University of Alberta

Moving Through Uncertain Times: A Morphogenetic Approach to Understanding People's Response to Crisis in Two Forest Community Contexts in Rural British Columbia

by

Wayne Crosby

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Rural Sociology

Department of Resource Economics and Environmental Sociology

Fall 2013
Edmonton, Alberta

Abstract

The degree to which individuals have agency to respond during crisis, and the degree to which social structure and culture influence their course of action, present compelling questions for understanding social change. The tradition of examining the interplay between agency and social structure, and to a lesser extent, culture, is central to sociology and forms the basis for social theory. I employ Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach because it offers the analytical means to examine the interplay between agency, structure, and culture over time and space whereby no single component is conflated into the other two components. Analytical attention is given to the conditional and generative mechanisms operating between agency, culture, and structure. The interplay is examined through a mediatory process of reflexivity whereby people interact with social structure and culture and negotiate constraining/enabling factors as they choose their course of action.

Data was gathered through 49 semi-structured interviews conducted during fieldwork between July – December 2010 in two forest-dependent community settings of Mackenzie and McBride, British Columbia, Canada. Research participants faced a number of nationally and internationally sourced political and economic forces that manifest as immediate and direct socio-economic impacts related to mill closures, job loss, and the threat of community decline. I explore whether people have the capacity to move forward despite the threat of decline/collapse of their community and the factors that constrained/enabled their chosen courses of action. Particular attention is given to

the expectation that people would engage in collective action as a means for moving through the crisis. I argue that people appear to have the capacity to sustain their own well-being and that of other community members through crisis, but appear limited in their capacity to pursue political and/or economic outcomes. Examination of the process of reflexivity reveals that the majority of research participants appear to employ a communicative mode, which suggests that the prevailing social system limits collective action. Findings reveal that morphostasis of structural and cultural conditions is reproduced to enable the well-being of the community members, and that there is a reproduction of factors constraining political and/or economic outcomes.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to my supervisory committee, Drs. John Parkins, Debra Davidson, and Ken Caine for your guidance and help in producing this dissertation. I am especially thankful for your support and encouragement to develop my own ideas and figure out my own path with this research. I also express my sincere thanks to my examining committee, Drs. David Tindall and John Spence for your thoughtful and constructive feedback on my dissertation.

I gratefully acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for providing the financial support for this research.

Along this journey, a number of friends, family, and colleagues have supported me and kept me grounded in more ways than I can mention here. There are too many names to list, but I wish to thank my Mom, Carole Fraser, in particular for your unconditional support and encouragement to pursue my passions and to always grow as a person. This degree enabled me to accomplish both.

Last but certainly not least I wish to thank the many research participants and residents in the communities of Mackenzie and McBride, British Columbia. I am grateful to you all for sharing your stories and for making this dissertation even possible. Your warm hospitality and remarkable communities will forever remain a positive memory in my life.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEP: Cultural emergent property

SEP: Structural emergent property

PEP: Personal emergent property

CS: Cultural System

S-C: Socio-cultural

BC: British Columbia

Chapter 1: Introduction

"Society is open, and is open because it is peopled, and being peopled can always be re-shaped through human innovativeness" (Archer 1995, p. 166).

The degree to which individuals have agency to respond during crisis, and the degree to which social structure and culture influence their course of action, present compelling questions for understanding social change. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, a crisis is: "(a) an unstable or crucial time or state of affairs in which a decisive change is impending; especially: one with the distinct possibility of a highly undesirable outcome (e.g., financial crisis); (b) a situation that has reached a critical phase (e.g., environmental crisis)[1]." Individuals linked to the British Columbia (BC) forest sector have faced crises throughout various moments in the sector's history.

The forest sector in BC can be characterized as being in a long-term, chronic crisis stemming from a variety of issues including the following: 1) ongoing consolidation of industry and government services; 2) trade disputes with the United States; 3) increased mechanization in production leading to declines in employment opportunities; 4) high degrees of foreign ownership; 5) limited access to timber for a more diversified economy; 6) concerns related to community sustainability; and 7) the actual sustainability of timber harvests given annual allowable cut levels and, especially, the mountain pine beetle's recent

[1] Source: Merriam-Webster Dictionary. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/crisis (accessed 10 October 2012).

impact on available timber and community sustainability. The recent downturn in the forestry sector stemming from the 2008 financial crisis in the US triggered a more immediate social and economic crisis for forest-dependent communities that faced mill closures and job losses.

All of the issues described above leave people whose livelihoods are linked to the forest industry with unimaginable challenges: they have to overcome crises and find ways to move through difficult and uncertain times. As such, gaining insight into how people move through crisis and whether they have the capacity to do so are important questions for social scientists. It is within this intention that this research finds its purpose and contribution. In this dissertation, I present and attempt to operationalize Margaret Archer's (1995) morphogenetic approach as an explanatory format for examining the interplay between agency, structure and culture in a context of this particular social crisis. This morphogenetic approach is of interest because it provides the analytical means to examine the interaction between agency, structure and culture over time and space whereby none of the components are conflated into each other. Analytical attention is instead given to the conditional and generative mechanisms, which in the case of this dissertation will be realized by examining individual responses to the social and economic crisis of job loss and the threat of community decline in the forest-based communities of Mackenzie and McBride, BC, Canada.

Significance of Research

People in the forest communities of British Columbia face a significant crisis and threat of decline due to political and economic factors occurring outside

the community contexts. A number of factors have manifested into immediate and direct social and economic crisis related to mill closures, job loss and the threat of community decline. Factors include the volatility of the Canadian dollar, which negatively affects Canadian industry when the dollar rises along with the increasing competition and uncertainty in the ever-changing global economy, the 2008 housing market crash in the US and low lumber prices, the emergence of competing lumber and pulp producers in the world (e.g., Brazil and Chile) and ongoing trade tensions between Canada and the US. Beyond socio-economic factors are environmental factors that include impacts associated with climate change such as fires or droughts, and the devastating effects of the mountain pine beetle[2] on interior forests in the province. This all is experienced by individuals in terms of mill closures and job losses in communities economically dependent on the forest industry. This situation translates into a significant threat of community decline unlike others experienced in the history of BC, and leaves individuals facing lost livelihoods and an uncertain forest economy. This in turn poses a threat to community sustainability as industry responds to economic conditions and individuals face the possibility of uprooting themselves and their families in search of employment elsewhere.

Across Canada, there are forest-dependent communities – communities embedded within forest ecosystems regardless of their dependence on the forest industry. As with many people living in such communities, individuals in BC

[2] The cause of the spread of mountain pine beetle is also associated with forest management practices in the province oriented towards fire suppression that in turn has provided an abundance of mature pine to consume.

faced immediate and direct impacts of ongoing socio-economic changes. A recent figure for actual job loss in BC (pulp, paper, and wood) is 13,927 between January 2003 and December 2009 (Canadian Forest Service 2010). The BC Ministry of Forests and Range characterized this period in the forest sector as experiencing the "deepest cyclical downturn in history" (Ministry of Forests and Range 2009). While forestry downturns are not unusual in BC's economy, the culmination of current economic, social and environmental issues presents significant challenges for people in rural BC forest communities.

While BC is accustomed to uncertainty and volatility in a boom/bust, export-oriented staples economy, recent social changes brought on by a heightened sense of permanency present an interesting tension. According to the Provincial and Territorial Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee (2005) the heightened sense of permanency is associated with a shift in perception of resource communities from the historical "company town" to today's "independent rural municipality" (since WWII), with the latter holding increased capacity and responsibility in managing local affairs. Consequently, individuals in communities find themselves in a precarious position of greater responsibility, but not necessarily with the resources needed to overcome the threat of their community declining.

Within this context I examine *whether people have the capacity to move forward after facing a threat of decline/collapse of their community and what constrains/enables their chosen courses of action*. Based on the premise that people in the community were unhappy with their situation due to challenges

faced, I suspected that a collective response by members who chose to remain in the community would be required to move forward. In other words, a transition from individual response to collective action was expected to occur, which as we find in the community settings of this study did occur to ensure the well-being of community members, but less so to pursue political and/or economic outcomes. This suggests that people do have the capacity needed to move through the social and economic crisis by addressing the social well-being of people in the community settings but that the capacity is limited in terms of addressing political or economic interests.

While this study primarily focuses on whether people have the capacity to respond during crisis and what factors either constrain or enable their responses, it also speaks to the broader theme of change and/or the stability of existing structural and cultural factors. The reason for this is that the way in which people respond can offer valuable insight into conditions that contributed to the crisis in the first place, while at the same time identifying those factors that can mitigate crisis in the future. In this case, the crisis was one associated with mill closures in rural communities in BC dependent on forestry activities, and it becomes not just a story of individual and collective response to a social crisis, but also a story of identifying factors that can mitigate crisis in the future. As such, this is not just a story of individual and collective response to social crisis, it also a story of identifying factors impeding or facilitating social change.

To undertake this multifaceted research objective, I operationalize Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach. This approach questions the degree

to which culture, social structure and/or agency shape human behaviour, and speaks to central dilemmas in sociology pertaining to the degree to which human action is voluntary or determined. However, how independent each concept is or how much interplay exists between them has shaped a long debate in social theory.

