 1983 20,000 people rallied in Victoria to protest the Social Credit government plans to take away collective bargaining rights, fire civil servants without cause, cut back social services, water down human rights and consumer protection and centralize power in cabinet. At the municipal level, reduced municipal funding caused budget shortfalls which resulted in layoffs of municipal workers, cutbacks in recreation programs and introduction of higher user fees.

5.3.2 Powell River

Community Participation

This section describes the newspaper mention - if any - of the existence, activities, and demands put on service clubs, recreational groups, political or environmental groups, cultural organizations/services, volunteer and ad-hoc organizations (food banks, unemployed committees, etc.), and community turnout at events.

At the start of the 1980s, Powell River had a large number of active community groups; a total of 93 organizations were known to operate in the town. Except for the unemployed action centre, set up by the Labour Council in early 1983, no new groups were formed specifically in response to the economic crisis. Besides a large number of social service organizations, Powell River had a thriving arts community, an active senior citizens association and also a number of more ‘activist’ organizations, such as the Pipeline Information Access Committee, the Powell River Society for the Treatment of Chemical Dependency, the Powell River Rape Assault Collective, the Malaspina Women’s Centre (Work Opportunities for Women) and the Crime Prevention Committee. The local
newspapers provided much detail on the routine activities of the many active social service organizations; fundraising was prominent and successful and volunteerism was common.

The Powell River Society for the Treatment of Chemical Dependency brought together industry, clergy, local government, the legal system and Native groups in support of an alcohol and drug treatment centre.

Powell River had two pipeline committees, one initiated by the mayor, the other by the community. The Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC) was a broad-based group of concerned citizens to investigate the ramifications of petrochemical development in Powell River. The PIAC eventually openly criticized the strong focus on the fertilizer plant and pressed for more action on the development of mariculture industry, instead.

The Crime Prevention Committee was initiated by the Chamber of Commerce in an effort to get the community more involved in crime prevention; various community sectors were represented at their meetings; sub committees were formed. The Rotary Club initiated a series of two “Town Meetings” to help spark the local economy; these meetings were well attended (150 people), brought together a broad cross-section of the community and were supported by numerous organizations.

Community participation in Powell River appeared to be strong; several articles mentioned events that drew typically around 100 people, such as: the monthly meeting of the Senior Citizens Association, women’s church group luncheons, a women’s banquet with a NAC representative, a meeting on the regional settlement plan, a political fundraising dinner for the Socreds, and another one for the NDP. The Sea Fair fundraiser drew 1,000 people and the annual Sea Fair itself was visited by 2,000 people.

Meals on Wheels volunteers delivered 3,414 meals in 1981 (up 20% from the previous year); due to strong community support Powell River had one of the most effectively run units, free of government help. The local college hosted a workshop on how the college could help people cope, a mortgage information meeting and a meeting on the “Community Recovery Program” funding, that attracted numerous proposals.
Institutional Performance

This section describes the business community’s response to the crisis: forestry cutbacks, labour-business relationships and communications; business initiatives related to job-sharing and job creation; business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development etc. I also consider any mention of police activities.

The performance of the town’s major employer, MacMillan Bloedel was amply documented: the company experienced a difficult year; the company’s credit rating was downgraded and the company suffered heavy losses. The Powell River operation was MacMillan Bloedel’s largest and most profitable; the company supplied 75% of the town’s tax base and lobbied for a lowering of the business tax rate. The mill shut down about 7 times in 1982 and several hundred workers were laid off.

The performance of other businesses was also documented: Powell River businesses lost on average 35 to 40% in gross revenue, about a dozen businesses had gone down in 1982; the General Motors (GM) dealership closed and other businesses were also hit hard by job losses. The activities of the local COC received substantial coverage: the COC was very active in promoting the pipeline and associated fertilizer plant project and in promoting tourism. The COC initiated the formation of a Crime Prevention Committee and sponsored a crime prevention seminar that attracted dozens of local business owners and employees. The COC applied for and received a federal job creation grant, opposed the recreation centre fee increases and obtained a lowering of the business tax rate. The Rotary Club initiated a well attended ‘Town Meeting’ to help spark local economy; the meeting was attended by 150 people.

Coverage of business-labour relationships was mostly confined to issues involving MacMillan Bloedel (workers proposing job sharing; opposing wage deferrals etc.; the company announcing closures and lay-offs and demanding wage cuts, etc.)

The papers contained no coverage on police activities as such, except for the RCMP addressing the COC organized crime prevention seminar. There was also some coverage on RCMP crime reports; it was further reported that Powell River had 19 RCMP officers, a ratio of 706 to one and that each officer had an average case load of 81.3.
Social Trust

This section describes explicit mentions of social trust (or distrust), if any. I also consider the newspaper coverage on crime and its causes.

Neither of the two community newspapers in Powell River contained any explicit mention of social trust during the period of this study. As the original survey questions underlying this dimension pertained to the perceived likelihood of different types of people returning a lost wallet containing money, I hypothesised that an examination of newspaper crime reports would provide a context for 'trust'.

It was reported that overall crime in Powell River decreased slightly in 1981, but 3 areas showed considerable increase: theft, fraud and burglary. Overall, crime statistics for Powell River dropped by 3.8%, while nationally crime was up 14%. Powell River was reported to be one in only seven communities in BC to show a decrease in crime in 1981/82. Powell River had 19 RCMP members; each had an average caseload of 81.3.

However, in 1982, vandalism at Recreation Complex was reported to have reached alarming proportions and the previous year, an estimated $15,000 was paid to repair damage caused by hooligans. Also, theft over $200.00 had increased 52% to 149 cases, with a low percentage of cases solved. The COC initiated the formation of a Crime Prevention Committee, with representation of various community sectors. The CPC reported that one third of business failures could be attributed to theft and increasing unemployment, inflation, drugs and alcohol were among reasons cited for the upswing in shoplifting and business theft. The CPC also looked for ways to make students more aware of unlawful activity in the school system and to encourage more participation by young people in fighting it.

Authority figures commented as follows:

March 1982: Powell River's crown council Richard Schwartz was quoted as follows: "The problems Powell River has are not criminal; they are problems with economy, with unemployment, with kids." One problem he noted locally was the lack of alcohol counselling, and this affected his sentence recommendations. ... “with the high number of alcohol related offences; people are being put on probation and not getting the treatment they need".
October 1982: “Powell River is far from being a den of hardened criminals”, Provincial Court Judge Johnson said. “Much of the lawbreaking can be traced to financial or emotional difficulties among those responsible, not to a habitual desire for personal gain”, he told the business crime seminar.

Social Solidarity

This section describes examples of solidarity: formation of ad-hoc groups, financial contributions to food banks etc., job-sharing, reduced hours, training programs, educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities, strikes, rallies and marches.

In Powell River no ad-hoc groups to deal with the effects of the economic crisis were formed, until December 1982, when the BC Federation of Labour started setting up unemployed action committees and the Powell River & District Labour Council started looking for a suitable place for the unemployed action centre. A few new organizations were established during the period covered by this study: The Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC) was formed in February 1982, to gather facts on the proposed natural gas pipeline to Vancouver Island, alleging that the mayor’s committee did not permit public access. The Crime Prevention Committee was formed following a meeting organized by the local COC with representatives from several community groups, to formulate ways of combating crime in Powell River. The Powell River Society for Treatment of Chemical Dependency presented a brief to the municipality on the need for a treatment centre; their meetings drew representatives from industry, clergy, local government, the legal system and native groups.

The Powell River community papers contained no mention of food banks; however, there was documentation on donations for various causes: projects in underdeveloped countries, the fight against cerebral palsy, the Powell River Music Festival, the Powell River Regional Hospital, the Cancer drive, the Salvation Army, United Way, etc.

There were several examples of volunteerism: hot meal delivery increased; Meals on Wheels volunteers delivered 3,414 meals in 1981, an increase of 611 over the previous year. Hospital physios asked for volunteers to do activities with extended care residents: the response was
great. The local campus was able to provide programs even though it did not have necessary staff or facilities.

The workers at the mill voted for reduced hours in order to save jobs.

Several educational activities took place: a mortgage information workshop (co-sponsored by Malaspina College and the People's Law School), a "Hard Times" workshop, a follow-up on the "Survival Workshop" for businesses, a meeting on "Community Recovery" funds. In December 1982, about 150 people attended a "Town Meeting" organized by the Rotary Club. There were several instances where workers collectively refused to accept and abide by arbitrary proposals and measures. The CPU, local 76, voted almost unanimously in favour of not handling non-union pulp; they opposed the wage freeze and voted 81% in favour of shorter work hours to save jobs. The teachers vowed to fight against the restraint plan; the telecommunication workers refused to give up a day's pay; commercial fishers in Powell River were on strike for 8 days; the BCGEU was off the job for one week and in September 1982, the teachers staged an unauthorized three-day walkout.

**Economic Belief**

*This section describes unemployment and job creation and economic development schemes for each community.*

The Powell River newspapers contained no coverage on people's economic outlook or expectations. Some aspects of the context which may give rise to people's economic belief were covered: The Powell River Town Crier and the Powell River News carried regular reports on unemployment statistics. In January 1982, it was reported that unemployment in Powell River was very high with over 1,000 claimants; that year, there was no summer work at MacMillan Bloedel; there were layoffs at the local hospital and termination of teacher's contracts. By the fall, there had been a huge increase in the local welfare roll: more than 900 persons (roughly 10% of the community) were receiving social assistance; at the same time unemployment was estimated to have reached 25% and 40% for those under 25. In November, MacMillan Bloedel announced that 250 permanent mill jobs would be eliminated.
Several federal and joint federal-provincial make work projects were announced, some of which received mixed reactions and most had limited success. However, the community was successful in attracting some funds: for a counselling service for women wanting to enter the workforce in non-traditional areas; for work on a canoe portage route and for the creation of new recreational areas.

In an effort to preserve existing jobs, attempts were made to keep competing businesses out of town (BC Air, Vancouver Transit). At the end of 1982, the Rotary club organized a successful “Town Meeting” attended by 150 persons, to generate ideas to stimulate the local economy.

In September 1983, the COC chair reported that businesses in Powell River had lost on average 35-40% in gross revenue over 19982/83 and that some business losses had been as high as 70%. He reported the latest unemployment statistics to be at least 17.7% for Powell River, which remained higher than the provincial average. A survey of local service industries indicated that for every one of 450 jobs lost in industry, a matching one was lost in service areas. Contrary to reporting in Nanaimo, it did not appear that Powell River’s local economy improved significantly in 1983.

**Government Trust**

*This section describes specific newspaper mention – if any – of government trust; next government measures, both cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn. Government plans and promises are described and finally the nature and “tone” of community-government communications are considered.*

The Powell River newspapers contained no explicit mention of government trust.

There were major cutbacks in government spending which affected most sectors of society. Federal wage and price controls were put into effect and social programs were cut. Provincially, there were major cutbacks in education budgets, in various social services, changes to provincial-municipal revenue sharing schemes, and increases in service fees. Medicare premiums were increased; hospital funding was cut back; the health unit’s nursing staff was also reduced. The BC Ferry Corporation budget was trimmed by 15%. Funding for
a summer student employment program was slashed, and so was funding for legal aid. A $1.2 million proposal to renovate an old arena (Willingdon Arena) as a campus facility was put on hold. The provincial government took over taxing all non-residential property for school purposes; the new taxation formula drew much criticism, as the school board was concerned about loosing control over education matters and the municipality lost a large chunk of investment capital. When the Powell River school district was advised to drastically cut its budget, the school trustees initially refused to prepare a new budget pending the passage of proper legislation. Under-funding in education became a long-term feature; in 1985, the superintendent called the situation with education in BC one of chaos.

Several federal and joint federal-provincial make-work projects were announced; they met with mixed reactions and generally were slow to get off the ground. However, the community managed to secure some funding for the building of canoe portage routes, a new recreation area and a counselling program for women wanting to enter the workforce.

The provincial government authorized $51,000 toward continued funding of the Powell River Regional District's Economic Development Council and approved a $4,000 grant to the Sunshine Coast Community Services Society for a transition house in Sechelt.

By June 1982, two local businesses had been approved for work sharing (3 more were awaiting approval). The Powell River Forest district received a $2.2 million budget; their budget was not subjected to cuts. The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans announced the launch of a "community project" in the Powell River area as part of the Salmonid Enhancement Program, which would give Powell River residents an opportunity to spend $18,000 on a project to enhance salmon stocks and create jobs over two years. In December 1982, the federal government’s Canada Community Development Program granted $200,000 to the BC Federation of Labour, to earmark funds for 20 communities in the province for unemployment action centres; in 1983 the federal government awarded an additional $50,000 for the special response feature of the CCD Program.

While there was no explicit mention of government trust or distrust in either of the community papers, there were some quotes from various local officials expressing their thoughts and opinions about the provincial government and its policies.
Most government-community communications were announcements; there were few instances of direct communications (some briefs, letters and meetings). There was nothing noteworthy about the nature or the tone of community-government communications.

5.4 Results Summary

This section addresses the question of whether there is relevant information in the community newspapers that bears on the 6 dimensions of social capital in each of the two towns and of how this information reflects the response of each community.

5.4.1 Can the 6 Dimensions be Operationalized – and What Do They Say About Community Response?

What follows is a brief review and assessment of the newspaper manifestation of each dimension (Summarized in Table 3) and of what this information tells us about the manner in which the community responded in each town.
Table 3 – The Manifestation of the 6 Dimensions of Social Capital in Nanaimo and Powell River

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Social Capital</th>
<th>NANAIMO</th>
<th>POWELL RIVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Participation</td>
<td>Substantial coverage on:</td>
<td>Substantial coverage on:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- activities of most active community groups</td>
<td>- routine activities of social service organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- volunteer activities, fundraising</td>
<td>- active community organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimal coverage on:</td>
<td>- volunteer activities, fundraising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- routine activities of recreational, cultural, religious groups</td>
<td>- participation in community events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* unions played active role (not in ESC questions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Performance</td>
<td>- no explicit mention of perception</td>
<td>- no explicit mention of perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Substantial coverage on:</td>
<td>Substantial coverage on:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- business performance, partic. MB</td>
<td>- performance of MB; others mainly closures/ loss of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- business efforts w.r.t. downtown revitalization, tourism dev't, retirement promotion</td>
<td>- act. of local COC: promotion of pipeline, tourism, crime prevention, grant applications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimal coverage on:</td>
<td>Minimal coverage on:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- business-labour relationships</td>
<td>- labour-business relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- police performance</td>
<td>- police performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Trust</td>
<td>- no explicit mention</td>
<td>- no explicit mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimal coverage on crime – mostly statistical</td>
<td>Crime coverage interesting: crime prevention act. bring community together; overall crime rate lowest in province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Solidarity</td>
<td>Substantial coverage on cooperation amongst groups to provide various forms of assistance: education/information, food banks, volunteering, collective actions: protests/strikes</td>
<td>Substantial coverage on community involvement: crime prevention, broad support for treatment centre, donations for various causes, volunteering; no food banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Belief</td>
<td>- special edition on economic outlook, early 1983</td>
<td>- no explicit mention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- articles announcing economic recovery</td>
<td>- some coverage on unemployment, layoffs, gov’t make-work projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- reports on unemployment, economic dev’t plans, economic performance</td>
<td>- no coverage suggesting economic improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Trust</td>
<td>Coverage is limited to editorials</td>
<td>- no explicit mention of government trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- some coverage on various government make-work projects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.2 Nanaimo

In the Nanaimo newspaper, 'community participation' was manifested by substantial coverage on the activities of the most active community organizations, on volunteer activities and on fundraising, while there was minimal coverage on the routine activities of recreational, cultural and religious groups. The newspaper articles provided important context to the meaning of 'community participation' in real life and provided the opportunity to see the newspaper reflection of social capital in action. It should be noted that the newspaper articles also evidenced the important role played by the trade unions; and that questions on trade union membership were not part of the ESC questionnaire. This observation supports the criticism that the literature on social capital tends to ignore trade union membership and thus tends to reflect middle class values (34;92).

The Nanaimo papers contained no specific mention of people's perceptions of 'institutional performance', but the papers did contain fairly substantial information on the performance of the business community, in particular on Nanaimo's major employer, MacMillan Bloedel. The interpretation of this information would probably differ depending on one's position with respect to the company; restructuring certainly improved profits, but also resulted in the permanent loss of many jobs. The performance of other business sectors was also documented: the efforts made with respect to downtown revitalization, tourism development, promotion of Nanaimo as a retirement destination, business seminars on how to improve business in tough times, etc.; business-labour relationships also received some mention. Information on police performance was scant.