For earlier theorists, the relationship between agency and structure is characterized in terms of ontologically fixed poles such as those emphasizing structure (e.g., Durkheim and Parsons) and those giving analytical priority to agency (e.g., Weber and Mead). Much of the work today is advancing attempts at synthesizing and accounting for the varying degrees of interplay between the two concepts (e.g., Anthony Giddens' *Structuration* and Margaret Archer's *Morphogenetic Approach*). The morphogenetic approach is of interest for this study because it provides analytical means to examine the interplay over time and space whereby none of the components (i.e., agency and structure) are conflated into the other (i.e., structure is not conflated into agency or vice versa). Analytical attention is instead given to the conditional and generative mechanisms operating between agency and structure or "people" and "parts." For Archer (1995), the morphogenetic approach offers an explanatory methodology for examining the interplay between agency, social structure, and culture to understand how they constrain/enable people's responses. Through this approach we can also anticipate whether or not we should expect to find social change in a given social system.

Interview narratives of individuals in two forest community contexts provide insight into factors constraining/enabling people's responses and,

theoretically speaking, will illuminate how the interplay between agency, social structure, and culture influences human action(s). This in turn will reveal insight into the broader process of social change in the two community contexts selected for this study. In doing so, this study also seeks to move beyond broad trajectories of research in the field of community sustainability that explore community vulnerabilities (e.g., Brooks et al. 2005) and capacities (e.g., Beckley et al. 2008) within contexts of socio-economic and environmental change. While these studies provide some insight into social processes of change, they generally represent research emphasizing social indicators, variable analysis, and static models of sustainability, all of which limit our theoretical understanding of the role and the experience of the social interaction of individuals with broader cultural and structural domains in the *dynamic* process of social change in rural BC.

I offer a unique perspective and approach to studying people's experience during crisis in two forest community contexts in rural BC. Theoretically, this research links theories of social change, political economy, cultural sociology, and collective action to study the capacity to overcome this crisis, and to identify factors that are constraining/enabling their chosen courses of action (i.e., individually and collectively*)*. This work attempts to understand the conditions under which people have the capacity to move forward after facing a threat of decline or collapse in their given community context. This entails examining factors that are enabling and/or constraining their chosen course of action. Beyond offering a unique approach for examining rural community contexts, community members and policy makers in various levels of BC government agencies (e.g.,

the Rural Secretariat) will benefit from findings by understanding the under-explored sphere of individual response to crisis and the role it plays in community sustainability and social change.

Theoretically, I attempt to operationalize Archer's morphogenetic approach, adding to the limited number of empirically based studies utilizing this theory. This dissertation offers the opportunity to employ the theory and gauge its utility for examining the possibility for social change in a natural resource-based context. The morphogenetic approach offers a unique framework for examining factors constraining/enabling people's response(s) over time and space that account for the dynamic process of social change. It also offers optimism when it comes to social change, given that the theory is based on the idea that society is not a closed system and can evolve or change because it is peopled. As such, the approach reveals the possibility of change depending on how people interact with society. This dissertation contributes to the operationalization of this theory in hopes of further demonstrating its utility in the fields of resource/environmental sociology.

Despite the number of studies on community development, community resilience or sustainability undertaken in BC and Canada, we rarely hear from the individuals or residents of the communities affected by downturns or uncertain times. Instead, what is more common are studies providing statistical accounts of their lived reality and/or with objectives for identifying technical descriptors of, for example, community sustainability and resilience (e.g., social capital, political capital, etc.). While these studies provide valuable contributions to understanding

the vulnerability of forest communities and offer tangible solutions/strategies during crisis, insight into lived experiences of individuals can provide additional knowledge that can benefit communities and government in developing effective strategies and policies for community sustainability.

Research Settings

The following discussion provides a brief description of the two community contexts and why they were selected for this study. A broader discussion of the BC forest sector in general is presented in Chapter 4 where the relevant structural and cultural conditions are presented. The theoretical framework of the morphogenetic approach, and in particular the depiction of the approach as having three stages, dictates the reason for structuring the dissertation in this way because the first stage of the cycle requires an understanding of the structural and cultural factors. The three stages of the morphogenetic approach are explained in Chapter 2 but collectively represent the cycle that for Archer produces an outcome of either social stability or social change.

Based on data from Natural Resources Canada and community websites, a purposive sampling strategy was used to select two community contexts – Mackenzie and McBride – facing social and economic and/or environmental challenges (see Figure 1 for map of BC highlighting the two settings).

Figure 1: Map of British Columbia Highlighting Mackenzie and McBride

Source: Natural Resources Canada (2012)

The original intention of this research was to compare community contexts that vary; i.e., one that clearly shows evidence of collective action and one that clearly does not. This proved difficult because there was limited information showing examples of collective action in rural communities. Mackenzie showed signs of collective action, according to findings from the preliminary research that was conducted prior to this study (and media reports), but there was no information about activities occurring in communities such as in McBride. Activities were identified at the time of designing this research in the community of Youbou on the coast of BC, but this setting was selected by another researcher

on this same project (see Lyon and Parkins 2013). Despite limited information, the ideal of having two community contexts to potentially compare/contrast continued to guide the preference for having two community settings in this study. Community settings were then selected on the criterion that they both face a threat of decline due to socio-economic and/or environmental challenges. This means that the basis for each community's economy and people's livelihoods are directly or indirectly linked to the forest industry. Therefore if, for example, the mill shuts down permanently, individuals face a crisis in terms of a threat of community decline.

Two forest community contexts were selected to examine how individuals understand their social circumstance and in turn choose to engage in courses of action such as collective action. However, the timing of events makes comparing community contexts difficult since each community experiences mill closures at different times, and individuals responded in different ways at different times. While this temporal dimension poses a potential challenge for this study, it also highlights the inherent fluid context from which crisis and social change is experienced and unfolds, which this study seeks to explore to better understand the dynamic process of social change in rural BC. In the end, the consistent factor from which each setting is selected is the threat of community decline.

The two community contexts selected for this study are Mackenzie and McBride (see Table 1 for population and mill closure data).

Table 1: Community Settings' Population and Mill Closure Data

Community	Pop	Company	Mill/ Machine	Effective Date	Duration/ Closure Type	Layoffs
Mackenzie[3]	4000	AbitibiBowater	Sawmill	15Jan08	Perm/Full	309
		AbitibiBowater	Newsprint	15Jan08	Perm/Full	240
		Canfor	Sawmill	12June06	Indef/Full	200
		Canfor	Sawmill	15Aug07	Indef/Full	130
		Pope &Talbot	Pulp	6May08	Indef/Full	251
		East Fraser Fibre	Plant Lumber	27Dec07	Indef/Full	no data
		East Fraser Fibre	Plant Lumber	17Oct08	Indef/SR	50
McBride[4]	660[5]	McBride Forest Industries	Sawmill	16Nov06	Perm	100[6]

SR: Shift Reduction; Perm: Permanent; Indef: Indefinite

Mackenzie

Nestled in the beautiful Northern Rocky Mountain trench in British Columbia's Northern Interior, and the area of territorial lands claimed by the McLeod Lake Indian Band[7], the District of Mackenzie (Mackenzie hereafter) is a community located in north-central British Columbia. It is named after the famous explorer, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who had camped nearby on his journey to the Pacific Ocean in 1793. Its official founding in 1966 was associated with a massive hydroelectric project that in turn formed Williston Lake, the largest human-made reservoir in BC, which together signified the commitment to a large-scale industrial development model in the province's history as discussed in Chapter 4.

---

[3] Source: Canadian Forest Service (2010) and personal interview with the Mackenzie Community Economic Officer May 2009.
[4] Source: Canadian Forest Service (2010).
[5] Source: Statistics Canada (2006).
[6] Note: based on information gathered during fieldwork, the total number of direct jobs lost was confirmed at 130.
[7] According to BC Treaty information, the District of Mackenzie is located on the territory claimed by the McLeod Lake Indian Band. For more information, see the map on the BC Treaty Negotiations in British Columbia map updated in June 2011 here: http://www.bctreaty.net/nations/nation_maps/Treaty-Negotiations-in-British-Columbia-Map.pdf (accessed 9 March 2013).

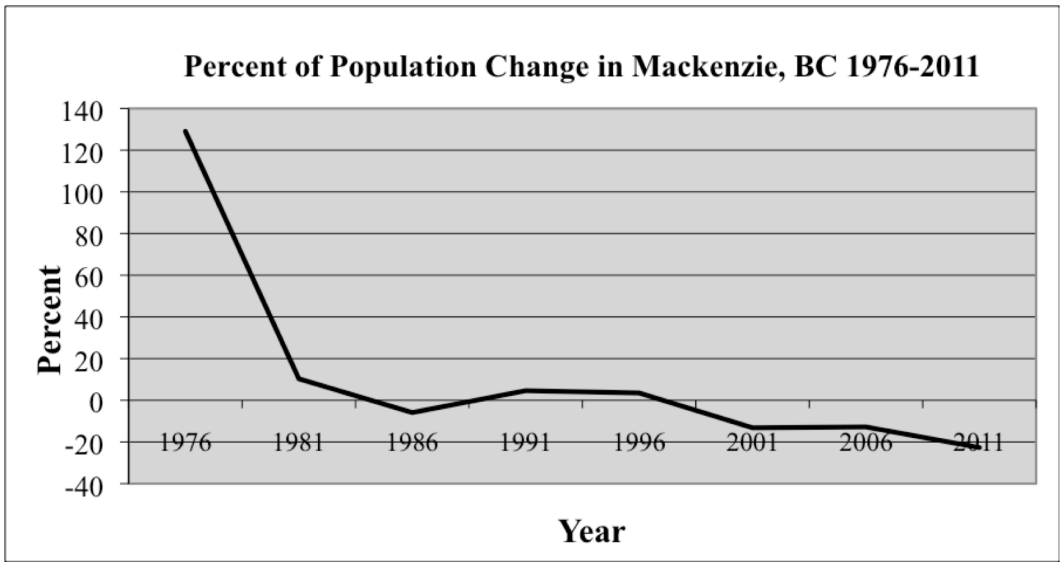
The town itself is an “instant town” as it was developed with the specific purpose of acting as a processing centre for the regional industrial forest industry. The town is a classic example of a “planned town” and was developed by the original forest company in the region at the time, British Columbia Forest Products, with the latest in planning principles.

The majority of labour was unionized in Mackenzie at the time of the closures. The community was in crisis mode at the time of this study with seven mill closures and significant job loss during the previous two years. The first mill was shut down in August 2007, followed by three other sawmills, a paper mill and a pulp mill closing indefinitely. All of this resulted in significant job loss (~1500 workers in a population of ~4000 as of 2009) and the threat of community decline. This community was selected because it provides an appropriate setting that meets the criterion of a community faced with a threat of community decline if the mills do not restart.

Mill closures impacted individuals and the community in a number of ways, creating a crisis for individuals and presenting a threat to the sustainability of the community. Impacts on individuals included initial shock and disbelief; job loss; out-migration – especially in younger adults and families; loss of income and medical/dental benefits (employment insurance was available for some); housing market collapse – deflated prices and increased bankruptcies; loss or reduction in personal savings/assets; changes in the family structure that resulted when the male relocated or commuted outside the community for work; and increased stress, domestic violence, divorce/separation, and drug/alcohol use.

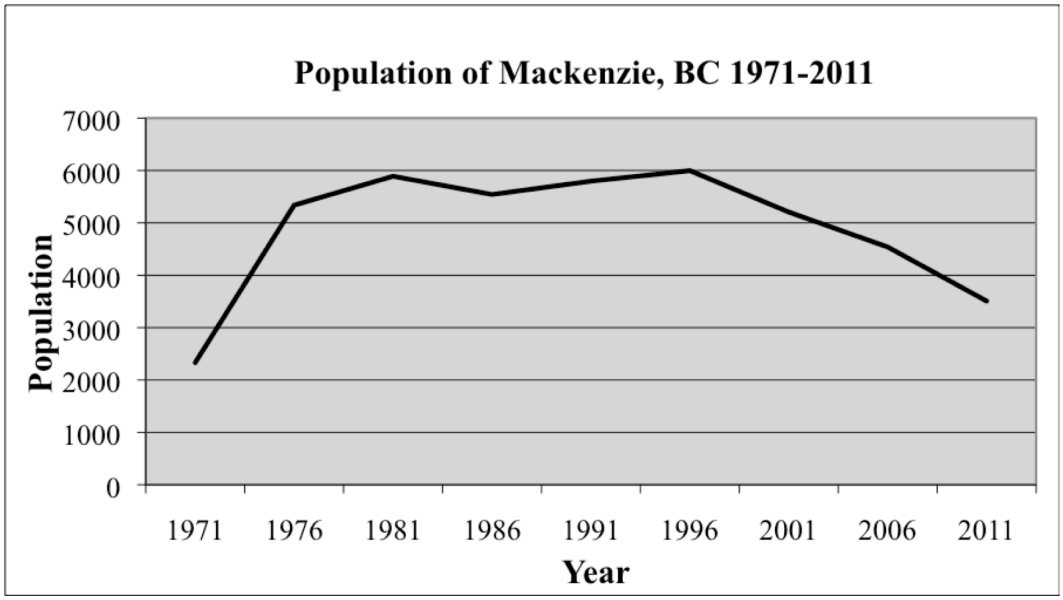
While specific figures for population decline due to mill closures are unavailable, recent Statistics Canada data provides a glimpse into this particular trend (See Figure 2 and 3). According to Figure 3, the time period between 2006 and 2011 reveals a 22.7% decline in population or a decline from 4539 to 3507 according to Figure 4. This time span marks the largest decline of population throughout the entire history of the community. Additional indicators of the community facing a threat of decline come in the form of school closures and businesses downsizing and/or closing.

Figure 2: Percent of Population Change in Mackenzie, BC 1976-2011



Source: BC Stats 2012

Figure 3: Population of Mackenzie, BC 1971-2011



Source: BC Stats 2012

McBride

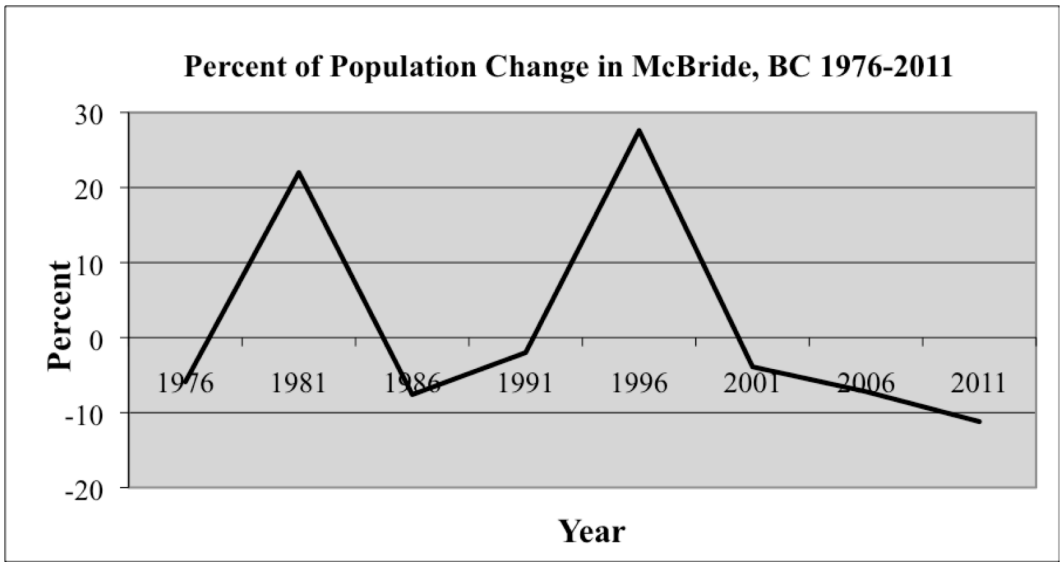
Located in the claimed territory of the LheidliT'enneh,[8] and within the Robson Valley region of British Columbia, the community of McBride has a much longer history then Mackenzie, with origins dating to the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) Railroad in the early 1900s. First planned as the main GTP service centre in the valley, McBride was officially established in 1913 and soon after promoted as a place open for business and promising investment opportunities by the provincial government (Wheeler 2008)[9]. Years later in 1932, McBride was incorporated as the Village of McBride (McBride hereafter). McBride gradually evolved into a unique and diverse community with an economic base in forestry and agriculture, particularly after WWII. The community has a more diverse cultural mix with a large population of Mennonites and Seventh Day Adventists as well as a number of draft dodgers who came to the community from the US during the 1960s and early 1970s. Between 1971 and 2011, McBride's population remained relatively steady up until 1996, but as Figures 4 and 5 indicate, there has been a notable declining trend since then. With the mill closure occurring in 2006, we can see a continued decline in population likely due to outmigration of residents uprooting to find work elsewhere. Important to note is that while the Village of McBride is illustrated in the figures below, a number of participants identified themselves as residents of the Robson

[8] According to BC Treaty information, the Village of McBride is located on the territory claimed by the Lheidli T'enneh. For more information, see the map on the BC Treaty Negotiations in British Columbia map updated in June 2011 here: http://www.bctreaty.net/nations/nation_maps/Treaty-Negotiations-in-British-Columbia-Map.pdf (accessed 9 March 2013).

[9] For an in-depth examination of the history of McBride, see Wheeler (2008), Chapter 3.

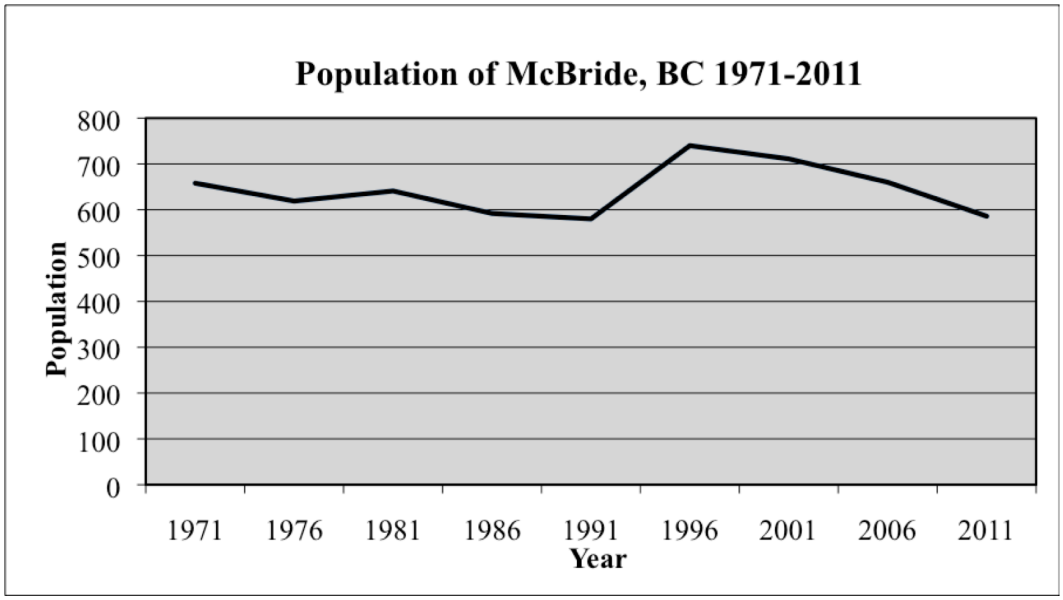
Valley (~2000 people) as opposed to living directly within the Village's boundary. As such, the census data below should be interpreted only as a means to gauge population change for the purpose of this study.