The newspaper contained no explicit mention of 'social trust'. As the original survey questions which gave rise to the 'social trust' dimension pertained to people's expectations of honesty on the part of hypothetical persons finding a lost wallet, I had expected that the newspaper coverage on crime would provide some context for 'social trust'. However, crime reporting was mostly confined to statistical information, without commenting on the reasons for the increase of crime in 1981 and the consequent levelling off, other than an increase and levelling off of population.

'Social solidarity' was amply manifested in the Nanaimo newspaper coverage.
The Nanaimo newspapers also carried extensive coverage on 'economic belief'; in the beginning of 1983, the paper published a special edition on economic outlook from the point of view of different people in the community, representing different social sectors. Further the paper contained reports on unemployment, on economic development plans as well as on the economic turnabout in early 1983.

Explicit newspaper coverage pertaining to 'government trust' was largely limited to editorials and statements from school board leaders concerning the government restraint program and its effects. The newspaper contained much information on various government measures and their effects, as well as on community responses, but it cannot be said that this constituted a manifestation of 'government trust'.

In summary, the Nanaimo newspaper files manifested some of the dimensions of social capital, namely: 'community participation', 'social solidarity' and 'economic belief' and some elements of 'institutional performance' but not 'social trust' and 'government trust' (Table 4 provides a summary).

**What does the newspaper manifestation of these dimensions show about the community’s response in Nanaimo?**

Nanaimo had a broad range of community groups and new groups were formed in response to the challenges posed by the effects of the economic downturn. These groups cooperated in providing various forms of assistance: education, information, food banks, volunteer training, etc. There was evidence of solidarity (cooperation amongst community groups, donations to food banks, work sharing, volunteering, collective actions such as protests and strikes). Government make-work programs were more or less successful and there was no evidence of job creation attempts on the part of private business. The business community responded with much talk about economic diversification (attempts at developing tourism, promoting Nanaimo as a retirement destination, downtown revitalization), without much result. Some work sharing projects took place (in early 1983 there were 51, involving 302 people).
### Table 4 – Contingency Table: Dimensions of Social Capital in the Nanaimo Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Social Capital</th>
<th>Nanaimo Newspaper</th>
<th>Nanaimo Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>community participation</td>
<td>social trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social solidarity</td>
<td>government trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>institutional performance (only business)</td>
<td>institutional performance (police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>economic belief</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>nature of vertical relationships</td>
<td>‘background’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nature of conflict</td>
<td>economic base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>role of unions/church</td>
<td>demographics (partly in paper info)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>role of school board and</td>
<td>community infrastructure (recreational and cultural amenities; social services)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community college</td>
<td>government services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>political climate</td>
<td>transportation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: the top-left quadrant shows the dimensions of social capital that were manifested in the Nanaimo newspaper articles; the top-right quadrant lists the dimensions of social capital that were not reflected in the newspaper coverage; the bottom-left quadrant shows newspaper information that pertained to the community’s response, but was not captured by the 6 dimensions; the bottom-right quadrant lists information that would be relevant for further research, but was not found in the newspapers.

#### 5.4.3 Powell River

In the Powell River newspapers *‘community participation’* was manifested by detailed coverage of the routine activities of many active social service organizations; there was evidence of volunteering and successful fundraising for various causes; substantial community participation at various events was also documented.

The Powell River papers contained no specific mention of people’s perceptions of *‘institutional performance’*, but there was ample information on the performance of MacMillan Bloedel and the performance of other businesses was also documented (mostly in terms of closures and/or loss of income). The activities of the local COC received substantial coverage (promoting the pipeline, tourism, crime prevention committee, applying for
government grant), while the coverage of business-labour relationships was mostly confined to MacMillan Bloedel. The papers contained no significant coverage on the activities of the police.

The papers contained no explicit mention of 'social trust'. Crime reporting in Powell River was interesting: the town had the lowest crime rate in the province; however there had been an increase in thefts and there was concern about vandalism. The COC initiated a broad-based crime prevention committee and there appeared to be a sense in the community that increasing unemployment, inflation, drugs and alcohol were among the reasons for the upswing in shoplifting and business theft.

'Social solidarity' in Powell River was manifested by the activities of some of the community organizations: the Crime Prevention Committee got the community involved to formulate ways of combating crime; the Society for Treatment of Chemical Dependency got broad community support in their request for a treatment centre. The papers contained no mention of food banks, but there was documentation on donations for various causes and there were several examples of volunteerism; there were examples of job sharing and of collective action.

There was no coverage on people’s economic outlook or expectations. Some aspects of the context which may give rise to people's 'economic belief' were covered: reports on unemployment, layoffs; announcements of government make-work projects; a town meeting to generate ideas to stimulate the local economy – no articles suggesting an improved local economy.

The Powell River papers had no explicit mention of 'government trust'; there was coverage on the various government make-work projects and while they had limited success, the community did attract some funding and the forestry district budget remained unaffected by cuts; there was nothing noteworthy about the nature of the tone of community-government communications.

In summary, the Powell River newspaper files manifested some of the dimensions of social capital, namely: 'community participation', 'social solidarity' and some elements of the
context giving rise to 'economic belief', 'institutional performance' and to some minimal extent 'social trust' but not 'government trust' (Table 5 provides a summary).

What does the newspaper manifestation of these dimensions show about the community's response in Powell River?

Powell River had a large number of active community groups; no new groups were formed in direct response to the economic crisis. Community groups were active around crime prevention, obtaining an alcohol treatment centre, information gathering around the proposed pipeline and fertilizer plant. Social service organizations were active, fundraising was prominent and volunteerism was common; community participation was strong and community turnout at events was numerous. There was some evidence of collective action, i.e. workers at MacMillan Bloedel voting in favour of not handling non-union pulp, opposing the wage freeze and voting in favour of shorter hours to save jobs. The teachers engaged in an unauthorized 3-day walkout.

Several government make-work programs were announced; these received mixed response. However, the community managed to attract some funds for projects sponsored by the COC, the EDC and the Family Life Association. The COC was very active in promoting the pipeline and associated fertilizer project and in promoting tourism; the COC also initiated a Crime Prevention Committee and sponsored a business crime seminar; as well, the COC obtained a lowering of the business tax rate to 5.5%. The Rotary Club initiated a “Town Meeting” to help spark the local economy. A number of informational meetings were held: a mortgage information workshop, a ‘Hard Times’ workshop, a ‘Business Survival’ workshop’ and a meeting on ‘Community Recovery’ funds.

The newspaper information on Powell River suggests the existence of strong community ties; these are often associated with a biographical history (growing up in the same area, knowing everyone, having gone to the same school, allegiance to sports teams, etc.). People who feel biographical ties to an area are more likely to participate in community activities than people who do not share the same ‘sense of belonging’ (23). Powell River is in some respects reminiscent of the much studied community of Rosario, which was a homogeneous
community of Italian Catholics in the US, characterized by a shared culture, mutual aid and strong family networks and high levels of participation in local organizations (93).

Social capital is often measured by community participation; in some studies voter turnout has been used as a proxy for social participation (31). The situation in Powell River was contradictory in this respect: high levels of social participation on the one hand, very low levels of electoral turnout on the other: the November 1982 municipal elections attracted only 20.5% of eligible voters, local school board turnout was 16.6%; the lowest turnout ever (the Nanaimo papers contained no figures on voter turnout).

**Table 5 – Contingency Table:**
**Dimensions of Social Capital in the Powell River Newspapers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Social Capital</th>
<th>Powell River Newspapers YES</th>
<th>Powell River Newspapers NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>- social participation</td>
<td>- social trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- social solidarity</td>
<td>- government trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- institutional performance (business, not police)</td>
<td>- economic belief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- institutional performance (police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- nature of vertical relationships</td>
<td>'background'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- nature of conflict</td>
<td>- economic base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- role of unions</td>
<td>- demographics (partly in paper info)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- role of school board and community college</td>
<td>- community infrastructure (recreational and cultural amenities; social services)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- political climate</td>
<td>- government services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- shops/food availability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- access to resources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: the top-left quadrant shows the dimensions of social capital that were manifested in the Powell River newspaper articles; the top-right quadrant lists the dimensions of social capital that were not reflected in the newspaper coverage; the bottom-left quadrant shows newspaper information that pertained to the community’s response, but was not captured by the 6 dimensions; the bottom-right quadrant lists information that would be relevant for further research, but was not found in the newspapers.
5.4.4 What Relevant Information is Left Out When the 6 Dimensions are Applied as a Framework to Analyze Community Response?

A comparison of the two different approaches to characterizing the community response (summarized in Table 6) reveals that both approaches cover the activities of community organizations and the business community; however, the framework of the 6 dimensions omits some important elements and this makes it difficult to actually "characterize" the response. One piece of relevant information that is omitted is the role played by the educational institutions. The school boards, both in Nanaimo and in Powell River, played an important role in defending the educational system from being dismantled and in opposing the extreme anti-education government measures; the local colleges played an important role as community institutions, facilitating informational and educational events in response to the crisis and also, particularly in Powell River, conducted a number of community surveys on various issues related to the role of the college in the community. As well, the college in Powell River established a Community Advisory Panel, thus promoting community input to the affairs of the college.

More importantly, the framework of the 6 dimensions omits the relationships between and amongst organizations and groups, especially the nature of vertical relationships that exist between different levels of the social hierarchy. Social capital is commonly understood to be a resource which is embedded in these very relationships, so it would make sense to consider the newspaper mention of the existence and nature of relationships within, between and amongst different groups; it appears that the framework of the 6 dimensions omits some important aspects of social capital.
Table 6 – Contingency Table: Dimensions of Social Capital as Analytic Framework and Characterization of the Community’s Response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions Framework</th>
<th>Characterization of Community Response YES</th>
<th>Characterization of Community Response NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>- social participation</td>
<td>- social trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- social solidarity</td>
<td>- government trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- business performance</td>
<td>- economic beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- nature of social relationships, especially vertical relationships</td>
<td>Only in Powell River papers: issues related to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- dynamics of community response</td>
<td>- women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- role of unions/church/educational</td>
<td>- children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>institutions</td>
<td>- environmental concerns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 Results - Addendum

There were some other interesting items in the newspaper data, that were not strictly speaking characteristic of the community’s response.

While not a characteristic of the community’s response to the crisis per se, it is of note that issues related to women and children received attention in Powell River (in contrast to Nanaimo). There were some special programs to help women enter the workforce: an employment counselling service “Work Opportunities for Women” focused on helping women join the workforce, primarily in non-traditional areas. The Family Services Society applied for the grant, which was sponsored by the Canada Employment Commission (CEC). The program also formulated three proposals for federal funding. “Alternatives for Women and “Introduction to Trades” were other programs aimed at opening new job opportunities for women. Malaspina College ran a “Women’s Introduction to Trades” program, which succeeded because tradesmen pitched in to help. A regional representative of NAC spoke to about 100 women about how women were making their concerns heard at a national level.

The Rape Assault Collective, formed in the spring of 1981, organized the "Take Back the Night" march, set up a 24-hour crisis line, addressed public meetings and held self-defence.
classes; they had their funding withdrawn and were seeking community support for their service.

Early childhood also received attention in the Powell River papers: the hiring of a daycare coordinator by the MHR resulted in a 50% increase in daycare subsidies within 2 months. A new recreation program for very young children was established. A series of 8 films on child development, sponsored by BC Council for the Family, received a good response (free childcare was provided). A STEP (Systematic Training for Effective Parenting) course was offered by an elementary school counsellor. The Powell River Infant Development Advisory Board sponsored an information meeting on infant development programs and the paper carried an article on programs for young children with special needs. The Foster Parents Association sponsored Foster Parents week and conducted a recruitment campaign with very good results. And, finally, the Block Parent program was revived. The abortion issue was also important as Pro-life delegates, who held all elected seats on the hospital board, stacked the hospital society board election meeting.

Environmental concerns also came to the surface in occasional newspaper mention (mostly in letters to the editor).
CHAPTER 6

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to describe and characterize the response of two resource-dependent sawmill communities during a period of severe economic downturn, using 6 identified dimensions of social capital as a framework for analysis of publicly available information found in community newspapers. This is a historical qualitative case study, based on a thematic content analysis of local community newspapers from Nanaimo and Powell River, British Columbia, covering the period of 1981-1983. This study explores whether and how aggregated individual measures of social capital were manifested in a collective context. Five of the six dimensions of social capital were composites of cognitive individual measures of social capital, the sixth was a structural measure of community participation. A ‘collective/contextual’ operational definition was developed for each of the dimensions prior to analyzing the newspaper data.

The following section describes findings. Next, the limitations of the study are outlined, followed by a discussion of their implications for further research.

6.2 Conclusions

Results show that a structural measure of social capital, namely ‘community participation’, is substantially manifested in the newspaper coverage of both towns. A dimension based on questions pertaining to social/political beliefs related to ‘solidarity’ is also manifested in newspaper coverage of concrete manifestations of solidarity in both towns. The dimension based on questions pertaining to perceptions about ‘institutional performance’ is manifested
to some degree, as newspaper reports cover business performance, but not police performance. There is some coverage on 'economic belief' in Nanaimo, but not in Powell River; however, the newspapers in both towns reported on some of the context that might give rise to economic expectations. There is no observable manifestation of the 'social trust' and 'government trust' dimensions.

The 'community participation', 'social solidarity' and the 'business performance' part of the 'institutional performance' dimensions are manifested in the newspaper reports and while quantitative measurement remains an issue, the newspaper reports do illustrate how these dimensions of social capital played out in real life. The newspaper information that relates to these dimensions is relevant; however, the dimensions do not encompass all relevant information with respect to the social dimensions of health that may be found in community newspapers.

When the framework of the 6 dimensions of social capital is applied to characterize community response to economic downturn, some important elements are missed, such that the response cannot not actually be characterized. The 6 dimensions do not include the role played by the educational institutions and - more importantly - the relationships between and amongst organizations and groups at different levels of the social hierarchy.

Differences in newspaper reporting in the two communities suggest that the response in each of the two communities had different characteristics and that there is a material and structural base to the type of social relationships that exist in a community, which may also affect the nature of these relationships.

Newspaper information concerns the public domain and can illustrate how social relationships play out publicly and collectively in the context of the social structures, which may be different in different communities. Through newspaper information it is possible to observe elements of social capital in action.
6.3 Implications

The results of this study raise several issues related to the concept of social capital and its measurement, and to the use of information found in newspapers as a source for data.

The nature of this analysis is highly exploratory in its attempt to turn individual indicators of social capital into collective/contextual measures, as well as in attempting to use these measures as a framework for analysis for newspaper data and in attempting to use newspaper data to ‘measure’ rural social capital.

The next section addresses some of the issues around the methodology used for this study, and how information found in community newspapers may be used in rural health research.

6.3.1 Limitations of the Methods

External validity

Besides the limitations associated with particularities of place, time and circumstances, this study is also subject to a number of limitations imposed by the methods.

Construct validity

The first is a conceptual issue; there is a conceptual divide between the survey questions and the newspaper information, in the sense that the survey questions (of which the 6 dimensions are a composite) are individual measures of perceptions, while the measures applied to the newspaper information are measures of objective contextual manifestations. The survey questions are measures of social capital, a construct which is itself somewhat vague and ill defined. In a recent study that analyzes the citation practices in social capital and health studies, and the translation of the concept of social capital into health research, Moore et al. find that most of the health-related research on social capital has had quite a narrow focus around the ‘communitarian’ approach developed by Robert Putnam. They note that definitions of social capital span a broad range from “communitarian definitions, which focus on ‘features of social organization such as civic participation and trust in others’, to network definitions, which focus on social relationships and access to resources” (16). This study implicitly bridges two quite different conceptualizations of social capital. From the results, it
appears that a more structural view of social capital that considers social capital as embedded in relationships in the various societal structures, and considers social capital as a resource (or potential resource) for individuals and communities, would probably be more helpful in analyzing and understanding the social dimensions of health (42). For example, a recent study found that psychosocial work conditions may be a determinant of social participation (94); this also illustrates one of the ways in which different people have differential access to social capital.

A related issue concerns the particular measures of operationalization. The operationalizations of the measures in this study have not been validated in any way, as this study is a first attempt at a collective/contextual operationalization of these dimensions - there may be other and/or better measures for the same indicators.

**Internal Validity**

A further issue, which is inherent to all qualitative studies, has to do with internal validity. In this case, inter-rater reliability was not established and thus there is a source of bias that pertains to the choice of the information used and how it is analyzed. Choosing which data are meaningful and which to ignore is to some extent determined by the paradigm used by the researcher. Other researchers might draw different conclusions when analyzing the same facts, depending on their worldview. I believe that social change is largely determined by the manner in which conflicts amongst groups with different and opposing interests get resolved and it is these dynamics that also tend to determine social relationships. Consequently, if social capital is conceptualized as a resource that is embedded in social relationships, and to which different people and groups have differential access, then it is important to address the nature of these relationships and to also address questions of power, in order to understand who has access to which social resources.