Figure 4: Percent of Population Change in McBride, BC 1971-2011



Source: BC Stats 2012

Figure 5: Population in McBride, BC 1976-2011



Source: BC Stats 2012

While a range of forestry activities have provided employment to people throughout the community (and Valley) over the years, a key employer, and what was the community's single biggest employer, is the veneer mill. Originally

owned by Ziedler Forest Industries Ltd. and started in 1972, it was later sold to West Fraser Mills in 1999 and then sold again to a small group of local investors who took possession soon after. Renamed McBride Forest Industries, the mill closed permanently in November 2006, leaving approximately 130 direct jobs lost and an unknown number of indirect jobs including mill and forest contractors. Meanwhile, recognizing the dependency on forestry and the vulnerability to boom/bust cycles that the dependency imposes on the local economy, a number of endogenous activities have been initiated to diversify the economy, for example, tourism and recreational activities like snowmobiling. The community has also received a community forest licence from the Provincial Government. These activities largely represent the community response to its long-standing dependency on forestry. The analytical scope turns to the responses people had to the crisis due to mill closure in 2006 as well as other systemic events contributing to the crisis at the time of this study.

While McBride experienced impacts similar to those in Mackenzie, there were significant differences. The mill closure was the primary focus for this study but based on interviews with a range of community members, it is clear that the crisis in McBride has extended over a longer period of time and involves events beyond just the mill closure. For example, the community faced job losses during the consolidation of the Ministry of Forest branch in McBride, which resulted in a loss of residents. As one of the residents said in an interview:

> I guess maybe one thing that struck me is that the change started before the mills closed…And I think there's been a cascading change, because in January of 2002 we learned that the Forest District here would close. There were about 30 people in the office and we were told that in March

> 2003, it would close and at first there was going to be no-one here – there'd be no Forest Service presence at all and then, about six months later, we understood that there'd be a little field office. And so, during that time, you know, the community already knew that, what if it was, 28 or 30 good jobs that paid every two weeks [that] weren't going to be here anymore and then it looked [like] there'd be four or five. And so, yeah…so that really makes a difference in a community. People get concerned about house prices, people who have shops are concerned, because suddenly, even though we still had work for a year, people were being careful with their money, because they didn't know if they were going to get another job in government or whether they were going to try and stay here, or what was going to happen. [McBride #5]

This is an important contextualizing point to understand when examining interview excerpts in Chapters 5 and 6. The primary focus remains on the MFI mill closure in 2006 but analysis does account for the broader series of events to explain whether people have the capacity to move through crisis given the challenges they faced. McBride is selected because it does face a threat of decline, and it also provides examples of known actions oriented towards addressing socio-economic challenges.

Impacts of Mill Closures

"People didn't know what to do because it was so devastating. If it was just one mill or a couple of shifts or something like that it would have been okay but it was just complete devastation. Nobody was working; it didn't matter where you go." [Mackenzie #13]

"Just to watch the families; they had some tough decisions to make and it's not always easy living apart - to say that Dad's going to go to Fort McMurray and we're going to stay here, mom and the kids are going to stay here. Lots of soul searching for people." [Mackenzie #5]

The following discussion briefly outlines the impacts from mill closures that people faced. Both community settings faced similar impacts so I've organized the discussion around the impacts as opposed to specific community settings.

Change in Demographics

The community settings of Mackenzie and McBride experienced similar impacts related to population. Both experienced a decline in student enrolments due to families choosing to leave the community for economic opportunities elsewhere. The loss in population resulted in the elementary school closing in Mackenzie as well as the municipality facing a decline in revenue flows due to the loss of taxes paid on services (e.g., garbage collection and water). Linked to the loss of out-migration of people, local businesses faced a decline in consumer activity and were forced to downsize and/or close, which resulted in limited services and products available to remaining residents. For example, remaining Mackenzie residents often said that they were forced to travel to Prince George (~2 hours south by automobile) to shop instead of investing that money back into the community's small businesses.

The following excerpts also point to the change in demographics, with the particular decline in younger people as a "domino effect" of the mill closure:

> We lost a whole younger generation. Young families are just gone. The population of the school dropped by 50 kids. There goes a couple teaching jobs. As the domino…you lose beds at the hospital, you lose teaching positions, extra programs at the school because of loss of enrolment. There goes band or theatre or whatever, all of that comes into play. You watch little businesses in town dry up and cut back, cut back, other people get laid off because there is no money. So the store doesn't need six people, they only need four, so people lose their jobs that way. The spinoff on it, the logging contractors, kind of thing, not just immediate mill workers but then you've got contractors who employ seven or eight guys. So there are seven or eight more families with no income. The domino effect is huge, especially in a town like this. [McBride #19]

> But I think a lot of the younger people have looked at that and, I don't know, have a different view in life now. Like if their friends all of a

> sudden broke up and went their separate ways, that bothers everybody. I'm old enough to—what I'm talking about is my kids' age, 30, 35. And I think they're not as happy and enthusiastic as they used to be when they were all together, is what I'm saying. I think I could see this. I don't know what anybody else in town would tell you. But [it's] kind of a not-quite-as-happy place. [McBride #12]

> The small rural contexts are far different than they are in larger centers. Like when Canfor had its rounds of cutbacks, they did one round of cutbacks and they cut everybody from 15 years down. And because it's a bigger community, it's really filtered out. And you don't really see the shock waves whereas here, when MFI shut down, they only employed 130 people. And you wouldn't think any thing of that, but when the population of your town is only 660, and what was it -- 385 of them are eligible to vote, 130 out of 385 is a huge chunk of your population to just lose. [McBride #2]

McBride also experienced an increase in outside investors in land in the valley:

> The other thing that happened was after people started recognizing that the mill was not going to reopen and then TRC started to have its problems, families who had been here, and the kids that were born here, and had gone to university and come back or were working and whatever they were doing, left. We had a massive demographic shift. And the Albertans started to come in and buy up property and stuff like that because Alberta had gone through their economic splurge where they were all making a lot of money. And they now have the money to invest...It's not cheap here by any means. It's actually the Albertans themselves that have drove up the market values here. So for people that were a long-time resident, it was good if they were leaving, because they could sell their property. But because there were no jobs anybody that didn't have a job couldn't afford a house. So yeah, the majority of things went to Albertans, and absentee owners. [McBride #2]

Health and Well-being

As individuals in the community felt the initial stages of the mill closures, other impacts took hold, including health-related issues like depression and alcoholism:

> People were drinking more than they ever drank and smoking more than they ever smoked. I'm telling you, I've got friends that have aged 10 years in the last two and a half years I saw them. I ran into one guy and I told my wife, "Holy shit!...it's like he's 70 years old." He was the same

> thing, totally stressed out over losing his job. Physically, emotionally, it's disastrous. It was hard on them. [Mackenzie #16]

> You could see this, after two and a half years, the guys were getting depressed. They were getting pissed off and a lot of them put on weight, their health issues, it's huge. You could see the health change in these guys that haven't been back to work. They deteriorated, I would say, 10 years within two and a half years of being out of work. Who's going to pay for that? [Mackenzie #16]

> There was a lot of -- obviously you can imagine alcoholism went up. Drug addiction -- or drug use went up. Domestic violence and marital disputes, divorces went up and affairs went up. There was a whole bunch of acting out because everybody was a fish out of water. And no one knew how to behave. And the pressures were quite high. There was a lot of depression. There were a couple of suicide attempts. And it was a pretty dark time. [McBride #1]

Family Structure

The family structure was significantly impacted with an increased strain on relationships and marriages, an increased number of single-parented families, and impacts on children:

> Our whole family felt it. Our whole family, I thought we could get through it and it gets very tiring being the sole parent. And it gets very tiring for him to be alone. And it was something that we had struggled with trying to keep together. Christmastime has always been a very special time in our lives. And last Christmas, the last few Christmases, it's just been not fun. Not so much even the lack of money 'cause we're trying to teach our kids, you know, money is not everything. You know, just being together for family is. But my older kids, they experienced it for the first time. And, you know, they've got bills and they've got their lives and it was just really difficult to keep the whole family together at certain points. A lot of days we weren't doing very well. It really puts life in perspective. [Mackenzie #20]

> Originally I believe pretty well a solid mill force said "okay, we are going to wait." So they waited maybe five, six months just to kind of see what was going to happen and I think we had a very, very small group that actually waited the whole time. Now whether or not that is because they couldn't afford to wait, I mean EI doesn't pay as much as you are used to and "no, we are going to have to do something and we will go off and work until something happens and we can come home." I think we have several people out working elsewhere that would love to come home and if something happened that could allow them to come home

> they would in a heartbeat but in the meantime they are off working in Hinton, working or the Mac, mostly Alberta and it is the old ten-day-on, six-day-off schedule that truthfully is probably not all that bad actually. I would hazard a guess that you see as much of your family on a ten-day, six-day as you do working in the logging industry. Guys come home and the kids are asleep. Guys leave, the kids are still in bed. You maybe see them on Sunday, whereas here they are home for six days and they are home. I have seen a few marriages break up. Again, it surprises me because I would think that they would have more quality time but they are on their own. A couple little kids, you are on your own while he is off working and then many of them work as well so I guess that when he comes home then they are still at work. [McBride #9]