This study may have benefited from having a number of people independently assess the newspaper content, evaluate the 6 dimensions according to newspaper coverage and make inferences about the community. Results from such a study would have been based on a consensus of several people; this would have lent more credibility to the results, as a validated analysis is by definition more credible. Given that these resources were not
available, I deliberately broadened the scope of the operational definitions of the 6 dimensions, in order to minimize the omission of potentially relevant information.

In this way the results might not be substantially different from those that would have emerged from a group effort. (Appendix 2 contains the detailed results of the newspaper analysis, with references to the original newspaper articles.)

**Reporting Bias**

The issue of reporting bias was addressed earlier. Reporting bias may have to do with editorial policy, with personal bias on the part of the reporter, with community culture determining what is considered “newsworthy”, or with the media skills of the “newsmakers”. As well, a similar news item may be considered more ‘newsworthy’ in a small town like Powell River than in a larger centre like Nanaimo. Use of additional sources of data can address some parts of this source of bias.

The time dimension – there is a gap of almost 30 years between the study period and the ESC Survey, from which the 6 dimensions were extracted - is an advantage, as health outcomes resulting from social and environmental exposures are for the most part not immediate, but develop over time.

**6.3.2 Implications for Research**

While the factor analysis of the ESC identifies 6 distinct dimensions of social capital in Canada, these dimensions likely do not cover social capital in a comprehensive manner and thus it is no surprise that the framework does not capture/encompass all aspects of the community response. The results of any analysis depend on the set of variables used in the analysis.

Although the factor analysis identifies 6 distinct dimensions of social capital, the dimensions are not distinct in terms of the information found in the newspapers. There was considerable overlap amongst several dimensions, notably between ‘community participation’ and ‘social solidarity’ and between ‘institutional performance’ and ‘economic belief’. This may partly be due to the conceptual divide between the identified dimensions of social capital and their
operationalization (from individual perception to collective/contextual manifestation), and also to the way in which the dimensions were operationalized - there may be better and/or different operationalizations for the same dimensions. As well, the fact that the dimensions were statistically distinct does not necessarily mean that they in fact reflect socially distinct categories.

The results of this analysis also raise some questions about commonly used proxies for social capital indicators. Some studies have used electoral participation as a proxy for social participation; the results of this study suggest that the two are not necessarily related. In Powell River there was much community involvement, yet voter turnout for the municipal elections was extremely low (20.5%). Interestingly, a recent study found low electoral participation at the neighbourhood level to be associated with incidence of coronary heart disease (66).

6.3.3 Practical Implications
In concrete terms, an analysis of community newspapers can possibly provide some insight into:

- the manifestations of community participation and the activities of the most active and influential groups in the community;

- the activities of the business community;

- the dynamics of relationships at various levels of public life; power dynamics; obstacles to access to social capital;

- the nature of social relationships; for instance, intra-organizational relationships (within a company or within city hall) tell something about the work environment/atmosphere. The nature of inter-organizational relationships at the same level of social hierarchy, such as relations amongst various community organizations, tells something about cooperation and solidarity. These relationships can also indicate whether the business community reaches out to other sectors of the community (e.g.
... job creation initiatives). The nature of vertical relationships tells about access to power and democracy;

- how issues are framed in the community: for example, the way in which concerns about crime were framed in Powell River led to increased social capital: a cross-section of the community was involved in the investigation of the problem and in proposing solutions; youth were involved; the police suggested people increase their involvement in the community; a couple of authority figures linked crime and the economic situation;

- how authority figures can influence the public discourse on important issues (for instance the take on crime in Powell River, or the need for solidarity and cooperation in Nanaimo).

- how community issues change over time;

- local events and issues that point to emerging social trends (e.g. environmental concerns);

- the political climate.

6.3.4 Future Considerations

Information found in community newspapers cannot, by itself, be considered a reliable source of information. For newspaper information to be of some use in health research, various sources of data should be combined. An analysis of community newspapers focusing on the activities and role of community organizations, the business community, community issues and social relationships (same-level and vertical), could, when combined with an inventory of the material and infrastructural features of a community (3) and community survey data on access to social capital and other resources, contribute to a better understanding of the social dimensions of health in rural communities.
REFERENCE LIST


Ref Type: Journal (Full)


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APPENDIX 1

The Dimensions of Social Capital in Canada According to Factor Analysis

Social Solidarity
M6a Many unemployed persons could find work if they really wanted to. Do you agree or disagree?
M3a Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children. Do you agree or disagree?
M1a People on welfare should be required to work for the community? Do you agree or disagree?

Government Trust
D7 How much do you trust the government in Ottawa to do what is right? Do you trust it almost always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?
D8 How much do you trust the government in [PROVINCE] to do what is right? Do you trust it almost always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?
E3 What rating would you give the Federal Government?
E4 What rating would you give your Provincial Government?

Community Participation
H1 How many service clubs, such as Lions or Meals on Wheels, do you belong to?
H2 How many recreational groups, such as sports leagues or clubs, music or hobby clubs, or exercise classes are you involved in?
H3 How many organisations active on political issues, such as the environment or taxpayers' rights, do you belong to?
H4 Sometimes people give time to various types of organisations. For instance, how many youth-oriented groups, such as Girl Guides or Minor Hockey, have you given time to in the last 12 months?
H5 How about organisations providing cultural services to the public, such as a museum or music festival. How many of these have you given time to in the last 12 months?
H7 How about organisations that help people, such as the Cancer Society or a food bank? How many of these have you volunteered time to in the last 12 months?
Social Trust

D9 If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by someone who lives close by; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?

D10 If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by a clerk at the nearest grocery store; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?

D11 If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by a police officer; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?

D12 If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by a complete stranger; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?

Institutional Performance

E2 What rating would you give the Business Community?

E7 What rating would you give the Local Police?

Economic Belief

C1 Thinking about the past twelve months, has your household's economic situation improved, stayed about the same, or worsened?

C2 What about the next twelve months, do you feel your household's economic situation will improve, stay about the same, or get worse.
Detailed Results with reference to catalogue pages

HOW TO CHARACTERIZE THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE:

The severe economic recession of the early 1980s resulted in drastic cutbacks in government funding of all kinds and very high unemployment, especially in the resource sector.

In this section I attempt to characterize each community's response to the economic crisis, by describing first the similarities of the economic effects on each town, next the main differences in newspaper reporting, followed by a more detailed description of the response of the various sectors in each town (community at large, business community, institutions, workers) and finally, some points on the different economic and social structures in each town.

The two towns in this study were similarly affected by the recession:

In Nanaimo, in 1982, the official unemployment figure reached just over 20%; 6200 persons were claiming UI in the winter of 82/83. In Powell River, unemployment stood at 25%, and at 40% amongst those under 25; at the end of 1982, 10% of the population of Powell River was on welfare. In Nanaimo, business bankruptcies in 1982 were up by 40% and profits were down nearly 50%. In Powell River, according to the chair of the local Chamber of Commerce in 1983, businesses lost an average of 35 to 40% in gross revenue.

Although both towns were hit by similar government cutbacks and experienced similarly severe unemployment and difficulties for local small businesses, the newspaper reporting in the two towns was quite different.

The following stands out in the newspaper reports:

NANAIMO

In Nanaimo, political issues dominated. Nanaimo was characterized by a higher degree of awareness of political issues, more political action and more conflict, as relationships between groups with opposing or diverging interests tended to confrontation and antagonism.
Several new organizations, such as self-help groups, food banks and unemployed committees, were formed to deal with the effects of the crisis. Numerous educational activities and protest actions took place. Social service organizations reported steep increases in demand for services (counselling, crisis line etc.) and several appealed for volunteers and also offered volunteer training, partly in response to increased demand and also to lack of funds due to cutbacks. There were numerous examples of solidarity (work sharing; donations to food banks; volunteering). There was substantial evidence of cooperation amongst community groups. The Ministerial Association (church ministers), the trade unions and the local college were instrumental in bringing various sectors of the community together and the local school board played a role in opposing the very severe cutbacks in education.

Some federal/provincial make-work programs were announced in 1982; they got a mixed reception. Several work-sharing applications were submitted (51 work-sharing projects were underway in Feb.'82; in October Harmac workers voted for reduced hours to preserve jobs).

The business community and the economy:

In terms of the economy, there was an emphasis on downtown development and revitalization, the promotion of tourism and the development of Nanaimo as a retirement destination. Downtown revitalization plans met modest results; there was a big controversy over a downtown parkade. A small business assistance program was made available and a government-funded economic development officer was hired by the regional district in the spring of 1983. A large section of the business community pulled together over a petition campaign (Groundswell) for reduced government spending and tax cuts. The private sector responded less than expected to a job-creation program: no jobs were created under the NEED program. Harmac responded with shut downs, lay-offs and demands for wage concessions and wage roll-backs.

The workers:

Voluntarily reduced working hours in an effort to preserve jobs.

The institutions:

As in many other municipalities, city hall in Nanaimo increased recreation fees; the council budget met with much opposition, both from within council and without; lack of trust between the parties appeared to be a problem.

Within city hall relationships between council and the CUPE staff were confrontational; the issues concerned contracting out, arbitrary lay-offs etc.; towards the end of the recessionary period there was a shift and agreement was reached on job project grants, following several LRB rulings in favour of the workers.
Within the school board, relationships between the teachers and the administration were cooperative; the teachers firmly opposed pay cuts and reductions to programs or support staff. School board trustees clearly favoured cooperation with the teacher's union and strongly protested government actions; the boards refused to consider salary reductions until the legality of the restraint programs was established and generally supported the teachers' demands. The school board and the teacher's association agreed on a restraint plan avoiding layoffs and salary reductions.

The local college also faced large cuts; administrators, faculty and union reps cooperated; the college also played a very active role in the community.

political issues:

The Ministerial Association was instrumental, not only in bringing various sectors of the community together, but also in setting the political tone of the community response to some degree. An ad-hoc committee of the Association was considered suggestions for action, including political pressure to have unemployment insurance extended¹ (Msgr. O'Connell: "there is a great need for a show of solidarity in the community, with citizens working together, "shoulder to shoulder" at the community level"); a Catholic Church representative spoke on the reasons for unemployment and the changing nature of unemployment². The catholic bishops put out a paper “Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis” as a tool to stimulate debate; the bishops also made a New Year statement on the economic crisis which evidently was quite controversial³. Hospital staff and patients protested government cutbacks⁴. The school boards challenged the education ministry's legal right to impose restraints⁵; the school trustees also pressed for legislative changes, allowing for flexibility in responding to the economic restraints⁶. The labour council condemned the legislative performance of the mayor and city council⁷. Union leaders put the blame for the recession on the companies and the government and zeroed in on policies that could help the unemployed; demands such as continued unemployment benefits, reduction of the work day without loss of pay, prohibition of log exports⁸, were all political. The unemployed coalition demanded an increase of unemployment benefits and welfare to meet people's needs, legislation to protect unemployed homeowners from foreclosures, the abolition of the federal and provincial restraint programs and further put forward that the jobless and workers should jointly fight wage concessions⁹. The jobless march to Victoria had

¹ p. 7,12,16, June '82
² p. 56, Aug. '82
³ p. 233, Mar.'83
⁴ p. x21, June 82
⁵ p. 53, 63, Aug.'82
⁶ p. x85, Sep.'82.
⁷ p. xo, Dec.'82
⁸ p. 57, Aug.'82
⁹ p. 65, Sep.'82
political demands: for a shorter workweek, more unemployment benefits and a moratorium on foreclosures and evictions. A new municipal party, the “Organized Progressive Electors of Nanaimo” (OPEN) was formed, with a platform of controlled growth, social planning, etc.10. “Groundswell” was an example of political action on the part of business for lower taxes and reduced government spending11. ES&R called a meeting in support of “Operation Solidarity”, which was a province-wide political protest12.

Educational activities:

A substantial number of information sharing and educational activities, such as meetings, forums and courses took place. In May 1982, 200 people came out to a “Mayday Nanaimo” conference at the local college to learn ways of dealing with the recession13. The Ministerial Association (church ministers) spearheaded a campaign to deal with the social effects of the crisis; labour, business and service organizations were canvassed; suggestions for political action were put forward14. In August 1982, ES&R, the Labour Council and the PPWC jointly sponsored a meeting for Nanaimo’s unemployed workers15. Later, ES&R organized “Awareness Week”16, which featured information, training and support; a broad range of community service groups participated and “HOPE Day” (Home Owners Programs Explained)17 with officials from CMHC and the BC Home Program.

Brainstorming sessions were held, based on the Catholic Bishop’s Paper18; Bishop de Roo, along with five Nanaimo public figures19 held a panel discussion. In July 1983, ES&R called a meeting in support of “Operation Solidarity”.

Other meetings concerned the Pearse report (fisheries)20; community schools; the part played by politics in civic affairs (OPEN); the forestry unions struck a committee to compile information on MacMillan Bloedel operating practices. A number of courses were held at Malaspina College: a course for volunteers to be more effective as board members of non-profit organizations21; courses on topics such as unemployment counselling

10 p. x28, June ‘82
11 p. 211, Feb.’83
12 p. 294, July ‘83
13 p. x126, Dec.’82
14 p. 12, Jul.’82
15 p. 49, Aug.’82
16 p. 153, Nov.’82
17 p.168, Dec.’82
18 p.210, Feb.’83
19 p. 233, Mar.’83
20 p. 119, Nov.’82
21 p. x101, Oct.’82

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(CLC sponsored); a series of two lectures on BC education problems; a conference on education cutbacks (by the “Defend Education Services Coalition”)22.

Protest actions:

During 1981 there were numerous strikes and labour protests:

TWU members occupied a company building in response to lay-offs23; the CUPE strike affected schools and colleges24; the telecommunication workers and forestry workers were on strike; the UFAWU went on strike and the BC Federation of Labour “day of protest” virtually shut down all Nanaimo businesses, commercial and service facilities25.

In 1982 calm returned somewhat - until the summer. In August, the BC Ferry service was shut down, the building trades were on strike and later in 1982, the Longshoremen were locked out. Towards the end of 1982, protest actions started to centre around unemployment and its effects: in December of 1982, 25 people picketed the Trust Co. over mortgages26. In January 1983, jobless committees started planning an Island March to Victoria, organized by a coalition of unemployed committees27; in April, an unemployed Protest March to Victoria attracted with much community support28; the Unemployed Workers Committee issued leaflets about the lack of services at the local Ministry of Human Resources29; a private commission was organized to investigate the banks30. In May, nurses protested job losses31. In July, the BC Federation of Labour called “Operation Solidarity”; 20,000 rallied to protest Socred plans to take away collective bargaining rights and a host of other mean-spirited measures32.

There were instances where workers collectively refused to accept and abide by arbitrary proposals and measures. In March 1982, local teachers rejected the idea of a voluntary pay-cut33; the Teacher’s Association also opposed reducing district programs for support staff. In July, about 650 Harmac workers decided not to co-
operate with the latest company lay-off scheme. In August, the CUPE president advised members to show up for work despite a day-long scheduled shutdown of city services (CUPE subsequently won the LRB ruling); laid-off TWU staff also decided to show up for work (another illegal lay-off); the BCGEU voted 93% against the latest government contract offer.

Relationships:

Relationships amongst community organizations on the horizontal level were good; there was evidence of much cooperation amongst different community groups, the unions and the ministerial association. Other relationships, however, tended to be confrontational. In particular, relationships between city hall and the city workers were adversarial (issues involved contracting out, arbitrary lay-offs). Conflict also affected relations between smaller downtown merchants and large real estate interests, backed by the mayor (over the planned construction of a downtown parkade); between a business group (mostly realtors and developers) which led a petition drive calling for reduced government spending and a rollback in property taxes, and the Labour Council. A new municipal party (OPEN) was formed, in opposition to the mayor; the mayor was criticized for putting the interests of the real estate industry before the interests of Nanaimo. At one point the Chamber of Commerce called for privatization of governments services, because there were too many strikes. Even the fundraiser for the United Way adopted an adversarial stance by claiming that those who continued to be employed gave the least and that non-givers appeared to believe that the government would. She also claimed that Nanaimo was the least supportive of the campaign and that local labour groups wouldn’t support the campaign.