The struggle to keep the family together and the energy needed to sustain the family proved to be a very difficult challenge for those families whose fathers/husbands left to work elsewhere in BC or in Alberta. The result was an increased number of instant single-parent households and the women carrying the extra workload of managing the household and children on their own:

> There were some people that had no choice, like my brother-in-law. He had to go to Tumbler Ridge and get a job on one of those haul trucks. They just didn't have a choice. They tried to lower their payments on their van that they just got. [Mackenzie #18]

> Yeah and that's another thing for a lot of people in town right, you find yourself in this group of women who are single parenting, trying to keep up everything, as stupid as shovelling the snow, like in Mackenzie that's reality…you're getting a foot at a time sometimes and so you know with two small kids…they're still pretty dependent and then they're also at the age where they're starting to go to dance and swimming and hockey so for moms that was tough…that is tough, to be a single parent. Suddenly you're doing everything at home, for most of the time, we were lucky, he [husband] was eight and six [days worked; days off], so he was really home maybe four to five days at a time with the commuting, so gone basically 10 and four was kind of what it works out to be, even though it's eight and six, because it's a full day commute to Fort McMurray, even when you fly. Suddenly you're the one, and then trying to have a job, learn a new job because I was at the X [name of position redacted] by then. Even for the women that weren't working it's tough because you are 24/7, you're the go-to and it gave me a new respect for single parents that I probably didn't have prior, because I thought wow that's tough, you're on all the time, there's never a chance for down time ever, and I think he felt the same way too because he would work his 12 hour shifts and he would spend his 12 hours commuting and then he would come home, and here I am saying I didn't get chance to do this, and I didn't get

> a chance to do this and can you really do that, and all he wanted to do was relax. That's his day off…and I'm like hey. [Mackenzie #11]

The change in the family structure placed a high level of stress in the home and was only exacerbated by the stress related to a decline in income:

> We had a lot of issues around single-parent families where there was a lot of stress in the home because dad wasn't there. There was stress in the home because there wasn't money. There was stress in the home because there was the unknown. And I don't think a lot of people in our community had prepared for the future. Like a lot of people live paycheque to paycheque as, I might add, I do. But like you're not ready for anything like that to happen to you. [Mackenzie #9]

The stress also played a role in straining marriages and causing some families to permanently change with separations and divorces:

> We had problems this summer. We actually separated for a couple months this summer. It was mostly to do with financial [reasons]. It was a big strain and we obviously worked things out. It was good. But it really affected us, too, emotionally and personally as well. [Mackenzie #23a]

> A lot of marriages went downhill. A lot of relationships went sour. I was okay with X gone because when I started dating X, he sat me down. He said this is my job, this is my life, I work in the bush. Can you or can you not handle it. I was a single mom with three kids. Yeah, you know what? I can stand on my own two feet. I have no issues with that. So that worked [to] our benefit. But other couples that are used to just having that eight-hour shift and then honey coming home—they're going to doubt as well. And there were a lot of marriages that were destroyed. [Mackenzie #23b]

> I don't think any of us truly understood and maybe some of us even now, that [the stresses on the families that led to all the divorces] really did bother the community. There [were] quite a few marriage breakups that you can't say, but they happened then. And it's because guys had to go somewhere to work. And after a while, that didn't work…It didn't work for the families. And after a while, it was one way or the other, they broke up. Now, if everything had gone on wonderfully, nothing had changed work-wise, if that would have happened or not, nobody'll ever know that. But I think in my estimation that was one of the hardest things community-wise. Now the town hasn't changed, but I think a lot of the younger people have looked at that and, I don't know, have a different

> view in life now. Like if their friends all of a sudden broke up and went their separate ways that bothers everybody. [McBride #12]

However, the following individual explains how the crisis brought his/her marriage closer together:

> It seemed to pull us closer together instead of pushing apart. I couldn't understand when things were tough why they would end up splitting up. When things are tough, you need each other more and kind of need to pull together more. [Mackenzie #21b]

For fathers that chose to work elsewhere during the crisis, being separated from family proved difficult:

> But I'm gone from them, she has the kids. I don't have my kids, my wife or—We had the kids up to the Fort, which is good, but it's just not the same. I mean, I was gone sometimes for six, seven, eight weeks and not coming home…it was tough and I missed out on the kids—their hockey and their figure-skating and all. But whatever you do, you gotta do what it takes. You have to do what it takes to survive. [Mackenzie #23a]

> My husband has just recently, he moved to Prince George in July…he was offered a good job down there with a consulting firm, and of course I refused to move to Prince George…so we're doing the commute thing now, you know he comes home on the weekends and leaves Monday morning and comes home Friday night, and it's not a huge burden for me because my children are 22 and 24 years old, and they're both away working. So it's…but it does add a different dynamic to a relationship but you just decide…you know we're just going to make it work, and I think that's the attitude that a lot of people had when their husbands were away working. This is the situation we're going to be in and we're just going to make it work however we have to for the time being. [Mackenzie #12]

> I know it would have really bugged me if I had to leave town because I just loved every minute I could spend with my kids. To move out of town to get a job, you to do what you've got to do, but it definitely wouldn't be something I'd be wanting to do. [Mackenzie #18]

> The same with fathers that worked away and when they came home and how important – at the end of the day, you can have money, but at the end of the day, if you don't have a [family] or have those you love around you or spend time with them, what is money and I think that was an eye opener for a lot of people as well. [Mackenzie #5]

Often overlooked or outright neglected is the impact the mill closures have on children in the community:

> They have a hard time, though, when everybody left town, when all their friends left. That was tough for them. That's when they started okay, let's move. Let's get outta here. We're not gonna be happy. Our friends are gone...My kids were old enough to understand what was going on and they sure missed their dad 'cause he is a big part of their lives. And it was very difficult for them. [Mackenzie #23b]

For one individual, the impact on the family was very significant while the impact on the community overall was less so.

> I am surprised that the last three or four years have gone like they have. And I don't think the shutdown of the mill has really hurt the town in the long run -- it has hurt families. [McBride #4]

While many participants spoke of the negative effects on the family structure, a smaller number didn't feel the same strain on either their families or their financial circumstances:

> As far as the downturn or all the mills closing and stuff, it didn't really affects us that much because we were fortunate [in] that our kids were all gone. Our last one had just left, I think six months prior to when everything went down. So we were fortunate that way and my wife was still working at the time…plus we had saved quite a bit too. We were kind of prepared for those rainy days, which ended up being a little longer than they should have been. Like I say, the Job Opportunities [program] -- that really helped us out, too. That was definitely a good thing that was set up by the government and the local government and everybody else that was involved in that. It kept a lot of people in town rather than having to go. [Mackenzie #18]

> What I would say happened would be that the families with the more education left town. So if you had a skill or a job – like if you had a degree or a trade or a specific skill, like a millwright or whatever, you could find work elsewhere. But the day-to-day, Joe-blow person who worked at the mill, I don't know what they do, turning boards or whatever, cutting, running a saw, they were the ones that ended up staying in town. So [the families who stayed were those with] less education, less chance for opportunity, and families that maybe didn't necessarily support education in the same way that some of the other families did. [Mackenzie #9]

Financial

Often at the heart of a participant's experience was his or her economic survival during a period that included the sudden loss of a job, income and employee benefits (e.g., extended health care and dental):

> So you know anybody in town who both husband and wife were both working at the mills…those families got hit the hardest. If you were lucky enough that only one member, the husband or wife, were at the mill and the other half of the family was a teacher or a government worker doing something else, that certainly helped ease the pain, because that was another huge issue for people, because they all…you know for years working for a big company you had really good benefits, like health benefits and extended benefits and that really hit people hard that now they're going to have to pay you know $100 a month for basic medical, buy glasses and prescription drugs and all that kind of stuff. [Mackenzie #12]

> My son and my daughter are both working the mill and my brother—the same—at Abitibi. You got four family members right away that are out of work, nothing coming in and I was just lucky my wife worked at the hotel. That helps a lot. But there were lots of people within six or seven months—they were losing their homes, the bank I deal with phoned me and said, "Do you want to lower your payments?" and all this stuff and I said, "Yeah, no problem" I think it was the other bank—the Royal Bank—that foreclosed on a lot of people. That was rough. [Mackenzie #13]

For some participants, severance packages were provided to those employed but people soon had to turn to unemployment insurance to pay the bills:

> Some of these guys literally went from high school to mill jobs and they were making really good money and they had money all the time. They were used to spending money, they had no idea how to budget, too, and that was really interesting to watch, too, because some of these guys have no concept of budget. They were used to having $2,000 to $3,000 a month to spend and all of a sudden you are on an EI income of $700 or $800 a month and you have got truck payments and mortgages and whatever and the other thing, [this] being [a] small town, there are no jobs. That was 150 people that bang, have no jobs in a town of 700 people. There are only so many other jobs out there and spouses were waitressing and trying to support families that were used to living on $3,000 a month and on minimum wage. So you have guys leaving the town to find work wherever they could -- the oil patch, other mills

> whatever -- and of course other mills were closing just as fast. The whole area was just gone. [McBride #19]

For many, the closure impacted personal savings:

> These two and a half years did set me back tremendously where my retirement now is not going to be where I used to be and I basically have to start all over from scratch again, I'm sure like a lot of people, because you use a lot of your funds, your savings, just to get by. [Mackenzie #16]