Reporting in Powell River was quite different:

POWELL RIVER

In Powell River, community issues dominated: an abundance of community newspaper coverage provided much detail on small-town social organization. In Powell River the issues were decidedly de-politicized, there was no overt conflict, but instead, an emphasis on cooperation and consultation. The focus was on protecting the community and the local economy (e.g. keep out BC Air; Transit from Vancouver; garbage dumping) and on diversifying the local economy. No mention was made of the formation of any new organizations to deal specifically with the effects of the economic crisis (such as food banks or self-help groups; not until November

34 p. 30, Jul.'82
35 p. x182, Aug.'82
36 p. x183, Aug.'82
37 p.43, Aug.'82
1982, was there talk about opening an Action Centre – set up by the Powell River & District Labour Council),
or was there mention of increased demand for services or appeals for volunteers. Instead, the community
rallied around crime prevention (Powell River had the lowest crime rate in the province) and the need for
alcohol counselling (Powell River had the second highest alcohol consumption in the province); economically,
diversification was a prominent topic. Work sharing was implemented - for a while- at the mill and the
community was successful in securing funding from some federal/provincial make-work programs. There was
evidence of some disagreements over issues such as the environmental impacts of the planned fertilizer plant,
the lack of public openness around the Economic Development Council, but no evidence of antagonism, as was
the case in Nanaimo. The main conflicts in Powell River were between the workers and McMillan Bloedel and
between the town and the provincial government.

Protecting the community; diversifying the economy:

The Powell River Society for the Treatment of Chemical Dependency completed a brief to the municipality
concerning the need for an alcohol and drug treatment centre and also met with the provincial health minister.
The society brought together industry, clergy, local government, the legal system and Native groups in support
of an alcohol and drug treatment centre.38

The Chamber of Commerce initiated the formation of the Crime Prevention Committee in an effort to get the
community more involved in crime prevention; various community sectors were represented at their meetings;
sub committees were formed.39

In an effort to preserve existing jobs and to protect the local economy, the Powell River District Board decided,
in June 1982, not to back a Vancouver bus company plan for second bus link connecting Powell River with the
Lower Mainland. In the same vein, the Powell River town council asked the CTC to suspend Air BC's licence to
operate a Powell River service. A local company, Powell Air, provided 18 local jobs and injected about $1.5
million/yr into the local economy, which was considered to be a reason to protect this company from Air BC's
competition.

The Chamber of Commerce successfully applied for an Employment Bridging Assistance Program (EBAP)
grant and hired 12 workers and one supervisor to work on the Powell River canoe portage route. Another EBAP
backed program, sponsored by the Economic Development Council (EDC) created a new recreation area.

38 p. 24, Jan. '82
p. 84,85,89, Feb. '82
p. 484, Dec. '82
39 p.105,77, Feb. '82
p. 177, Mar. '82
p. 260, May '82
Local 76 of the CPU voted 81% in favour of a shorter workweek in order to save jobs, the company agreed, which temporarily saved about 65 jobs until November 1982, when more layoffs were announced and the work sharing program was terminated.

In February 1982, the provincial government approved $51,000 for continued funding of the Powell River Regional District's ECD. The EDC had been involved in an ongoing battle with provincial government to get more say in resource decisions. A survival workshop for businesses was organized by the EDC and presented by the EDC and Provincial Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development.

The Rotary Club initiated a series of two "Town Meetings" to help spark the local economy; these meetings were well attended (150 people), brought together a broad cross-section of the community and were supported by numerous organizations.

There was much talk, activity and lobbying around the prospect of attracting the natural gas pipeline to Vancouver Island through Powell River; a fertilizer plant would accompany the project. The local Chamber of Commerce (COC) made substantial efforts to get a public hearing on the natural gas pipeline issue and the COC president passed a motion to this effect, in support of a pipeline, at the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Vancouver Island meeting. There was considerable support for the proposed pipeline in the community and the teacher's union supported the fertilizer plant, as "the town needs jobs". However, support for the natural gas pipeline and fertilizer plant was not unanimous in the community and questions were asked about whether the projected economic advantages would outweigh the social and environmental impacts; eventually, the fertilizer project was condemned by the Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC) - it was suggested that more effort should go into mariculture.

Tourism development was seen as very important; the local COC collaborated with 3 other centres on the Sunshine Coast on a combined promotional effort to attract tourism.

The COC sponsored a business crime prevention seminar, which attracted dozens of local business owners and employees. The chamber registered its concern to city council with regard to the summer closure of the recreation complex and recreation centre fee increases. The COC also conducted a membership drive: more than 600 municipal business licences had been, but COC membership was only 82.

The COC and MacMillan Bloedel succeeded in obtaining a reduction of the local business tax rate to 5.5%.

In November 1983, the manager of MacMillan Bloedel's Powell River division addressed the COC to complain about the strain of local taxation; he urged the COC to help MacMillan Bloedel convince the municipal and

40 p. 485,489, Dec.'82
p. 511, Jan.'83
school board officials that relying on a single industry for much of their revenue "leaves this town extremely vulnerable if something should happen to that industry".

The workers:

Proposed work sharing and opposed wage deferrals and roll-back proposals.

The institutions:

Malaspina College played a very active role in the community: new courses and employment counseling was offered at the Women's Access Centre; surveys were conducted on academic needs in the community, improvement of services during tough economic times and on college expansion; a workshop was held on how the college could help people cope; a meeting on how to apply for federal/provincial “Community Recovery Program Funds” and a mortgage information meeting were also held at the college. The college also housed the Work Opportunities for Women program at the Women's Access Centre; this program formulated three proposals for economic diversification: a greenhouse, computer industry and a non-traditional trades exploration course.

A local college advisory committee was established to provide citizen participation in developing college programs and policy. The local campus was able to provide programs even though it did not have necessary staff or facilities. The Women's Introduction to Trades program succeeded because tradesmen pitched in to help, and general mechanics instruction got off the ground after a building and equipment were provided by MacMillan Bloedel. "We could not run these kinds of things if the community didn't respond that way," according to the college director.

Relationships at Malaspina College, between the administration, CUPE, BCGEU, and the College Faculty Association appeared to be harmonious and the open budgeting process was praised by all parties involved.

School board

Relationships within the school board, among teachers, other staff and the administration, and also parents appeared to be cooperative and harmonious; school board-staff meetings were well attended. In November 1982, the school board and teachers failed to reach a negotiated agreement and submitted to arbitration. No other major divisive issues were evident from the reports.

City Hall and Regional District

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41 p. 228, May '82
42 p. 328, Aug. '82
In contrast to Nanaimo, there were no reports of major issues between city hall and the municipal staff. Also, there was no evidence of any major issues dividing council members. It is of interest to note that the Mayor of Powell River, Derry Simpson, was a Powell Air employee.

Activities of community groups:

The local newspapers provided much detail on the routine activities of the many active social service organizations; fundraising was prominent and successful. Community participation appeared to be strong; several newspaper articles mentioned events, such as the monthly meeting of the Senior Citizens Association, women's church group luncheons, a women's banquet with a NAC representative, meetings on the regional settlement plan, political fundraising dinners for the Socreds, as well as for the NDP, that drew typically around 100 people.

Parental protest against education cuts gathered momentum in Powell River when parents were invited to an information meeting, following which a committee was formed to take further action, resulting in a telegram to the premier and the education minister.43

NOTEWORTHY

While not a characteristic of the community's response to the crisis per se, it is of note that issues related to women and children received attention in Powell River (in contrast to other communities):

There were some special programs to help women enter the workforce:

An employment counselling service “Work Opportunities for Women” focused on helping women join the workforce, primarily in non-traditional areas. The Family Services Society had applied for the grant, which was sponsored by the CEC.44 The program also formulated three proposals for federal funding. “Alternatives for Women” and “Introduction to Trades” were other programs aimed at opening new job opportunities for women.45 Malaspina College ran a Women’s Introduction to Trades” program, which succeeded because tradesmen pitched in to help.46

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43 p. 386, 394, Sep. '82
44 p. 228, May '82
p. 328, Aug. '82
45 p. 467, 469, Nov. '82
46 p. 512, Feb. 83
A member of the Okanagan Women's Coalition and regional representative of NAC spoke to about 100 women about how women were making their concerns heard at a national level\textsuperscript{47}.

The Rape Assault Collective, formed in the spring of 1981, organized the "Take Back the Night" march, set up a 24-hour crisis line, addressed public meetings and held self-defence classes; they supported the protest against the provincial government demand that it be given access to case files, had their funding withdrawn and were seeking community support for their service\textsuperscript{48}.

Early childhood also received attention in the Powell River papers:

The hiring of a daycare coordinator by the MHR resulted in a 50\% increase in daycare subsidies within 2 months (her job was assessing, evaluating and monitoring all care giving situations).

A new recreation program for very young children was established\textsuperscript{49}. A series of 8 films on child development, sponsored by BC Council for the Family received a good response (free childcare was provided)\textsuperscript{50}. A STEP (Systematic T raining for E ffective P arenting) course was offered by an elementary school counsellor\textsuperscript{51}. The Powell River Infant Development A dvisory Board sponsored an information meeting on infant development programs\textsuperscript{52} and the paper carried an article on programs for young children with special needs\textsuperscript{53}. The Foster Parents Association sponsored Foster Parents week and conducted a recruitment campaign with very good results\textsuperscript{54}. And, finally, the Block Parent program was revived\textsuperscript{55}.

The Pro-choice issue also came up, as Pro-lifers, who held all 6 elected seats on the hospital board, stacked the hospital society board election meeting\textsuperscript{56}.

REPORTING BIAS AND/OR DIFFERENT CONTEXTS

Reporting bias must be considered. Reporting in Powell River showed evidence of insularity – inward focused, with little reporting on events outside of Powell River (for instance labour movement activities were not

\textsuperscript{47} p. 112, Feb.'82
\textsuperscript{48} p. 56, Feb.'82
\textsuperscript{49} p. 94, Feb.'82
\textsuperscript{50} p. 434, Oct.'82
\textsuperscript{51} p. 183,184, April '82
\textsuperscript{52} p. 152, Mar.'82
\textsuperscript{53} p. 169, Mar.'82
\textsuperscript{54} p. 147, Mar.'82
\textsuperscript{55} p. 413,415, Oct.'82
\textsuperscript{56} p. 308,312, Jun.'82
covered; there was no word of “Operation Solidarity”, which resulted in massive demonstrations all over the province. In Powell River, the newspaper reports contained no accounts of participation in the unemployed march, the coalition of unemployed action committees, or in Operation Solidarity, or in DESC, or even in the teacher’s provincial AGM).

Reporting bias may have to do with personal bias on the part of the reporter, or with editorial policy, or with community culture determining what is considered “newsworthy”, or with the media skills of the “newsmakers”. However, even after considering reporting bias, there were important differences between the two towns, which likely account for some of the different responses.

The economic and resulting social structures in the two towns were quite different, as was the degree of relative isolation and these differences likely affect the nature of the social relationships.

Nanaimo, although mostly forestry dependent, had a more diversified economic base, a larger population, was a larger centre as a gateway to northern Vancouver Island and had a greater degree of social stratification, resulting in more opposing and diverging interests. For example, the mayor was a major real estate developer – over the past 20 years, Nanaimo developed a series of large malls along the northern outskirts of town – these provide shopping access for the northern parts of the island, while the smaller downtown merchants are still discussing the need for downtown revitalization.

Powell River had a small and stable (declining, but non-transient) population, was geographically more isolated, situated at the end of the coast highway, accessible by two ferries from Vancouver and one ferry from Comox, on Vancouver Island. Powell River was a one-company town: MacMillan Bloedel employed almost 2000 workers and supplied 75% of the town’s tax base. As a result, Powell River had a flat social hierarchy; there was little social stratification (e.g. the mayor was an employee at Powell Air) and there were few opposing interests in the town.

An additional factor, which may have contributed to the different response of the two communities was the role played by the trade unions. In Nanaimo, the workers at Harmac, were represented by the PPWC, which had a reputation of being the more progressive, more ‘militant’ and more ‘left wing’ of the forestry unions, while the CPU, which represented the workers in the Powell River mill, was the most conservative, most conciliatory and most ‘right wing’ of the three unions in the forest industry. In addition, in Nanaimo, the Catholic church played an important role. In particular Bishop de Roo was very progressive, influenced by ‘liberation theology’ – a progressive current within the Catholic church which gained influence and popularity in the 1970s.

If social capital is conceptualized as a collective property, as a resource which is embedded in relationships which are features of the social structures of society, these emerging results seem to suggest that economic base,
degree of isolation, population size and composition and even social hierarchy all matter in terms of social capital.

NANAIMO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

This section describes the newspaper mention - if any - of the existence, activities, and demands put on service clubs, recreational groups, political or environmental groups, cultural organizations/services, volunteer and ad-hoc organizations (food banks, unemployed committees, etc.), and community turnout at events.

existence of community groups:

At the start of the 1980's a broad range of social resources existed in Nanaimo, consisting of numerous social service organizations, counselling centres and support groups. Several ad-hoc groups were formed during the Summer of 1982\textsuperscript{57}, in response to the severe economic crisis; at least 8 are mentioned by name in the newspaper, but the two main groups were Economic Recovery and Survival (‘ES&R’)\textsuperscript{58} and the Nanaimo Committee of the Unemployed\textsuperscript{59}. ES&R, initiated by the Ministerial Association, was a broad-based organization, aimed at providing information and guidance, training of volunteers, opening self-help centres\textsuperscript{60}. When, in February of 1983, ES&R was organizing brainstorming sessions, based on the Catholic Bishop’s paper on the Economic Crisis, this organization was able to call on about 100 local organizations\textsuperscript{61}. While a large number of community resources were in existence, not all were explicitly mentioned in the newspaper and the routine activities of most groups received little mention in the paper. (Art, music and theatre groups were well established and active in Nanaimo, ‘recession or no recession’\textsuperscript{62}).

activities of community groups:

A fair amount of coverage centred on United Way fundraising\textsuperscript{63,64,65,66,67,68,69} and volunteer training activities of a number of groups, several of which experienced increased demand for services, due to the severe cutbacks in...
government funding. For example, listening skills programs for volunteers were organized by Family Life in conjunction with other organizations \(^{70, 71}\), Rape centre coordinators provided volunteer training programs to keep their centre open \(^{72}\), Malaspina College taught volunteers to be more productive members of boards of non-profit recreational and cultural services \(^{73}\). The Nanaimo Citizens Advocacy Association and others appealed for volunteers; the Family Life Association realized a more than 400\% increase in demand for its counselling and other services, compared to the previous year \(^{74}\).

The ad-hoc organizations were instrumental in bringing various groups together; an example is ‘Awareness Week’ \(^{75}\), in which several groups, including the United Way, the Salvation Army, SPEC etc. participated. The week featured displays, information sessions and also a toy exchange, job searching programs, a home owners program, a job creation forum, a resume service, babysitting, etc. \(^{76}\).

A substantial number of information-sharing and educational activities, such as meetings, forums and courses were organized, in response to the effects of the recession. These included ‘HOPE day’ \(^{77}\), (Home Owner Programs Explained), sponsored by ES&R; brainstorming sessions based on the Catholic Bishop’s Paper; a panel discussion with representatives from the catholic church (Bishop de Roo), the school board, the mayor and municipal parties \(^{78}\). Self-help groups, unemployed centres and food banks were organized by the ‘ES&R’ and the unions. During 1981 a great number of strikes and labour protests took place; the beginning of 1982 was calmer, but in August the BC Ferry service was shut down, the building trades were on strike and later in 1982 the Longshoremen were locked out. Towards the end of 1982, protest actions started to centre around unemployment and its effects: in December of 1982, 20 people picketed the Bank of Nova Scotia over their ‘heartless business tactics’ \(^{79}\), 25 people picketed the Trust Co. over mortgages \(^{80}\) and in January 1983, the jobless committees started planning an Island March to Victoria \(^{81}\). In April 1983, the Unemployed Protest March took place with much community support and the participation of 25 marchers from Nanaimo \(^{82, 83}\); the Unemployed

\(^{69}\) p.257,April/83  
\(^{70}\) p.77, 17/09/82  
\(^{71}\) p.285,May/83  
\(^{72}\) p. x90,Sep/82  
\(^{73}\) p.x101,Oct/82  
\(^{74}\) p.77,Sep/82  
\(^{75}\) p.153,23/11/82  
\(^{76}\) p.168,03/12/82  
\(^{77}\) p. 168, 03/12/82  
\(^{78}\) p.233,12/03/83  
\(^{79}\) p.100,19/10/82  
\(^{80}\) p.181, Dec./82  
\(^{81}\) p.215,23/02/83  
\(^{82}\) p.265,04/04/83
Workers Committee issued leaflets about the lack of services given at the local Ministry of Human Resources. In July, the BC Federation of Labour called Operation Solidarity; 20,000 people rallied in Victoria to protest the Socred government’s plans to take away collective bargaining rights and a host of other mean-spirited measures. ES&R called a community meeting in support of Operation Solidarity.

Other political activities included a parent’s group visiting Victoria to urge the education ministry to speed up the process of providing new schools; twenty-two persons attending a conference opposing cutbacks in educational funding. Also, an organization mostly made up of developers and realtors, Groundswell, collected almost 5000 signatures in their campaign for a reduction in government operating expenditures and a roll-back in property taxes (the Nanaimo & District Labour Council considered a boycott of participating businesses).

The Ministerial Association played a very active role in organizing various educational activities, while it appears that the labour movement (various unions, both affiliated and non-affiliated with the BC Federation of Labour) was the driving force in organizing resistance against government policies. While questions on trade union membership or involvement were not part of the questions composing the community participation dimension, it is very obvious from the data that a great deal of community participation consists of trade-union related activities.

*other mention of community participation:*

About 200 Nanaimo residents turned out to a “Mayday Nanaimo” conference at Malaspina College to learn ways of dealing with the recession; ES&R organized ‘HOPE Day’ drew 200 people; Canada Day Celebrations attracted more than 300 people of different ethnic backgrounds; the second annual Terry Fox run drew 566 participants and raised $5,000.
Throughout 1982, the Nanaimo Volunteer and Information Centre recruited and placed 566 volunteers with agencies and individuals; more than 10,000 volunteer hours were contributed.

NANAIMO SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

This section describes examples of solidarity: formation of ad-hoc groups, financial contributions to food banks etc., activities aimed at job creation, job-sharing, reduced hours, training programs, educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities, strikes, rallies and marches.

FORMATION OF AD-HOC GROUPS:

During the summer of 1982, several ad-hoc groups were formed: "Economic Recovery and Survival" (ES&R) and the Nanaimo Committee of the Unemployed were the two main groups. ES&R was broad-based, initiated by the Ministerial Association (church ministers) and aimed at providing information and guidance, training of volunteers, opening self-help centres. By the end of the summer, ES&R had opened two self-help centres which provided clothing exchange, skills exchange, information on food and shelter etc. In November 1982, the Unemployed Workers Committee opened a downtown centre, which had extended hours, a job match service, provided assistance and information about service agencies and moral support and in December, opened a permanent at-cost food store. The unemployed coalition demanded an increase of unemployment benefits and welfare to meet people's needs, legislation to protect unemployed homeowners from foreclosures, the abolition of the federal and provincial restraint programs and further put forward that the jobless and workers should jointly fight wage concessions.

The ad-hoc groups also played an educational role, provided or facilitated various types of training, and supported other groups. For example, in February 1983, members of the Unemployed Workers Committee volunteered for the Heart Fund drive, along with other groups. A Catholic Church representative, Msgr. O'Connell said that "there is a great need for a show of solidarity in the community, with citizens working together, "shoulder to shoulder" at the community level!

Financial contributions to food banks etc.:
Workers at Nanoose Forest products donated an hour's pay for the food fund\textsuperscript{100}; SPEC gathered Xmas trees for the unemployed\textsuperscript{101}; local 8 of the PPWC spent $1500 for setting up a food bank and $500 toward a Christmas party for people out of work; Malaspina College employees donated $500.- to assist the unemployment centre\textsuperscript{102}; the United Way drive beat its target\textsuperscript{103}; the Nanaimo Volunteer and Information Centre placed 566 volunteers in 1982\textsuperscript{104}. There was evidence of cooperation with organizations outside of Nanaimo: the unemployed committees formed a coalition.

Activities aimed at job sharing, reduced hours, training programs, educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities:

In October 1982, Harmac workers decided to take a pay cut and voted in favour of a 36 hour week to reduce the proposed 160 lay-offs\textsuperscript{105}. Several work sharing applications were approved; by February 1983, there were 51 work sharing programs in the area, involving 302 people\textsuperscript{106}. City Hall and CUPE agreed on a job project grants for 3 community projects, which were to employ 19 people (after CUPE won several LRB rulings against arbitrary city hall decisions)\textsuperscript{107}. In April 1982, the Nanaimo Free Press offered free job wanted ads.

A substantial number of information sharing and educational activities, such as meetings, forums and courses took place. In May 1982, 200 people came out to a “Mayday Nanaimo” conference at the local college to learn ways of dealing with the recession\textsuperscript{108}. The Ministerial Association (church ministers) spearheaded a campaign to deal with the social effects of the crisis; labour, business and service organizations were canvassed; suggestions for political action were put forward\textsuperscript{109}. In August 1982, ES&R, the Labour Council and the PPWC jointly sponsored a meeting for Nanaimo's unemployed workers\textsuperscript{110}. Later, in November, ES&R organized “Awareness Week”\textsuperscript{111}, which featured information, training and support; a broad range of community service

\textsuperscript{100} p. 94, Oct. '82
\textsuperscript{101} p. x128, Dec. '82
\textsuperscript{102} p. x140, Feb. '83
\textsuperscript{103} p. 183, Dec. '82
\textsuperscript{104} p. x150, April '83
\textsuperscript{105} p.x12, Oct. '81
\textsuperscript{106} p. 208, Feb. '83
\textsuperscript{107} p.244, Mar. '83
\textsuperscript{108} p. x126, Dec. '82
\textsuperscript{109} p. 12, Jul. '82
\textsuperscript{110} p. 49, Aug. '82
\textsuperscript{111} p. 153, Nov. '82
groups participated and later “HOPE Day” (Home Owners Programs Explained)\textsuperscript{112} with officials from CMHC and the BC Home Program.

Brainstorming sessions were held, based on the Catholic Bishop’s Paper\textsuperscript{113}; Bishop de Roo, along with five Nanaimo public figures\textsuperscript{114} held a panel discussion. In July 1983, ES&R called a meeting in support of “Operation Solidarity”.

Other meetings concerned the Pearse report (fisheries)\textsuperscript{115}; community schools; reasons for unemployment. OPEN organized a panel on the part played by politics in civic affairs; the forestry unions struck a committee to compile information on MacMillan Bloedel operating practices.

A number of courses were held at Malaspina College: a course for volunteers to be more effective as board members of non-profit organizations\textsuperscript{116}; courses on topics such as unemployment counselling (CLC sponsored); a series of two lectures on BC education problems; a conference on education cutbacks (by the “Defend Education Services Coalition”)\textsuperscript{117}.

\textit{Protest activities strikes, rallies and marches:}

During 1981 there were numerous strikes and labour protests:

TWU members occupied a company building in response to lay-offs\textsuperscript{118}; the CUPE strike affected schools and colleges\textsuperscript{119}; the telecommunication workers and the forestry workers were also on strike; the UFAWU went on strike in protest of low salmon prices; the BC Federation of Labour “day of protest” virtually shut down all Nanaimo businesses, commercial and service facilities\textsuperscript{120}.

In 1982 calm returned somewhat - until the summer. In August, the BC Ferry service was shut down, the building trades were on strike and later in 1982, the Longshoremen were locked out. Towards the end of 1982, protest actions started to centre around unemployment and its effects: in December of 1982, 25 people picketed

\textsuperscript{112} p.168, Dec.'82
\textsuperscript{113} p.210, Feb.'83
\textsuperscript{114} p. 233, Mar.'83
\textsuperscript{115} p. 119, Nov.'82
\textsuperscript{116} p. x101, Oct.'82
\textsuperscript{117} p. 169, Dec.'82
\textsuperscript{118} p. x3, Feb.'81
\textsuperscript{119} p. x2, Jan.'81
\textsuperscript{120} p. x5,
the Trust Co. over mortgages\textsuperscript{121}. In January 1983, jobless committees started planning an Island March to Victoria, organized by a coalition of unemployed committees\textsuperscript{122}; in April, an unemployed Protest March to Victoria attracted with much community support\textsuperscript{123}; the Unemployed Workers Committee issued leaflets about the lack of services at the local Ministry of Human Resources\textsuperscript{124}, a private commission was organized to investigate the banks\textsuperscript{125}. In July, the BC Federation of Labour called “Operation Solidarity”; 20,000 rallied to protest Socred plans to take away collective bargaining rights and a host of other mean-spirited measures\textsuperscript{126}.

There were instances where workers collectively refused to accept and abide by arbitrary proposals and measures. In March 1982, local teachers rejected the idea of a voluntary pay-cut\textsuperscript{127}, the Teacher’s Association also opposed reducing district programs for support staff. In July, about 650 Harmac workers decided not to co-operate with the latest company lay-off scheme\textsuperscript{128}. In August, the CUPE president advised members to show up for work despite a day-long scheduled shutdown of city services (CUPE subsequently won the LRB ruling)\textsuperscript{129}; laid-off TWU staff also decided to show up for work (another illegal lay-off)\textsuperscript{130}, the BCGEU voted 93% against the latest government contract offer\textsuperscript{131}.

NANAIMO SOCIAL TRUST

This section describes explicit mentions of social trust (or distrust), if any. I also describe the newspaper coverage which had to do with crime and its causes.

Specific mention of trust:

The Nanaimo Free Press contained no explicit mention of social trust. As original survey questions underlying this dimension pertained to the perceived likelihood of different types of people returning a lost wallet containing money I hypothesised that an examination of newspaper crime reports would provide a context for ‘trust’.

Crime and its causes:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{121} p. 182, Dec.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{122} p. 203, Jan.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{123} p. 268, April’82
  \item \textsuperscript{124} p. 278, April’83
  \item \textsuperscript{125} p. x149, April’82
  \item \textsuperscript{126} p. 295, Jul.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{127} p. x124, Dec.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{128} p. 30, Jul.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{129} p. x182, Aug.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{130} p. x183, Aug.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{131} p.43, Aug.’82
\end{itemize}
Over the period covered in this study, the Nanaimo Free Press contained eight brief articles related to crime in the community. In 1981, the crime rate in Nanaimo was up 11% compared to the previous year. In May 1982, a representative of the police force spoke of the need for people to get involved locally (block parent programs, neighbourhood watch, Arrive Alive, Counter Attack) to fight increasing crime. A police publication stated that “the greatest power to improve the system (...) is public concern and active support.” In July 1982, it was reported that a shelter for battered women and children had put up 114 women and their children over the previous 11 months. An October 1982 article reported that the BC Police Commission figures showed that Nanaimo crime in 1981 increased 25% over 1980 – one of the highest increases in the province and almost three times the provincial average. This high increase in crime was attributed to a population boom along with police staff shortages; a computer system pinpointed that $1.3 million worth of property was stolen in Nanaimo during the first 9 months of the year. By 1982, the population had levelled off and the local RCMP detachment had increased from 68 to 80 members. In April 1983, the overall crime rate was reported to have remained stable over the past year; local police cited increased policing and the present economic situation as positive factors. By this time the individual police caseload had dropped from 132 in 1981 to 104.5 in 1982. In May 1983, unemployment fraud had skyrocketed; investigators discovered 506 cases of deliberately fraudulent UI claims over the past year (up 80%). (However, the number of claims was up from 10,000 to 17,500 over the same period and more people were claiming for the first time, without knowing how to fill out the forms. Most of the investigation involved claimants who were working and drawing benefits at the same time. It was suggested that perhaps hard economic times were a factor and that people were in desperate need of money).

NANAIMO GOVERNMENT TRUST

This section describes specific newspaper mention – if any – of government trust; next government measures, both cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn, as well as government plans and promises are described and finally the nature and “tone” of community-government communications are considered.

Specific mention of government trust (provincial and federal):

The Nanaimo Free Press contained no explicit mention of citizen’s trust of the respective levels of government. There were, however, two editorials which mentioned government trust; one, commenting on the need for the parties representing various levels of government, the business community and labour to be trustworthy in the

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process of consultation; the other, expressing a lack of trust in the provincial government’s spending habits\textsuperscript{138, 139}. Another editorial\textsuperscript{140} was very critical of the provincial cabinet shuffle, particularly the appointment of the new education minister (VanderZalm), and the government’s failure to come to grips with the economic issues.

Government measures (cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn), plans and promises:

Federal cuts:

Major cutbacks in government spending affected most sectors of society. Federal wage and price controls were put into effect and social programs were cut; in Nanaimo, 380 vocational students were cut off Manpower training allowance, which was their main or only source of income. The federal wage and price controls were endorsed by the forestry companies, which called for lower contract demands from their workers.

Provincial cuts:

Provincially, there were major cutbacks in education, in funding to municipalities and, most importantly, there were massive cutbacks in the public service.

In 1982, cutbacks at the Nanaimo General District Hospital resulted in 145 lay-offs and the closure of 87 beds—some funding was later regained due to increased productivity. The school district budget was cut back severely, leading to the elimination of teaching positions in learning assistance, ESL and resource teachers; summer school was cancelled for 1983; teacher substitutes were cut to half the normal levels; the local college’s budget was cut back drastically as well. BC Ferries axed 140 casual jobs in Nanaimo.

In November 1982, the provincial government started to examine ways to slash 10,000 jobs from the public service. A full page ad detailing government fee increases was placed in the Nanaimo Free Press by the BCGEU.

Federal measures:

In April 1982, a federal-provincial job creation program for the forestry industry was announced; it was slow getting off the ground and by July, one project had been approved for Nanaimo.

\textsuperscript{138} p.21, Jul.’82
\textsuperscript{139} p.x51, Jul.’82
\textsuperscript{140} p.x187, Aug.’82
In July 1982, the federal government announced that BC would get up to 8,000 jobs and training for as may as 40,000 workers under a federal job-creation program\(^{141}\); a housing grant program was also announced\(^{142}\). The federal Canada Community Development Projects program announced that $775,000 was available in grant money, for the creation of about 120 new jobs in the Nanaimo-Alberni constituency\(^{143}\). NDP MLA Ted Miller, in a letter to the federal government, urged a further allocation of $200,000 for jobs. Approvals were received for 14 CCD projects (creating 18 jobs) and in December 1982, the Unemployed Workers Centre received $30,000 from Canada Community Development Projects.

The federal mini-budget, which was announced in October 1982, provoked mixed reactions\(^{144}\). A joint funding program between Employment and Immigration Canada and the BC Federation of Labour planned an unemployment action centre for Nanaimo.

By February 1983 there were 51 work sharing programs operating in the Nanaimo area, involving 302 people\(^{145}\).

In March 1983, several Nanaimo businesses received business loans under the federal-provincial Assistance to Small Enterprises program.

In June 1983, the provincial government claimed to have made a major breakthrough with labour leaders on the controversial Public Sector Restraint Act; the unions, however, denied any breakthrough.

In July 1983, it was reported that an independent study on the distribution of lottery funds found that Socred ridings received 50% more lottery grants than did NDP ridings.

**Government plans and promises:**

There was not much evidence of communication or initiatives regarding job creation programs; part of the reason for this may be the absence of an economic development officer until the spring of 1983 when the Nanaimo Regional District resumed the economic development officer, when the province approved a $100,000 budget proposal for the position. Also, many workers did not meet the criteria to qualify for these programs.

**Nature and ‘tone’ of community-/government communications**

\(^{141}\) p.x174, Jul.’82  
\(^{142}\) p.x170, Jul.’82  
\(^{143}\) p.66, Aug.’82  
\(^{144}\) p.x100, Oct.’82  
\(^{145}\) p.208, Feb.’83
Communications between the various levels of government and the communities were more often indirect (announcements, press conferences, petitions), or formal (letters and briefs); another characteristic of these 'vertical' communications was the sometimes confrontational nature of the communication (unilateral decisions, protests, strikes).

A tersely worded letter from the school board addressed to the minister of education criticized the provincial restraint plan; the school board also questioned the legality of the provincial restraint program.

By the summer of 1983, 20,000 people rallied in Victoria to protest the Socred government plans to take away collective bargaining rights, fire civil servants without cause, cut back social services, water down human rights and consumer protection and centralize power in cabinet. At the municipal level, budget shortfalls due to reduced municipal funding resulted in layoffs of municipal workers, cutbacks in recreation programs and introduction of higher user fees.

NANAIMO INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

The institutional performance dimension describes the performance of the business community in response to the economic crisis, as reported in the newspaper. The following section describes forestry cutbacks, business-labour relationships and communications, business initiatives related to job sharing and job creation and business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development etc.

Forestry cutbacks:

Harmac was the largest employer in Nanaimo; the company consisted of a pulp and paper mill and also a wood operation. The mill, owned by McMillan Bloedel, employed 1600 workers, who were represented by the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada (PPWC). In October 1981, MacMillan Bloedel announced the first 160 lay-offs; many more followed, combined with several temporary closures lasting three weeks and more. The union criticized the company for arbitrary decision making regarding lay-offs. In November 1982, production was cut back and the company decided to extend the workweek from 36 to 40 hours, ending the work sharing scheme, which had been put in place at the workers' request, in an effort to preserve jobs. By December of 1982, the total workforce was down from 1600 to 930 workers.