Duration of Impacts

An important aspect of the impact of the mill closure on McBride is that participants described the effects being drawn out over a period of time:

> You know, it didn't have a huge impact on me at the time, because of course I wasn't working at the mill…and I think that most people assumed, including myself, that it was temporary. So it's not one of those things for me that came up and here's the definite date that this happened in the town. The people, you know…it happened very slowly in my mind, and maybe it wouldn't have been if I had been working there, I might have seen things differently, but it happened very slowly in my mind. And then the people got their severance pay and, you know, got them through that first year and at that point they thought they'd be back. And then gradually things started to downsize. People started having to find jobs elsewhere, find other ways to make a living. So it didn't have a huge impact, because it didn't happen quickly. And over a period of a few years, then you start to realize that oh, you know, the grocery store has shut down. Now whether that was an impact of that, I don't know. And then you realize that things aren't as lucrative for the business people as they once were and it's difficult. [McBride #11]

> Yeah, it's just really tough with people. I mean, people need jobs and they don't have them. They don't have a lot of patience for some things. They don't know what to do. I mean, they can't find any jobs. There are a lot of people that still live here, but the main part of the family has gone somewhere else and that's terrible for a family. So you've got that happening right now. We had some short-term relief here, as the government put money in to try to help people get by. I think now you're going to see the next thing where government isn't going to put any money in and the area actually has not come close to recovering, like not even in the ballpark. Where some towns it seems like their businesses are let's say further up north, Mackenzie and stuff, they seem to be getting their stuff back. It's just not happening here. And I don't see anything in the short-term, in the next year or two that will help that out. McBride #16]

The duration and degree of impact is yet to be felt according to the following individual:

> I mean, we had it for so many years, looking back where the reality was so good for so long. And I look back at it and I see so good for so long. You know, we were used to buying new vehicles, we were used to going out and getting what we needed. The fact that you have a lot of money, it was no big deal because you had the potential to make that. This thing has changed every bit of that. I mean, it's different now...but can these towns and these communities hold on? I wish we had an answer for that because I don't know. Like I said, the worst hasn't hit here yet. It's still not here. [McBride #16]

However, there were also individuals that did not experience the impact of the mill because their businesses remained unaffected:

> Honestly, from my point of view it didn't make a lot of difference. It is sad to watch some of the younger people having to go off to work elsewhere, leaving families here and doing the back and forth thing which is never good on anybody's household, but from my own personal business standpoint, both businesses stayed up. [McBride #9]

The following individual provides a good overview that mostly captures people's experience in both settings at the time of the study:

> Yeah, it's just really tough with people. I mean, people need jobs and they don't have them. They don't have a lot of patience for some things. They don't know what to do. I mean, they can't find any jobs. There are a lot of people that still live here, but the main part of the family has gone somewhere else and that's terrible for a family. So you've got that happening right now. We had some short-term relief here, as the government put money in to try to help people get by. I think now you're going to see the next thing where government isn't going to put any money in and the area actually has not come close to recovering, like not even in the ballpark. Where some towns it seems like their businesses are – let's say further up north, Mackenzie and stuff, they seem to be getting their stuff back. It's just not happening here. And I don't see anything in the short-term, in the next year or two that will help that out. There are some potential things that could happen here, but... [McBride #16]

In the end, the rate and degree of mill closures had significant impacts on individuals and the sustainability of the community and presented a degree of

crisis Mackenzie and McBride had never experienced to date. Impacts were felt in terms of financial (e.g., loss of income with job), health effects, and temporary and permanent changes to the family structure including impacts on children.

Organization of Thesis

In order to understand whether individuals have the capacity to move through crisis and to identify the factors that are constraining/enabling their courses of action, I have organized the dissertation as follows:

Chapter 2 discusses the research methods used in this study and provides a brief overview of the research settings. The chapter ends by mapping out the limitations to this study and reviewing the ethical considerations.

Chapter 3 moves the discussion into the literature fields that are relevant to this study and provides a theoretical review and discussion of theories of political economy, culture, collective action, and Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach. Here I introduced the morphogenetic three-stage cycle, which provides the explanatory method for examining factors constraining and/or enabling people's response to crisis in the two community contexts. Important to note in this chapter is the discussion on the middle stage of the morphogenetic approach, because this stage marks the primary stage of analysis for this dissertation. Briefly speaking, the middle or second stage of the morphogenetic approach reveals the moment in which people interact with structural and cultural dimensions through a reflexive process, which in turn reveals the factors that constrain and/or enable certain courses of action. This is the core of being "social": the corresponding relations that exist, influence, evolve and/or develop during interaction offer

useful insight into the process of change because change directly relates to the extent that structure and culture either maintain themselves or are transformed (Archer 1995).

Chapter 4: Here I present the first stage of the morphogenetic cycle, which illustrates the structural and cultural conditions that people faced in their mediatory process while choosing their courses of action. This includes a brief historical account of forestry in BC and how communities are situated within this context. Attention is given to the history of forest policies with particular emphasis on those relating to communities and community sustainability.

Chapter 5: In this chapter I attempt to link the theoretical framework with data gathered during fieldwork. As such, this chapter applies the middle cycle of the morphogenetic process, which specifically involves examining how agents interact with structural and cultural conditions from the first stage. This second stage is also the point when emergent causal properties are activated or not and marks a critical point in the morphogenetic approach, forming the primary stage of analysis for this dissertation.

The participants' reflexive processes are used to examine the variation in their individually oriented responses and the factors constraining and/or enabling (i.e., the structural and cultural emergent properties) their chosen courses of action. Identifying constraining/enabling factors is useful for evaluating the variation in responses in terms of the sorts of social interaction people experience as they move through crisis. Findings from examining the social interaction will also provide insight into the dynamic process of social change within the

community settings of Mackenzie and McBride. Analytical attention is given to individually oriented responses, which means responses that reflect a course of action oriented towards the individual himself (or herself) and/or his or her immediate family.

Chapter 6 follows the same format as Chapter 5 but provides analysis of the participants' experience and mediatory process with respect to collectively oriented responses in the two community settings. Collective responses are defined as actions oriented towards sustaining the community through crisis.

Chapter 7: In this concluding chapter I discuss what the findings reveal about things that people experienced during mill closures, the threat of community decline, and whether people in such forestry-dependent communities have the capacity to overcome these challenges. In this chapter I also discuss the utility in employing the morphogenetic approach for studies of how people move through social and economic crisis. Particular attention is given to the outcome of the morphogenetic cycle because this is a theory of social change, and if social change is evident, we can use that evidence to gain insight into whether we can anticipate change or not.

Chapter 2: Research Methods and Data Analysis

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine whether people have the capacity needed to move forward after facing a threat of decline/collapse of their community and what is constraining/enabling their chosen courses of action. I used Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach because it offers an explanatory methodology that I believe provides analytical means for examining the social interaction between agency, social structure and cultural attributes. The morphogenetic approach is therefore the overarching analytical approach for this dissertation, which rests on a critical realist perspective to research that seeks to identify and explain properties and causal mechanisms that enable or generate events at the observable or empirical level. Chapter 3 explores in more detail this approach to research and in particular outlines its meta-theoretical underpinnings (i.e., its ontology and epistemology).

The following chapter discusses the research methods employed in relation to this approach. Important to note is that critical realism is not a method but an approach or set of guidelines to research. In other words, "[t]here is no such thing as the method of critical realism" (Danermark et al. 2002, p. 73). The methods used to answer the research question of this study consist of an ethnographic approach and face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Lastly, the final objective of this chapter demonstrates how I adhere to Yin's (2011)

suggestion that good qualitative research is based on ensuring that the research process is transparent, that there is a planned and deliberate approach to the study, and that there is an "adherence to the evidence" or data.

Before proceeding to discussion on the methods used in this study, a brief note on unit of analysis is worth making to ensure clarity for the reader. The unit of analysis is the primary entity being analyzed in a study. It can be described as the "what" or the "who" that is examined in a given research project. Common units of analysis in social science research include individuals, groups, organizations, social artefacts and social interactions (Babbie 2001). The unit of analysis for this dissertation is the social interaction that occurs between individuals, social structure and culture. This focus is unique in the field of forest sociology given the lack of research on this phenomenon to date (See Chapter 3 for literature review). The social interaction of interest in this study is the interplay between agency, social structure and cultural attributes. To analyze this interplay the morphogenetic approach is used to temporarily suspend each element for analytical purposes. Chapter 3 provides more explicit details on how this works and what it looks like for this study.

Research Methods

Ethnographic Approach

Although I explicitly did not intend to employ an ethnographic method, I drew the characteristics of an ethnographic approach to study the social interactions between individuals and social structures and cultural attributes in the

forest community contexts in rural BC. Despite a range of conceptual meanings and applications in sociology, ethnography in general refers to a method that places or embeds a researcher in the midst of a setting with the purpose of studying culture (Delamont 2004; Berg 2001). I draw upon characteristics that embrace: first, the conception of ethnography as a means for collecting data (Stoddart 1986); second, my relative immersion in the culture of two forest community contexts split over a six-month period; and third, reflexivity in ensuring that I, the researcher, understand my part in the social world I wish to investigate (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

While this research is based on the assumption that pure objectivity is not possible, I adopted the reflexive process that not only locates myself within the research process, but enables me to account for preconceived assumptions, biases and values throughout the research process. Reflexivity entails an internal conversation about my own preconceptions/ideas and those I am researching. This is particularly important since I have been a resident of BC for most of my life and have long been interested in forestry-related issues.

My interest in forestry dates to my childhood, when my father worked in the forest sector in British Columbia. From an early age I developed an interest in trees and forests, and later in life developed a keen interest in how people perceive, talk about and exploit forests in BC. The mass protests and arrests in Clayoquot Sound in 1993 sparked my interest in and a critical eye on how forests were managed in British Columbia. I carried this interest throughout my university studies where I have been able to explore and develop it through

various scholarly perspectives. I discovered issues related to the scale of the industrial forest model and how its export-oriented staples economic structure raises important questions related to forest management strategies, access to timber supplies, exporting low-valued products, and the sustainability of communities and forest ecosystems. Globalization and the high degree of foreign investment raises concerns related to the degree to which people of BC have a say in how forests are managed and the sustainably of forest communities. Environmental concerns relate to the sustainability of harvest levels (i.e., AAC) and the degree to which Aboriginal people have a voice and role in how forests are exploited in BC. In the end, I remain critical of BC's industrial forest model and the degree to which it actually supports the sustainability of forest ecosystems and communities.

I have not given much attention in my studies to date to the communities that are home to the families and people that work in the forests and mills, and that provide BC the wood products it depends on to drive its economy. Within this context I attempt to capture the experiences individuals have had while facing crisis in two forest community contexts in rural BC.

Despite the above acknowledgement about my preconceived and taken-for-granted ideas, I ensured that I remained open and curious at all times throughout the research process. To do so I bracketed my opinions or biases, particularly during interviews, by listening and ensuring that each participant was given an equal voice during the interview and data analysis, and while I wrote up the dissertation. I documented the reflexive conversation in a journal that I used to

document the process and had available during data analysis and while writing up the dissertation (Sells et al. 1997).

Semi-structured Interviews

Interview narratives from individuals in the two forest community settings provide insight into factors that either constrained or enabled their responses. Theoretically speaking, these insights can be used to illuminate how the interplay between agency, social structure and culture influences shape human action. Narratives also revealed insight into broader processes of social change in the two community contexts selected for this study. To examine the social interaction between agency, social structure and cultural attributes, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a range of people in the two community contexts. Participants included individuals in each community's municipal and provincial governments, unions and industry, forest and mill workers, retail and resource business operators, education sector employees, and local media. The open-ended nature of semi-structured interviews allowed me to examine in more depth how people understand factors constraining/enabling their choices about courses of action and to develop a sense of their understanding of the social world in these communities (Blee and Taylor 2002). Interviews are important to this research as they offer a "co-developed" (Rapley 2004) or "conversational journey" in "meaning-making" between the participants and me (Miller and Crabtree 2004). That is, the research interview is "an inter-view, where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewee and the interviewer" (Kvale and Brinkman 2009, p. 2). It also offered the means for gathering contrasting and

complementary perspectives on the same issue (Rapley 2004), and this, in turn, contributed to the building "blocks" of a reality where social structure and culture constrained and/or enabled responses (i.e., individual and/or collection action) (Parker 1999). I wanted to put the interaction between agency, social structure, and culture at the centre of my analysis. The interviews provided the data that allowed me to achieve this goal.

Data Sources

Fieldwork was conducted in the two forest community settings of Mackenzie and McBride in northern BC from July 2010 through December 2010. I engaged in participant observation, collected secondary source materials[10], and conducted 49 semi-structured interviews (25 in Mackenzie, 22 in McBride, and 2 in Prince George to gather additional information – see Appendix III for list of interview questions). As discussed in Chapter 1, the two community settings were selected for their high degree of dependence on forestry for employment, the occurrence of mill closures, and the corresponding threat of community decline.

Individual Participants

In selecting research participants in the two community contexts I attempted to achieve balance among the following criteria: are experiencing or have experienced the effects of mill closure (e.g., job loss) and the threat of

[10] Secondary information includes textual materials: current and historical data of community documents and government reports, forest policy pertaining to community sustainability, corporate reports/information, Statistics Canada, Internet sources, and media sources (e.g., video documentaries, community newspapers, Vancouver Sun, and Globe and Mail).

community decline, are or have recently been employed in resource and service sectors, are adult men and women, identify themselves as community residents, have lived in the community preferably for a minimum of five years (covers timeframe of known mill closures and provides an indication of permanency), are unionized and/or non-unionized, and demonstrate a range of responsive actions (apathetic to politically oriented) to their socio-economic and/or environmental challenges.

A small number of participants did not meet the criteria but were still interviewed for this study. One individual, for example, had been in the community setting for three years as opposed to five and some lived outside the official jurisdictional boundaries of the focal community setting. Interviews with all participants are used in this study because they considered themselves members of or associated with either Mackenzie or McBride. The above criteria enables me to gain insight into these realms to better understand how people's chosen course of action is constrained and/or enabled by cultural dimensions and broader social structures.

I located a range of participants by searching the Internet and media sources (e.g., local newspapers) to identify institutional representatives (e.g., Mayor, Town Manager, Chamber of Commerce, union leaders) and key people representing different positions (occupational and opinions). I used a snowball sampling technique as the primary means for locating participants; this approach proved very effective, with nearly every interview offering contacts for additional interviews.

Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed by Transcript Divas Transcription Services[11]. I subsequently reviewed the transcriptions carefully for accuracy and for the opportunity to immerse myself in the data. During this time I also took note of any topics that emerged to begin a preliminary stage of coding. Coding in general is a process whereby the data is broken down into component parts and given a name that later produces themes or concepts. For Saldaña (2009), a code is "most often a word or phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p3). The act of coding is a process situated as a transitional stage between data collection and extensive data analysis (Saldaña 2009).

For the purpose of this research, the goal of coding is to produce themes and concepts, since these are both outcomes of a successful coding process. Coding is an interpretative act, and a key aspect of the analysis (Basit 2003), so ensuring that the coding is organized and transparent is essential for a meaningful process. The following discussion explains how I carried out the coding process, which includes identifying the filters used to code the interview data. With the primary focus of this study resting on determining whether people have the capacity to respond during crisis and what factors are constraining and enabling their responses, the coding strategy was designed using descriptive and value coding filters to identify codes before identifying key categories that were eventually used to formulate key concepts/themes.

---

[11] See: http://transcriptdivas.ca/

The overall coding process started with revisiting the semi-structured interview questions to begin a list of codes. From these questions I extrapolated key topics that I had explored during the interviews. These topics formed the initial list of key descriptive codes (e.g., individual or collective response, enabling factor, constraining factor) before I approached the data. To assist me in coding the data I used NVivo 9, which also proved very helpful in organizing the large amount of data from 49 interview transcripts. I also used the analytical memo feature in NVivo 9 to record any initial thoughts or identified patterns, trends, or concepts as I coded the data. With an initial list of descriptive codes and the software to assist me in this process, I approached the data by adopting three filters: Initial Code, Descriptive Code, and Value Code.

The Initial Coding filter is not so much a filter per se as it is an initial approach to the data that enabled me to begin to break down the data into discrete parts based on main topics. The purpose of the Initial Coding filter is to explore with an open mind all possible theoretical directions that the data reveal (Charmaz 2006), and to again reflect deeply on the content of the data. The Descriptive Coding filter entailed identifying topics in the interview transcripts -- topics in terms of what was talked about as opposed to abbreviations of content (Tesch 1990). In addition to applying a descriptive filter to the data I also used a Value Coding filter that enabled me to capture research participants' values, attitudes, beliefs, and perspective(s) associated with the crisis at hand. Together, the Descriptive Coding filter and Value Coding filter formed a list of codes that I gathered through three cycles of data analysis. The three cycles consisted of

cleaning the data after it was transcribed, Initial Coding and, finally, reviewing the data one last time for consistency and accuracy.

With a list of codes organized in NVivo 9, I turned my attention to identifying themes. It is important to note that I did not code for themes but instead for understanding the identification of themes/concepts as an outcome of coding (Saldaña 2009). Here is where I began to see key concepts that could be organized around types of responses and social structures and cultural attributes for the purpose of identifying and examining people's chosen courses of action. Analysis of the data revealed a range of responses that I have organized and coded as 1) individually-oriented and 2) collectively-oriented. Individually oriented responses reflect courses of action that people directed towards themselves and immediate family. Collectively oriented responses refer to courses of action directed towards sustaining the community through crisis (i.e., collective action). The variation in responses is evaluated through the mediatory process of reflexivity where structural and cultural factors that constrained/enabled individuals' course of action are identified and examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

As we will learn in Chapter 3, the structural and cultural properties of particular interest are the emergent properties that contain the causal powers, which determine the outcome of social interaction (between agents, social structures and culture) resulting in either transformation or stability of existing structures/cultural dimensions. These emergent properties in the morphogenetic approach refer to structural emergent properties (SEPs) and cultural emergent properties (CEPs) (these ideas are addressed more extensively in Chapter 3).

The morphogenesis of social structures focuses on emergent properties. These differ from a structure per se; they are defined as "overt and relatively enduring patterning in social life" such as institutional patterns, social organizations or socio-economic class (Archer 1995, p. 172). Structural emergent properties (SEPs) are "distributions, roles, institutional structures, social systems" (Archer 1995, p. 176). They are also "irreducible to people and relatively enduring [and], as with all incidences of emergence, are specifically defined as those internal and necessary relationships [e.g., forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident - community] which entail material resources, whether physical or human, and which generate causal powers proper to the relation itself" (Archer 1995, p. 177).