Lay-offs and mill closures were not the only industry response to the depressed market conditions for forestry products: In July 1982, the industry proposed to roll back a 13% wage increase to 6%, which was rejected by the workers. The industry spokesman warned that refusal to accept wage deferral would result in a doubling of lay-offs. Later that summer, the forestry companies endorsed the federal price and wage restraint program, calling for lower contract demands from workers to help fight inflation and restore international competitiveness.
In December 1982, the price of lumber in the US improved, but local employment at Nanaimo area forest operations remained low, despite a minor surge in demand for BC lumber in the US. The forest industry experienced economic problems in 1982; in the fall, foreign exchange rates added to the economic problems. MacMillan Bloedel reported losses of $57.3 million in 1982. During this time the forest industry was implementing major restructuring and global investing. By April 1983, industry officials expressed confidence in a prosperous future as the price of pulp had increased and the demand for paper was forecast to increase.

**Business-labour relationships and communications:**

Business-labour relationships in 1981 were marked by a large number of strikes and during 1982 business-labour relationships remained tenuous: in August, the BCGEU shut down all ferry traffic; in October, the Nanaimo Committee of Unemployed Workers protested bank seizures of property; in December 25 people picketed the trust Co. over mortgages (Unemployed Workers Committee and the PPWC) and in April, a private commission was set up to investigate banks.

**Business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development etc.:**

Attention was paid to downtown revitalization, with very modest results; a big controversy erupted over the proposed Gordon Street Parkade construction, which was supported by the mayor and opposed by at least one alderman and several downtown businesses, because of the ever-growing expense; the project was eventually put on hold. Downtown revitalization and development received much newspaper attention throughout the year, although not much development actually seemed to go on. Finally, in March 1983, a coordinator for downtown revitalization and beautification was appointed.

Tourism, along with developing Nanaimo as a retirement city were seen as important in terms of economic development and the Chamber of Commerce pushed these two items (COC traveled to eastern Canada and organized “Retirement Expo”, which attracted 500 people). A cooperative network of Vancouver Island hotels was established to sell the Island as a tourist destination. In July 1982, the COC stated that tourism had become Nanaimo’s main industry by default, even though the industry was slacker than the previous year and occupancy declined by 25-30% during 1982; during 1983 there was only some temporary improvement.

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146 p. 217, Feb.'83  
147 p. 182, Dec.'82  
148 p. x149, Jun.'82  
149 p. x134, Jan.'83  
150 p. 236, Mar.'83  
151 p. 275, Apr.'83  
152 p. 293, Apr.'83
In September 1982, 100 local businessmen attended a Success Symposium organized by the COC, and in November a two-day workshop on downtown rehabilitation and revitalization was scheduled.

Housing starts were down in Nanaimo in 1982 and the value of building permits dropped by 67% in September, compared to September 1981\(^{153}\). Other sectors of the economy were also hurting: several car dealerships closed, and the retail business was depressed; about 35% of mall space was empty (partly due to over development it seems).

A turnaround appeared around December 1982, when Christmas sales were strong and automobile sales and real estate appeared to be improving\(^{154}\). Hotels and restaurants, on the other hand, experienced a slow holiday season.

In March 1983, there was talk of a large coal development just outside of Nanaimo\(^{155}\). In April, several businesses received federal-provincial loans. Shopping centre managers were optimistic, car dealerships experienced a steady increase in sales, construction took a big jump, the Duke Point World Centre for Marine Technology opened, pulp prices increased, the Nanaimo Regional District appointed an economic development manager (province approved budget proposal of $100,000 for position) and the Retirement Expo, organized by the Chamber of Commerce attracted over 500 people\(^{156}\). In May, retail sales had rebounded; Eaton's achieved its sales targets\(^{157}\).

While the tone was optimistic in the first half of 1983, it was reported in June, that the activity in the building industry had leveled off since March and that figures for the first 5 months of 1983 lagged slightly behind 1982.

**Business initiatives related to job sharing and job creation:**

In December 1982, Harmac ended the work sharing scheme and continued with plans to lay off 80 workers, plus an additional 70\(^{158}\).

There was no mention of communication or business initiatives regarding job creation programs.

During the same period several work sharing applications were approved; by February 1983, there were 51 work sharing programs in the area, involving 302 people.

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\(^{153}\) p. x62, x80, Sep.'82  
\(^{154}\) p. x128, Dec.'82  
\(^{155}\) p. x139, Apr.'83  
\(^{156}\) p. 278, 284, Apr.'83  
\(^{157}\) p. 287, May,'83  
\(^{158}\) p. 170, Dec.'82
In October 1982, Harmac workers decided to take a pay cut and vote in favour of a 36 hour week to reduce the proposed 160 lay-offs to 80; the mill employed 1600 workers.

Police activities:

Enforcement in the traffic section increased by 57%, while motor vehicle accidents were down by 40%, over 1980. A computer program keeping track of crime in the community was implemented in an effort to offer police information on how to make the crime rate drop through efficient enforcement, plans were underway to expand the computer project to include traffic analysis and enforcement information.\textsuperscript{159}

NANAIMO ECONOMIC BELIEF

This section describes newspaper mention of economic outlook, unemployment and job creation and economic development schemes for each community.

Newspaper mention of economic outlook:

In September 1982, a “Success Symposium” attracted 100 local businessmen, who were presented with a myriad of innovative methods to beat the recession.\textsuperscript{160} In January 1983, the paper started carrying more extensive coverage on economic outlook: in January the labour council president called the outlook for labour and small business bleak, as a result of the government restraint measures.\textsuperscript{161} In April 1983, the newspaper carried a special review edition called “Outlook ’83”; the supplement carried a variety of articles about people’s views on Nanaimo’s economic future: random street interviews, perspectives of retailers, business people, economist, clergy, social service agencies, healthcare sector, etc.\textsuperscript{162} Other coverage pertaining to economic outlook included an article on increased car sales,\textsuperscript{163} on MacMillan’s Bloedel’s improved profit expectations, resulting from their reducing overhead by $60 million,\textsuperscript{164} on 220 Harmac workers being called back to work\textsuperscript{165} and an article on the bright outlook for retail sales.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{159} p. 90, 103, Oct.’82
\textsuperscript{160} p. 83, Sep.’82
\textsuperscript{161} p. 192, Jan.’82
\textsuperscript{162} p. 247-262, Apr.’83
\textsuperscript{163} p. 263, Apr.’83
\textsuperscript{164} p. 269, Apr.’83
\textsuperscript{165} p. 271, Apr.’82
\textsuperscript{166} p. 287, May,’83
Unemployment:

The Nanaimo Free Press carried regular reports on examples of unemployment. Youth was particularly hard hit by the recession; a survey showed that youth experienced high rates of unemployment, school dropouts, juvenile crime and drug and alcohol problems\textsuperscript{167}. There were layoffs at the mill, as well as at the hospital (80 jobs)\textsuperscript{168} and in the building trades (at one point 45\% of the 576 members of a building trades local were unemployed)\textsuperscript{169}. In July, the IWA reported that 1200 out of 4500 local members were jobless\textsuperscript{170}. In September 1982, UI benefits had begun to expire for a number of workers who must now turn to social assistance\textsuperscript{171}. By December, the Harmac labour force was down from 1600 to 930 and had experienced several shutdowns; Harmac also ended the work sharing scheme\textsuperscript{172}. At the opening of a Canadian Tire store, a total of 600 applied during one day for 45-50 full-time and 100 part-time jobs\textsuperscript{173}.

In January 1983, despite a minor surge in demand for BC lumber in the US, local employment at Nanaimo forest operations reportedly remained low. By February 1983, unemployment in Nanaimo reached 20.4\%; the true figure was possibly higher as participation rates probably decreased as people took themselves out of the labour market\textsuperscript{174}.

Job and economic development schemes:

During 1982 several federal and joint federal-provincial make-work programs were announced:

In July 1982, the federal government announced BC would get up to 8000 jobs and training for 40,000 workers\textsuperscript{175}. Meanwhile, a joint federal-provincial forestry program was very slow in getting off the ground, with only one project approved for Nanaimo\textsuperscript{176}.

\textsuperscript{167} p. x33, 47, Aug. '82
\textsuperscript{168} p. x20,21, Jun. '82
\textsuperscript{169} p. x165, Jun. '82
\textsuperscript{170} p. x50, Jul. '82
\textsuperscript{171} p. x81, Sep. '82
\textsuperscript{172} p. 170, Dec. '82
\textsuperscript{173} p. x172, Jul. '82
\textsuperscript{174} p.272, Apr. '83
\textsuperscript{175} p. x174, Jul. '82
\textsuperscript{176} p. 31, Jul. '82
In September 1982, the federal Canada Community Development Project (CCD) program allotted $775,000 for 120 new jobs in Nanaimo/Alberni\textsuperscript{177}. In December, approval was granted for 14 CCD projects, leading to 18 jobs through 4 local groups and in February 1983, City Hall and CUPE agreed on job project grants for 3 community projects which were to employ 19 people\textsuperscript{178}. CCD projects also allocated $30,000 to the Nanaimo Unemployed Workers Centre\textsuperscript{179}.

In February 1983, the local CEIC representative remarked that some make work programs were well received, while others were not\textsuperscript{180}. In March 1983, no Nanaimo jobs had been created under the NEED program, despite 25 applications\textsuperscript{181}. Response from private sector employers was far less than expected\textsuperscript{182}. MP Ted Miller said that federal job creation programs were a failure, as many unemployed people did not meet the criteria of the NEED program\textsuperscript{183}.

Some work sharing applications were approved: by February 1983, there were 51 work sharing programs in the area, involving 302 people\textsuperscript{184}. Meanwhile, government programs channelled more than $5 million per month into Nanaimo.

The Nanaimo Community Employment Advisory Association had negotiated $211,000 for the continuation of the Nanaimo River Salmonid Enhancement Program, in June 1981; in July 1983, this organization applied for NEED funding to employ 39 people on 5 projects, in addition to the Salmonid Enhancement Program\textsuperscript{185}.

The forest industry experienced economic problems in 1982; in the fall, foreign exchange rates added to the economic problems. MacMillan Bloedel reported losses of $57.3 million in 1982\textsuperscript{186}. The forest industry implemented major restructuring and global investing. Other sectors of the economy were also hurting: several car dealerships closed, and the retail business was depressed; about 35\% of mall space was empty (partly due to over development it seems). The one exception was the Nanaimo Harbour Commission, which reported only a 3\% drop in business in the first 9 months of 1982\textsuperscript{187}.

\textsuperscript{177} p. 65,66,87, Sep.'82
\textsuperscript{178} p. 244, Mar.'83
\textsuperscript{179} p. 163, Dec.'82
\textsuperscript{180} p. 208, Feb.'82
\textsuperscript{181} p. 225, Mar.'83
\textsuperscript{182} p. 208, Feb.'83
\textsuperscript{183} p. 108, Nov.'82
\textsuperscript{184} p. 208, Feb. '83
\textsuperscript{185} p. 280, Mar.'83
\textsuperscript{186} p. 217, Feb.'83
\textsuperscript{187} p. 225, Mar.'83

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A turnaround appeared around December of 1982: Christmas sales were strong, automobile sales and real estate appeared to be improving, although hotels and restaurants, on the other hand, experienced a slow holiday season. In February 1983, tourism appeared ready to boom\textsuperscript{188}. In March, there was talk of a large coal development just outside of Nanaimo. In April 1983, several businesses received federal/provincial loans\textsuperscript{189}. Shopping centre managers were optimistic, car dealerships experienced a steady increase in sales\textsuperscript{190}, construction took a big jump, the Duke Point World Centre for Marine Technology opened\textsuperscript{191}, pulp prices increased, the Nanaimo Regional District appointed an economic development manager\textsuperscript{192}, and the Retirement Expo, organized by the Chamber of Commerce attracted over 500 people\textsuperscript{193}. In May Eaton's achieved its sales targets\textsuperscript{194}.

While the tone was optimistic in the first half of 1983, it was reported in June, that the activity in the building industry had leveled off since March and that figures for the first 5 months of 1983 lagged slightly behind 1982\textsuperscript{195}. While many people had pinned their hopes on tourist development, there were no signs for optimism in this area. During 1982, occupancy declined by 25-30%; in April 1983, things were looking much better; however, in July 1983, hotel occupancy was down\textsuperscript{196}.

POWELL RIVER

POWELL RIVER COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

This section describes the newspaper mention - if any - of the existence, activities, and demands put on service clubs, recreational groups, political or environmental groups, cultural organizations/services, volunteer and ad-hoc organizations (food banks, unemployed committees, etc.), and community turnout at events.

Existence of community groups:

\textsuperscript{188} p. 253, Apr.'83
\textsuperscript{189} p. x413, Mar.'83
\textsuperscript{190} p. 263, Apr.'83
\textsuperscript{191} p. 262, Apr.'83
\textsuperscript{192} p. 266, Apr.'83
\textsuperscript{193} p. 274,284, Apr.'83
\textsuperscript{194} p. x151/152, Apr.'83
\textsuperscript{195} p. 287, May,'83
\textsuperscript{196} p. 290, Jun.'83
\textsuperscript{196} p. 293, Jul.'83
At the start of the 1980s Powell River had a large number of active community groups; a total of 93 organizations were known to operate. Except for the unemployed action centre, established by the Labour Council in early 1983, no new groups were formed specifically in response to the economic crisis.

Besides a large number of social service organizations, Powell River had a thriving arts community, an active senior citizens association and also a number of more ‘activist’ organizations, such as the Pipeline Information Access Committee, the Powell River Society for the Treatment of Chemical Dependency, the Powell River Rape Assault Collective, the Malaspina Women’s Centre (Work Opportunities for Women) and the Crime Prevention Committee.

The papers contained extensive coverage of many volunteer/social service activities.

Activities of community groups:

The local newspapers provided much detail on the routine activities of the many active social service organizations; fundraising was prominent and successful and volunteerism was common.

The Powell River Society for the Treatment of Chemical Dependency completed a brief to the municipality and also met with the provincial health minister concerning the need for an alcohol and drug treatment centre. The society brought together industry, clergy, local government, the legal system and Native groups in support of an alcohol and drug treatment centre.

Powell River had two pipeline committees, one initiated by the mayor, the other by the community. The Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC), was a broad-based group of concerned citizens to investigate the ramifications of petrochemical development in Powell River. The PIAC eventually openly criticized the strong focus on the fertilizer plant and pressed for more action on the development of mariculture industry, instead.

The Crime Prevention Committee was initiated by the Chamber of Commerce in an effort to get the community more involved in crime prevention; various community sectors were represented at their meetings; sub committees were formed. The COC sponsored a business crime prevention seminar, which attracted dozens

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197 p. 38, Jan.'82  
198 p. 24, Jan.'82  
199 p. 84,85,89, Feb.'82  
199 p. 484, Dec.'82  
200 p. 499, Dec.'82  
200 p. 50,51, 66, 67, 70, Feb.'82  
200 p. 105,77, Feb.'82  
177, Mar.'82
of local business owners and employees. The chamber registered its concern to city council with regard to the summer closure of the recreation complex (council received 122 petitions) and about the recreation centre fee increases.

The Rotary Club initiated a series of two “Town Meetings” to help spark the local economy; these meetings were well attended (150 people), brought together a broad cross-section of the community and were supported by numerous organizations\textsuperscript{201}.

Malaspina College hosted a ‘Hard Times’ workshop\textsuperscript{202}, on how the college could help people cope and also a meeting on the “Community Recovery Program” funding\textsuperscript{203}, which attracted numerous proposals. As well, a local College Advisory Committee\textsuperscript{204} was formed to help provide citizen participation. The college, along with the People’s Law School, initiated a mortgage information meeting\textsuperscript{205}, the college also housed the Work Opportunities for Women program at the Women’s Access Centre\textsuperscript{206}; this program formulated three proposals for economic diversification: a greenhouse, computer industry and a non-traditional trades exploration course\textsuperscript{207}. The Women in Trades program was supported by volunteer tradesmen.

The Rape Assault Collective, formed in the spring of 1981, and run by volunteers, organized the "Take Back the Night" march, set up a 24-hour crisis line, addressed public meetings and held self-defence classes; they supported the protest against the provincial government demand that it be given access to case files, had their funding withdrawn and were seeking community support for their service\textsuperscript{208}.

\textsuperscript{201} p. 485,489, Dec.'82
\textsuperscript{202} p. 392, Sep.'82
\textsuperscript{203} p.464,476, Nov.'82
\textsuperscript{204} p.512, Feb.'83
\textsuperscript{205} p. 406, Oct.'82
\textsuperscript{206} p. 228, May '82
\textsuperscript{207} p. 328, Aug.'82
\textsuperscript{208} p. 56, Feb.'82
\textsuperscript{209} p. 260, May '82
Parental protest against education cuts gathered momentum in Powell River when parents were invited to an information meeting, following which a committee was formed to take further action, resulting in a telegram to the premier and the education minister\textsuperscript{209}.

Other mention of community participation:

Community participation in Powell River appeared to be strong; several articles mentioned events that drew typically around 100 people, such as: the monthly meeting of the Senior Citizens Association, women's church group luncheons, a women's banquet with a NAC representative, a meeting on the regional settlement plan, a political fundraising dinner for the Socreds, and another one for the NDP. The annual Sea Fair fundraiser drew 1,000 people and the annual Sea Fair was visited by 2,000 people.

A petition with 122 signatures protesting municipal cuts in recreation spending was presented to city council\textsuperscript{210}. A series of eight films on child development, sponsored by the BC Council for the Family, received good response (free childcare was provided).

Meals on Wheels volunteers delivered 3,414 meals in 1981 (up 20\% from the previous year); due to strong community support Powell River had one of the most effectively run units, free of government help\textsuperscript{211}.

POWELL RIVER SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

\textit{This section describes examples of solidarity: formation of ad-hoc groups, financial contributions to food banks etc., activities aimed at job creation, job-sharing, reduced hours, training programs educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities strikes, rallies and marches.}

\textit{Formation of ad-hoc groups:}

In Powell River no ad-hoc groups to deal with the effects of the economic crisis were formed, until November 1982, when the BC Federation of Labour started setting up unemployed action committees and the Labour Council started looking for a suitable place for the unemployed action centre\textsuperscript{212}. A few new organizations were established during the period covered by this study:

The Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC) was formed in February 1982, to gather facts on the proposed natural gas pipeline to Vancouver Island, alleging that the mayor’s committee did not permit public

\textsuperscript{209} p. 386,394, Sep.'82
\textsuperscript{210} p. 251, May '82
\textsuperscript{211} p. 290, June ‘82
\textsuperscript{212} p. 183, April ‘82
\textsuperscript{212} p. 455, Nov.'82
access. The PIAC was a broad based committee with representation from the Powell River Anti Pollution Association, Powell River Regional District, local service clubs, unions, EDC and other special interest groups\(^{213}\). The Powell River Chamber of Commerce (COC) organized a meeting with representatives from several community groups to formulate ways of combating crime in Powell River: the Crime Prevention Committee was formed\(^{214}\).

**Financial contributions to food banks etc.:**

The Powell River community papers contained no mention of food banks; however, money was donated for various causes:

The ‘Cup of Milk’ drive, sponsored by the Powell River community newspapers and initiated by the Unitarian Service Committee, assisted projects in underdeveloped countries. The Knights of Pythias raised funds for the fight against cerebral palsy and also supported the Powell River Music Festival; the Moose Lodge donated to Children’s Hospital; the Hospital Auxiliary donated $29,000 to the Powell River Regional Hospital; the Cancer drive beat its target; the Legion contributed funds to a host of projects; donations to the Salvation Army almost doubled in the past four years.

Hot meal delivery increased: Meals on Wheels volunteers delivered 3,414 meals in 1981, an increase of 611 over the previous year\(^{215}\).

Hospital physios sent letters to all local church and social service groups asking for volunteers to come into the hospital and do activities with extended care residents: the response was great\(^{216}\). Volunteers ensured the continued operation of the Women's Access Centre, after Malaspina College lost its budget for the centre\(^{217}\). The local campus was able to provide programs even though it did not have necessary staff or facilities. The Women's Introduction to Trades program succeeded because tradesmen pitched in to help, and general mechanics instruction got off the ground after a building and equipment were provided by MB. "We could not run these kinds of things if the community didn't respond that way," the college president said\(^{218}\).

**Activities aimed at job sharing, reduced hours, training programs, educational activities, letters to the editor, editorials, protest activities:**

\(^{213}\) p.27, Jan.'82  
\(^{214}\) p.177, Mar.'82  
\(^{215}\) p.183, April'82  
\(^{216}\) p. 184, April'82  
\(^{217}\) p.429, Oct.'82  
\(^{218}\) p. 512, Feb.'82
In January 1982, the Powell River Society for Treatment of Chemical Dependency completed brief to the municipality; the Society hoped to act as link with rest of the community for services such as legal aid, job search, medical and marital counselling\(^{219}\). Monthly meetings had been held since the previous spring among representatives from industry, clergy, local government, the legal system and Native groups.

Malaspina College and People's Law School of Vancouver co-sponsored a mortgage information workshop: 22 people attended session\(^{220}\). The Powell River News and the Town Crier ran free ads for young job-seekers\(^{221}\).

Malaspina College organized a meeting on the federal/provincial "Community Recovery program"\(^{222}\).

The jobless situation was tackled from different angles. The EDC commissioner met with an official CEIC; the NDP MP met with local community leaders- business, union and political- to map out a strategy to help the unemployed\(^{223}\).

A member of the Okanagan Women's Coalition and regional representative of NAC spoke to about 100 women at the second of three Women's Banquets about how women made their concerns heard at the national level\(^{224}\).

The college held a "Hard times" workshop: the turnout was small but ideas numerous\(^{225}\). The workshop was in follow-up to a previously conducted telephone survey\(^{226}\). The college also did a follow-up on the "Survival Workshop" for businesses having trouble coping, which was presented by EDC and Provincial Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development\(^{227}\). A public meeting looking for answers to the education crisis in Powell River attracted over 20 people; a committee was formed to take further action on behalf of local parents; the first move was sending telegrams to VanderZalm and Bennett protesting the "deterioration" of the education system\(^{228}\). A business crime prevention seminar, sponsored by the COC and coordinated by the RCMP, attracted dozens of local business owners and employees\(^{229}\).

\(^{219}\) p.24, Jan.'82
\(^{220}\) p.406, Oct.'82
\(^{221}\) p. 282, June'82
\(^{222}\) p. 464, Nov.'82
\(^{223}\) p. 485, Dec.'82
\(^{224}\) p. 112, Feb.'82
\(^{225}\) p. 392, Sep.'82
\(^{226}\) p. 375, Sep.'82
\(^{227}\) p. 355, Aug.'82
\(^{228}\) p. 386, Sep. '82
\(^{229}\) p. 436, Oct.'82

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MP Ray Skelly held two meetings on the grim economic outlook for Powell River; one concerned federal and provincial funds for make-work projects; the other with a group of local commercial fishers, to discuss impact of the recently released Pearse report\(^{230}\).

Malaspina College called a meeting on "Community Recovery" funds, which attracted numerous proposals\(^{231}\).

In December 1982, about 150 attended a "town meeting" organized by the Rotary Club; Rotarians followed up by contacting representatives of other segments of the community to determine how to incorporate results of the town meeting into other efforts aimed at stimulating Powell River’s economy\(^{232}\).

There were several instances where workers collectively refused to accept and abide by arbitrary proposals and measures. In January 1982, CPU local 76 members voted almost unanimously in favour of not handling non-union pulp\(^{233}\); in March, local 76 of the CPU opposes the wage freeze idea\(^ {234}\) and the teachers vowed to fight against the restraint plan\(^ {235}\); the telecommunication workers refuse to give up a day’s pay\(^ {236}\). Local 76 of the CPU voted 81% in favour of shorter work hours to save some of the 160 jobs\(^ {237}\).

Protests, strikes and rallies (includes direct requests and lobbying:)

In May 1982, a petition was circulated in the community to protest cuts in recreation spending\(^ {238}\). Commercial fishers in Powell River were on strike for 8 days\(^ {239}\) and the entire ferry service was shut down one day. The BCGEU was off the job for one week\(^ {240}\) and in September, the teachers spontaneously walked out for three days\(^ {241}\).

POWELL RIVER SOCIAL TRUST

This section describes explicit mentions of social trust (or distrust), if any. I also describe the newspaper coverage which had to do with crime and its causes.

\(^{230}\) p. 456, Nov.’82
\(^{231}\) p. 476, Nov.’82
\(^{232}\) p. 489, Dec.’82
\(^{233}\) p. 5, Jan.’82
\(^{234}\) p. 153, Mar.’82
\(^{235}\) p. 129, Mar.’82
\(^{236}\) p. 159, Mar.’82
\(^{237}\) p. 285, June’82
\(^{238}\) p. 251, May’82
\(^{239}\) p. 336, Aug.’82
\(^{240}\) p. 340, Aug.’82
\(^{241}\) p.366, Sep.’82
Specific mention of trust:

Neither of the two community newspapers in Powell River contained any explicit mention of social trust during the period of this study. I examined the newspaper coverage on crime to provide some context for perceptions of social trust, as the original survey questions underlying the social trust dimension of social capital pertained to the perceived likelihood of various people returning a lost wallet containing money.

Crime and its causes:

In February 1982, vandalism at Recreation Complex was reported to have reached alarming proportions; the previous year an estimated $15,000 was paid to repair damage caused by hooligans. At the same time, overall crime in Powell River decreased slightly in 1981, but 3 areas showed considerable increase: theft, fraud and burglary. Theft over $200.00 had increased 52% to 149 cases, with a low percentage of cases solved. Overall, crime stats for Powell River dropped by 3.8%, while nationally crime was up 14%.

The chamber of commerce organized a meeting to get the community more involved in crime prevention; the purpose was to define areas of major concern and devise a program to encourage citizen participation in reducing unlawful activities. In February 1982, the Crime prevention Committee was formed with representation of various community sectors. The CPC reported that one third of business failures could be attributed to theft – increasing unemployment, inflation, drugs and alcohol were among reasons cited for the upswing in shoplifting and business theft. The CPC also looked for ways to make students more aware of unlawful activity in the school system and to encourage more participation by young people in fighting it.

Interestingly, in October 1982, Powell River was reported to be one in only seven communities in BC to show a decrease in crime in 1981/82. Powell River had 19 RCMP members; each had an average caseload of 81.3.

In October 1982, The CPC organized a business crime prevention seminar which attracted dozens of local business owners and employees; the seminar was sponsored by the COC and coordinated by the RCMP.

In November 1982, Powell River RCMP reported that during the past year and a half, calls to domestic disputes had increased.
The Provincial Court judge reportedly tried to hand out fair sentences to people who had lost their jobs and to have fines reflect the economic crunch.

Comments by authority figures:

March 1982: Powell River’s crown council Richard Schwartz: "The problems Powell River has are not criminal; they are problems with economy, with unemployment, with kids." One problem he sees locally is the lack of alcohol counselling, and this has affected his sentence recommendations. ... with the high number of alcohol related offences; people are being put on probation and not getting the treatment they need.

October 1982: More to crime than statistics: Powell River is far from being a den of hardened criminals, Provincial Court Judge Johnson said; much of the lawbreaking can be traced to financial or emotional difficulties among those responsible, not to a habitual desire for personal gain, he told business crime seminar.

POWELL RIVER GOVERNMENT TRUST

This section describes specific newspaper mention — if any — of government trust; next government measures, both cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn, as well as government plans and promises are described and finally the nature and “tone” of community-government communications are considered.

Specific mention of government trust (provincial and federal):

The Powell River newspapers contained no explicit mention of government trust.

Government measures (cutbacks and measures aimed at alleviating the effects of economic downturn), plans and promises:

Federal cuts: Major cutbacks in government spending affected most sectors of society. Federal wage and price controls were put into effect and social programs were cut.

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249 p. 175, Mar. ‘82  
250 p. 432, Oct. ‘82
Provincial cuts: Province municipally there were major cutbacks in education budgets, in various social services, changes to provincial-municipal revenue sharing schemes, and increases in service fees.

Medicare premiums were increased\(^{251}\); hospital funding was cut back: 16 jobs and 10 beds were eliminated at the local hospital\(^{252}\); the health unit’s nursing staff was also reduced. The BC Ferry Corporation budget was trimmed by 15%. Funding for a summer student employment program was slashed, and so was funding for legal aid. The provincial government imposed two water fee hikes and approved a Hydro rate hike causing MacMillan Bloedel to pay $1.2 million more for power that year (according to the Council of Forest Industry (COFI) these hikes were unwarranted). A $1.2 million proposal to renovate an old arena (Willingdon Arena) as a campus facility for Powell River, which had been unveiled the previous year, was put on hold.

When the Powell River School District was advised to drastically cut its budget, the school trustees initially refused to prepare a new budget pending the passage of proper legislation\(^{253}\); later in the same year another round of hefty cuts was announced. The provincial government took over taxing all non-residential property for school purposes; the new taxation formula drew much criticism, as the school board was concerned about losing control over education matters\(^{254}\) and the municipality lost a large chunk of investment capital.\(^{255}\) The school district had to borrow up to $3 million before receiving money from property taxes\(^{256}\); the school board chair expressed concern about the considerable cost to service the short term debt. Under funding in education became a long-term feature; in 1985, the school board announced that between 20 and 30 teaching positions would have to be eliminated in the Powell River School District by the coming school year. The superintendent (Buchanan) called the situation with education in BC one of chaos, without direction and marked by political gamesmanship and confrontation. In junior schools the focus was on routines and rote learning instead of inquiry. The secondary curriculum was a mess; morale among BC teachers was at a nadir. The local college was also affected by major cuts\(^{257}\).

The Recreation Facilities Assistance program was put on hold and the BC Recreation Association and the Union of BC Municipalities protested this government decision\(^{258}\).

\(^{251}\) p. 151, Mar.’82  
\(^{252}\) p. 215, May,’82  
\(^{253}\) p. 148, Mar.’82  
\(^{254}\) p.148, Mar.’82  
\(^{255}\) p.161, Mar.’83  
\(^{256}\) p. 217, May,’82  
\(^{257}\) p. 300, 339, Aug.’82  
\(^{258}\) p. 73, Mar.’82
The provincial government started an advertising campaign asking for written comments on the compensation stabilization program; a slap in the face to local governments, as these were not informed about the request for comments.\textsuperscript{259}

The federal government reportedly earmarked funds for work sharing programs and the expansion of job creation programs; several federal and joint federal/provincial make-work projects were announced.

The Canada Employment Centre sponsored two programs for women planning to enter the workforce, primarily in non-traditional areas.\textsuperscript{260} Ottawa offered forgivable loans to assist home renovation under the new Canada Renovation Plan and also announced a work sharing plan.\textsuperscript{261} The federal New Employment Expansion and Development (NEED) Program was to provide new productive employment unemployed workers who had exhausted their entitlement to unemployment insurance benefits, or were receiving social assistance.\textsuperscript{262} The Employment Bridging Assistance Program (EBAP), was a federal/provincial program to provide temporary work for unemployed forest workers;\textsuperscript{263} the scheme would be aimed mainly at short term relief and the number of people qualifying would be small and reaction to the scheme was mixed. The federal/provincial "Community Recovery Program" was intended to provide unemployment recipients with employment that would benefit their communities.\textsuperscript{264} The federal Community Recovery Fund attracted numerous proposals.

In May 1982 the provincial Labour Minister released details of a $10 million summer job creation program\textsuperscript{265} and the next month announced four new programs offering wage subsidies for employers who provided on the job training (Industrial Training Program, Provincial Employment and Training Program for Disabled Persons, Women's Non-Traditional Employment Program, Income Assistance Program). The provincial government's Mortgage Assistance Program, which provided interest relief to homeowners, received a steady stream of applicants.

The provincial government authorized $51,000 toward continued funding of the Powell River Regional District's Economic Development Council and approved a $4,000 grant to the Sunshine Coast Community Services Society for a transition house in Sechelt.

By June 1982, two local businesses had been approved for work sharing (3 more were awaiting approval) and one local firm had applied for the Employment Bridging Assistance Program.

\textsuperscript{259} p. 101, Feb.'82
\textsuperscript{260} p. 81, 228, May,'82
\textsuperscript{261} p. 237, May,'82
\textsuperscript{262} p.464, Nov.82
\textsuperscript{263} p.225, May,'82
\textsuperscript{264} p.464, Nov.'82
\textsuperscript{265} p. 245, May,'82
The Chamber of Commerce received funding for an EBAP funded project to build the Powell River canoe-portage route; 12 workers and 1 supervisor were hired. The EDC sponsored an EBAP funded project to create a new recreation area. The Powell River Forest district received a $2.2 million budget; the District received three large increases for the planting of seedlings, juvenile tree spacing and conifer release.

The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans planned the launch of a "community project" in the Powell River area as part of the Salmonid Enhancement Program. Powell River residents were given an opportunity to spend $18,000 on a project to enhance salmon stocks and create jobs over two years. In December 1982, the federal government's Canada Community Development Program granted $200,000 to the BC Federation of Labour, to earmark funds for 20 communities in the province for unemployment action centers. In September 1983, the federal government awarded an additional $50,000 for the special response feature of the Canada Community Development Program.

Nature and 'tone' of community-government communications:

While there was no explicit mention of trust or distrust in either of the community papers, there were plenty of quotes from various local officials expressing their thoughts and opinions about the provincial government and its policies.

For instance:

An editorial called the premier's restraint program is at best incomplete and at worst downright inflammatory.

The board of the local college (Malaspina College) wrote in a letter to the provincial education minister that the government was 'mortgaging' the future of its citizens.

The Teacher's Association chair said "there's money to finance BC Place and northeast coal development, but there is no money for our one natural resource that we can't do without- the children of the province."

The chair of the school board used no uncertain terms in her open letter to the minister of education and was quoted to have said that the minister of education was again attempting to find simplistic answers to complex problems.

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266 p.463, Nov.'82
267 p.231, May,'82
268 p.267, Jun.'82
269 p.100, Feb.'82
270 p.300, Jun.'82
271 p.366 Sep.'82
272 p.377, Sep.'82

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problems by creating a “report card” comparing individual performances and spending of BC’s 75 school districts.\textsuperscript{273} None of these quotes express trust.

Most government-community communications were announcements; there were few instances of direct communications; there was mention of the chair of the EDC meeting with the minister of tourism and of the college board meeting with the provincial government about funding of vocational and technical courses and about college expansion. The chamber of commerce met with a consultant of the CEIC and the provincial energy minister addressed the local Socred riding association. There was nothing noteworthy about nature or the tone of community-government communications.

POWELL RIVER INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

The institutional performance dimension describes the performance of the business community in response to the economic crisis, as reported in the newspaper. The following section describes forestry cutbacks, business-labour relationships and communications, business initiatives related to job sharing and job creation and business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development etc.

This section describes the business community’s response to the crisis. Specifically, forestry cutbacks, labour-business relationships and communications; business initiatives related to job-sharing and job creation; business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development etc. I also considered any mention of police activities.

Forestry cutbacks:

MacMillan Bloedel was Powell River’s major employer, with over 2,000 employees at the start of the economic downturn. The workers were represented by the Canadian Paper Workers Union (CPU). The Powell River mill was the largest in the MacMillan Bloedel empire, producing about 680,000 tonnes of newsprint annually and also supplied more than 10\% of the company’s annual lumber production. About 6,000 logs, representing an average 4,785 cubic metres of wood, were processed each day through the facility; because such high grade products were manufactured they were least affected by existing market conditions;

MacMillan Bloedel reported 1982 to be a "disastrous year": the company’s credit rating was downgraded from AA to BBB\textsuperscript{274}; the company lost 51.9 million in the first 9 months of that year\textsuperscript{275}. At the same time, losses were

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{273} p.501, Dec.'82
  \item \textsuperscript{274} p. 180, Apr.'82
  \item \textsuperscript{275} p. 418, Oct.'82
\end{itemize}

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offset by the sale of assets and major restructuring – according to the union, the company continued to make healthy profits from the Powell River operation.

The pulp and newsprint mill shut down about seven times in 1982. In June, the company announced the lay-off of 160 employees, the next month issued a wage rollback request and in September announced the permanent lay-off of another 250 workers.

The workers voted 81% in favour of shorter work hours to save some of the 160 jobs\textsuperscript{276}, but when the second lay-off was announced the company refused any job sharing proposal\textsuperscript{277}.

Businesses were also hit hard by job losses: Powell River businesses lost on average 35 to 40% in gross revenue, according to the president of the local COC; some business losses were as high as 70%; these stats did not include businesses that had failed within the previous year. Unemployment in Powell River was estimated at 25% at the end of 1982\textsuperscript{278}. A survey of local service industries indicated that for every one of 450 jobs lost in industry, a matching position was lost in service areas\textsuperscript{279}.

*Business-labour relationships and communications:*

The union, CPU local 76, firmly opposed the industry's wage deferral proposals and pointed out that, while MacMillan Bloedel might have been losing money overall, the Powell River mill remained still highly profitable and that wages were only a small part of the total production cost\textsuperscript{280}. There were several mill closures during 1982. The timing of the shutdowns was such that the workers were able to only collect a minimum of UI benefits\textsuperscript{281}. In April 1982, seven local hotels asked their unionized employees to defer wage increases; average hotel business had reportedly dropped by 26%\textsuperscript{282}.

*Business initiatives related to job sharing and job creation:*

Several federal and joint federal/provincial make work projects were announced.

Wage subsidies for employers were available for those who would provide on the job training. The COC successfully applied for an Employment Bridging Assistance Program (EBAP) grant and hired 12 workers and

\textsuperscript{276} p. 285, Jun.'82

\textsuperscript{277} p. 483, Dec.'82

\textsuperscript{278} p. 442, Nov.'82

\textsuperscript{279} p. 516, Sep.'83

\textsuperscript{280} p. 153, Mar.'82

\textsuperscript{281} p. 449, Nov.'82

\textsuperscript{282} p. 211, Apr.'82
one supervisor to work on the Powell River canoe portage route. Another EBAP backed program, sponsored by the Economic Development Council (EDC) created a new recreation area.

Local 76 of the CPU voted 81% in favour of a shorter workweek in order to save jobs, the company agreed, which temporarily saved about 65 jobs until November 1982, when more lay-offs were announced and the work sharing program was terminated\textsuperscript{283}.

*Business initiatives related to economic revitalization, tourism development, etc:*

There was much talk, activity and lobbying around the prospect of attracting the natural gas pipeline to Vancouver Island through Powell River; a fertilizer plant would accompany the project. The local COC made substantial efforts to get a public hearing on the natural gas pipeline issue and the COC president passed a motion to this effect, in support of a pipeline, at the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Vancouver Island meeting. The teacher's union supported the fertilizer plant, as "the town needs jobs". However, support for the natural gas pipeline and fertilizer plant was not unanimous in the community and questions were asked about whether the projected economic advantages would outweigh the social and environmental impacts; eventually, the fertilizer project was condemned by the Pipeline Information Access Committee (PIAC) - it was suggested that more effort should go into mariculture. Powell River never did end up with a pipeline to Vancouver Island.

Tourism development was seen as very important; the local COC collaborated with 3 other centres on the Sunshine Coast on a combined promotional effort to attract tourism.

In February 1982, the provincial government approved $51,000 for continued funding of the Powell River Regional District's ECD. The EDC had been involved in an ongoing battle with provincial government to get more say in resource decisions. A survival workshop for businesses was organized by the EDC.

The COC sponsored a business crime prevention seminar, which attracted dozens of local business owners and employees. The chamber registered its concern to city council with regard to the summer closure of the recreation complex (council received 122 petitions), and about the recreation centre fee increases. The COC also conducted a membership drive. More than 600 business licences had been issued by the municipality, but COC membership was only 82.

In November 1982, local business tax was cut to 5.5%, following complaints by the COC and MacMillan Bloedel; the chamber president stated that not only were local businesses struggling for survival, but also that the business tax was a deterrent to new businesses and secondary industry wanting to locate in Powell River\textsuperscript{284}.

\textsuperscript{283} p. 473, Nov.'82

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In November 1982, the Rotary Club called a "Town meeting" to help spark local economy; the meeting was attended by 150\textsuperscript{285}.

In November 1983, the manager of MacMillan Bloedel's Powell River division addressed the COC to complain about the strain of local taxation; he urged the COC to help MacMillan Bloedel convince the municipal and school board officials that relying on a single industry for much of their revenue "leaves this town extremely vulnerable if something should happen to that industry"\textsuperscript{286}.

Powell Air cut back on flight schedules due to the slumping economy and also announced a 10% fare increase. The building industry was reported to be in a continuing slump; real estate sales were down. It was reported that most sellers were not leaving town, but might be trying to cope with higher mortgage interest rates by selling. Banks were seizing boats in record numbers, because of payment defaults. The president of the COC said that about a dozen businesses had gone down in 1982; the GM dealership closed\textsuperscript{287}.

**Police activities:**

The newspapers contained no specific reports on police activities.

However, overall crime stats for PR dropped by 3.8%, while nationally the number of criminal code offences jumped 13.2%; theft increased 18.1% and property crimes were up 14%; drug offences were up 7.8% in BC. Powell River was one in only seven BC communities which showed a decrease in crime in 1981/82\textsuperscript{288}. Powell River had 19 RCMP members, a ratio of 706.4 to one; each officer had an average caseload of 81.3 (busiest policemen were in Vernon with 158.3 cases per member and Penticton with 151.2). At the same time, the RCMP reported an increase in the number of shoplifting offences, exactly how many was not known; motor vehicle thefts increased dramatically from 7 in the first four months of 1981 to 17 in 1982\textsuperscript{289}.

The departing crown council noted in March 1982 that "The problems PR has are not criminal; they are problems with economy, with unemployment, with kids." One problem locally was the lack of alcohol counselling, and this has affected his sentence recommendations. ... with the high number of alcohol related offences; people are being put on probation and not getting the treatment they need\textsuperscript{290}. In October 1982, the

\textsuperscript{284} p. 450, Nov.'82
\textsuperscript{285} p. 485, Dec.'82
\textsuperscript{286} p. 520, Nov.'83
\textsuperscript{287} p. 516, Sep.'83
\textsuperscript{288} p. 403, Oct.'82
\textsuperscript{289} p. 423, Oct.'82
\textsuperscript{290} p. 175, Mar.'82
Provincial Court Judge told a business crime seminar that much of the lawbreaking could traced to financial or emotional difficulties among those responsible, not to a habitual desire for personal gain\textsuperscript{291}.

POWELL RIVER ECONOMIC BELIEF

This section describes newspaper mention of economic outlook, unemployment and job creation and economic development schemes for each community.

Unemployment:

The Powell River Town Crier and the Powell River News carried regular reports on unemployment statistics. In January 1982, the manager of the local Canada Employment Office (Gray) noted that unemployment in Powell River was very high with over 1,000 claimants; the federal government reportedly earmarked funds for work sharing programs and the expansion of job creation programs\textsuperscript{292}. In 1982, there was no summer work at MacMillan Bloedel; there were layoffs at the local hospital and termination of teacher’s contracts\textsuperscript{293}. By the fall of 1982, there had been a staggering increase in the local welfare roll: more than 900 persons, roughly 10\% of the community, were receiving social assistance; at the same time unemployment was estimated to have reached 25\% and 40\% for those under 25\textsuperscript{294}. Money paid locally by the Ministry of Human Resources combined with the money paid in Unemployment Insurance rendered the two levels of government second in terms of supplying income in Powell River – MacMillan Bloedel remained first\textsuperscript{295}. In November MacMillan Bloedel announced that 250 permanent mill jobs would be eliminated\textsuperscript{296}.

Job and economic development schemes:

Several federal and joint federal/provincial make work projects were announced\textsuperscript{297}.

In February 1982, plans for a new federal-provincial job scheme were announced, aimed mainly at short term relief and the number of people qualifying would be small; reaction to the scheme was mixed. Wage subsidies for employers were available for those who would provide on the job training. The COC successfully applied for an Employment Bridging Assistance Program (EBAP) grant and hired 12 workers and one supervisor to

\textsuperscript{291} p. 432, Oct.’82
\textsuperscript{292} p. 9, Jan.’82
\textsuperscript{293} p. 200, Ap.’82
\textsuperscript{294} p. 402, Sep.’82
\textsuperscript{295} p. 443, Nov.’82
\textsuperscript{296} p. 456, Nov.’82
\textsuperscript{297} p. 81, Feb.’82
work on the Powell River canoe portage route\textsuperscript{298}. Another EBAP backed program, sponsored by the Economic Development Council (EDC) created a new recreation area. A new employment counselling service for women focused on helping women join the workforce, primarily in non-traditional areas. The Powell River Family Services Society applied for the program grant, which was sponsored by the CEC\textsuperscript{299}. The program formulated three proposals for federal funding to help Powell River develop in a diversified manner: a greenhouse, computer industry, and non-traditional trades exploration course\textsuperscript{300}. In April, the local COC sponsored a session with a CEIC consultant to familiarize the local business community with the federal government’s work sharing program; the objectives of this program were to help companies retain their skilled labour force intact and to avoid the costs to employers of temporary layoffs.

The Forest District received a $2.2 million budget; the Powell River District received three large increases for the planting of seedlings, juvenile tree spacing and conifer release.

The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans planned the launch of a "community project" in the area as part of the Salmonid Enhancement Program. Powell River residents were given the chance to spend $180,000 on a project of their choosing to help improve salmon stocks and create jobs over the next two years.

The local college organized a meeting on the "Community Recovery Program", a federal/provincial program directed to activities aimed at improving community facilities and services, maintaining and enhancing heritage sites, and the promotion of tourism. The employment counsellor at the local CEIC office also encouraged local businesses and employers to apply for funding through this program.

In an effort to preserve existing jobs, the Powell River District Board decided not to back a Vancouver bus company plan for second bus link connecting Powell River with the Lower Mainland\textsuperscript{301}. In the same vein, the Powell River town council asked the CTC to suspend Air BC’s licence to operate a Powell River service\textsuperscript{302}. A local company, Powell Air, provided 18 local jobs and injected about $1.5 million/yr into the local economy, therefore the company should be protected from Air BC’s competition.

In December 1982, the jobless situation was tackled from different angles as various agencies and leaders of the community attempted to establish a plan to bring new employment opportunities to the town. Powell River’s EDC met with an official of the community programs branch of the federal EIC; Ray Skelly (the NDP MP) met with local community leaders (business, union and political)- to map out a strategy to help the unemployed\textsuperscript{303}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{298} p. 349, Aug.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{299} p. 228, May’82
  \item \textsuperscript{300} p. 328, Aug.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{301} p. 319, Jul.’82
  \item \textsuperscript{302} p. 322, Jul’82
  \item \textsuperscript{303} p.485, Dec.1982
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The BC Federation of Labour received a $200,000 grant from the federal Canada Community Development Program to set up unemployment action centers in 20 communities in the province.\textsuperscript{304}

The Rotary club organized a successful “town meeting” attended by 150 persons, to generate ideas to stimulate Powell River’s economy.\textsuperscript{305} A second meeting was planned in February 1983.

In September 1983, the COC chair reported that businesses in Powell River had lost on average 35 to 40% in gross revenue over 19982/83 and that some business losses had been as high as 70%; these statistics do not include businesses that failed over the previous year. He reported the latest unemployment statistics to be at least 17.7% for Powell River. A survey of local service industries indicated that for every one of 450 jobs lost in industry, a matching one was lost in service areas.\textsuperscript{306}

\textsuperscript{304} p. 515, Sep.’82
\textsuperscript{305} p.489, Dec.1982
\textsuperscript{306} p.516, Sep.’83
### APPENDIX 3

#### FACTOR LOADINGS

**Government Trust-1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Load</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How much do you trust the government in Ottawa to do what is right?</td>
<td>d7</td>
<td>trust gov</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much do you trust the government in [PROVINCE] to do what is right?</td>
<td>d8</td>
<td>trust gov</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What rating would you give the Federal Government?</td>
<td>c3</td>
<td>gov performance</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What rating would you give your Provincial Government?</td>
<td>c4</td>
<td>gov performance</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social Trust-2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Load</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by a clerk at the nearest grocery store; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?</td>
<td>d10</td>
<td>trust people</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by a police officer; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?</td>
<td>d11</td>
<td>trust gov</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by a complete stranger; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?</td>
<td>d12</td>
<td>trust people</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it if it was found by someone who lives close by; would you say very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?</td>
<td>d9</td>
<td>trust people</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Factor load</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community Participation-3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many service clubs, such as Lions or Meals on Wheels, do you belong to?</td>
<td>h1 0.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many recreational groups, such as sports leagues or clubs, music or hobby clubs, or exercise classes are you involved in?</td>
<td>h2 0.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many organisations active on political issues, such as the environment or taxpayers' rights, do you belong to?</td>
<td>h3 0.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes people give time to various types of organisations. For instance, how many youth-oriented groups, such as Girl Guides or Minor Hockey, have you given time to in the last 12 months?</td>
<td>h4 0.65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How about organisations providing cultural services to the public, such as a museum or music festival. How many of these have you given time to in the last 12 months?</td>
<td>h5 0.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How about organisations that help people, such as the Cancer Society or a food bank? How many of these have you volunteered time to in the last 12 months?</td>
<td>h7 0.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institutional Performance-4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What rating would you give the Business Community?</td>
<td>e2 bus performance 0.76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What rating would you give the Local Police?</td>
<td>e7 local gov perform 0.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic Belief-5</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinking about the past twelve months, has your household's economic situation improved, stayed about the same, or worsened?</td>
<td>c1 econ belief now 0.76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What about the next twelve months, do you feel your household's economic situation will improve, stay about the same, or get worse?</td>
<td>c2 econ belief next yr 0.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Solidarity-6</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People on welfare should be required to work for the community? Do you agree or disagree?</td>
<td>m1 attit to welfare 0.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children. Do you agree or disagree?

Many unemployed persons could find work if they really wanted to. Do you agree or disagree?
APPENDIX 4

ETHICS APPROVALS

Copies of the following Certificates of Approval:

Numbers B01-0123, B04-0760, B05-0571