In terms of culture, Archer does not offer a theory of culture per se as much as she offers a unique approach to cultural dynamics by analytically distinguishing between *logical consistency* between the components of culture or cultural emergent properties (i.e., ideas, beliefs, ideology, values and theories) and the *causal consensus* between groups of people. See Chapter 3 for more information on both SEPs and CEPs, and Chapters 5 and 6 for linkages between the theoretical framework and data gathered during fieldwork.

Limitations and Ethical Considerations

In research for a dissertation there are a number of financial and temporal constraints worth noting. Firstly, while a sufficient amount of time was spent in each community to fulfill the requirements and expectation for a dissertation, a longer period of time in the community contexts would have be beneficial for the nature of the topic of this research. For instance, as the fieldwork unfolded it

became apparent that defining how and when the crisis impacted the various participants varied over time and between participants. As such, employing a longitudinal strategy where one spends repeated interactions with community members over time would offer a potentially more comprehensive analysis of the phenomena at hand. As such, and in retrospect, a longitudinal study would have been ideal for this study and for the theoretical approach but time constraints placed on the need to complete the Ph.D. in a timely manner prevented this from happening. Additional research or follow-up research based on a longitudinal approach is recommended to better realize the full potential of this theoretical approach and the crisis at hand. While the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) generously funded this research, financial constraints did play a role in limiting time spent in the community contexts and the opportunity to revisit the community contexts to present results. In response, I will share the results of this study as best I can (e.g., distribute results via email) because I believe it is important to give back to the individuals who so generously shared their personal experiences to make this dissertation possible.

First Nations perspectives, although important, have been excluded in this study as my focus was on non-Aboriginal communities. I intended to include Aboriginal participants in this research where appropriate because the two forest communities are located on Aboriginal territory. The reason for excluding Aboriginal communities rests on my opinion that they exemplify unique socio-economic, political and cultural conditions brought on by a colonial legacy in BC and therefore warrant the necessary and appropriate analytical approach to

adequately account for this reality. In other words, Aboriginal communities require research that accounts specifically for their unique contexts and socio-historical conditions. It is not my intention to discount or disrespect this history or neglect Aboriginal representation in this research. Aboriginal people were included in the research if they met the participant selection criteria described earlier. The research parameters of this dissertation were constructed in this way to fulfill the objectives outlined in the overarching project[12]. Future research in this area would greatly benefit from including Aboriginal voices in this topic where appropriate and feasible.

Due to the breadth of this theoretical framework and my ambitious attempt to capture the inherently messy analytical landscape of the interplay between agency, structure, and culture, this dissertation risks over-simplifying or over-generalizing these fields of analytical interest. However, I have recognized the challenge of balancing the analytical scope with sufficient data the entire time I have been writing this dissertation and have organized it with that in mind. Also, Archer's work is complex at times and there is a risk of overlooking or misinterpreting aspects of the theoretical framework. Any misinterpretations are my responsibility.

Other limitations faced in this research occurred during fieldwork in the community contexts. The people in the community of Mackenzie were, overall, very keen and willing to participate in the research. I did face some initial skepticism or resistance at times because the media had inundated the community

[12] This dissertation contributes to Dr. John Parkins' project, "Forestry Transition and Collective Action in Rural Canada." SSHRC Standard Research Grant (2008-2011).

during the mill closures and there was discontent over how the community was represented during this time. A number of people expressed frustration with a particular report by Global News that presented the community as a community that was not going to survive the closures. People strongly objected to this portrayal of their community and it seemed that this skepticism about outsiders coming into the community to "tell their story" affected my experience in the community. However, while this issue did emerge, once people understood my research objectives and purpose, they were very forthcoming in sharing their experience and viewpoints. Participants often expressed that they were happy to hear that someone was not only interested in their perspective and experiences during the crisis but that their perspectives were actually being used as data. A number of participants expressed frustration with the many accounts of their community's experiences presented in statistical terms. In other words, community experiences are often portrayed in terms of statistical demographic and economic changes while the lived experiences of people are overlooked. I attempt to provide insight into this gap as expressed by the participants themselves. While it is important to compile statistical accounts of changes in communities, it is also important to study the lived experience of people to gain a broader understanding of what they experience during times of crisis.

While Mackenzie residents were, overall, very forthcoming in participating in the research, finding residents in McBride who were willing to participate was a challenge. Reasons given by some people I spoke with related to divisions that exist in the community between different groups of people. For

example, there were strong differences of opinion over the way in which the community forest was being managed and differences in the scale and/or type of development (e.g., large vs. small) that were acceptable to community members. This division contributed to a lower level of community cohesion when it came to discussing or addressing issues related to the community. Another reason related to the fact that many people are very busy in the community since people often have a number of different jobs or volunteer responsibilities. Whatever the reasoning, finding people to participate in the research in this community context proved difficult. The result is a limitation in capturing a broader range of perspectives but the data gathered by those who did participate is quite sufficient for the purposes of this dissertation.

Ethics

With approval and in accordance with the University Ethics Board, I followed the appropriate protocol to ensure that participants were clear about the purpose of the research and that they understood that their identity would remain confidential. I conducted all interviews according to the preferred location and time of each interviewee. I produced and explained the document containing the research objectives, risks and benefits (see Appendix I for Participant Information Sheet), as required for ethical research, along with the rationale for signing the consent form (see Appendix II for Individual Consent Form). In some cases, when I contacted people to request interviews, I was asked to provide interview questions ahead of time. In every case, I sent the actual questions I would use during the interview. I required and received informed consent for each interview

and approval to record, with a digital recorder, the interview. A small number of people chose not to be recorded so interviews were conducted without a digital recorder and I scribed notes instead. In some instances people were reluctant to sign the consent form, perhaps due to skepticism as to the purpose of the research or who I was. In response, I suggested we continue with the interviews and then if they preferred not to participate, I would destroy the digital recording and any notes made during the interviews. In every case people agreed to participate. Included in the consent form was acknowledgement that I would use pseudonyms for each participant for purposes of confidentiality. Interview excerpts used throughout this dissertation state the community setting from which the participant resides and a number I ascribed to keep track of the data (e.g., Mackenzie #6). However, because the community populations are relatively small there is a chance that opinions or ideas expressed could be traced back to specific identities. Every effort is made, to the best of my ability, to ensure confidentiality.

With a clear understanding of issues pertaining to methodology outlined in this chapter, I next turn my attention to the theoretical framework that provides the analytical means to examine whether people have the conditions to respond to crisis and to identify the factors constraining/enabling their chosen course of action.

Chapter 3: Literature Review and Metatheory

Introduction

To examine whether people have the capacity to move through their given crisis in the two forest community contexts and to identify factors that constrain or enable the chosen course of action requires a unique and eclectic theoretical approach. The morphogenetic approach offers the analytical means for identifying the constraining/enabling factors by examining the dynamic inter-relationship between human agency, and structural and cultural dimensions. However, before I unveil the theoretical underpinnings of this approach, I begin this chapter with a review of relevant literature. This entails drawing on literature fields of community sustainability, cultural studies, collective action, and critical realism before we segue into discussion of Archer's morphogenetic approach.

Limitations in the Sociology of Community Sustainability

While the sociology of community sustainability encompasses studies on the community level and a variety of community types (e.g., agricultural and mining), this research focuses more directly on the lived experiences of individuals in BC. In general, studies in forest sociology examine social aspects of forestry and forest communities. This includes examining participatory processes in natural resource management (Parkins 2006) and the sustainability and socio-economic status of Canadian forest communities whose economies depend heavily on and are subject to the conditions of a global forest economy (Stedman et al. 2004). The sociology of community sustainability includes a number of

established approaches that include studies of social impact assessment, community capacity vulnerability and resilience. Social impact assessment is a field of study that seeks to anticipate and assess impacts from major projects (e.g., pulp mill projects) or major policy changes (e.g., employment opportunities) by utilizing social scientific tools and procedures (Freudenburg 1986). Common approaches include identifying key indicators of interest and the anticipation of change based on comparing communities (Burdge 2004). Another, more politically oriented approach, situates researchers working with communities to affect change (Haley and Tunstall 2005). Other research seeks to evaluate impacts after projects have commenced (Parkins 1999), as well as advancing methods of social indicator research in rural communities (Parkins et al. 2001).

Research also focuses on capacities and vulnerabilities of forest communities in the context of socioeconomic and environmental change. Breaking from the forest-sector tradition of "stability" research with emphasis on, for example, stable resource flows (e.g., sustained yield forestry), Kaufman and Kaufman (1946) inspired a new empirical approach developed by Kusel (2001) that also adopted Sen's (1985) emphasis on individual capabilities and the ability of individuals to pursue and achieve self-defined goals. What emerged from this brief summary of intellectual evolution is what we now call community capacity. A framework on community capacity is defined as "the collective ability of a group (the community) to combine various forms of capital within institutional and relational contexts to produce desired results or outcomes" (Beckley et al. 2008, p. 60). The concept is presented as a phenomenon with distinct and related

facets: assets, catalysts, relational spheres, and outcomes (Beckley et al. 2008). An emerging field of research turns to the concept of resilience, which examines human social systems within complex socio-ecological systems, as opposed to sustainability.

Resilience studies within a community context include examining vulnerability and adaptation. Vulnerability studies seek to develop indicators to evaluate and measure a community's ability to respond to socio-economic and environmental challenges. Often associated with "adaptive capacity," vulnerability research examines community responses to a variety of climate-related challenges (e.g., Brooks et al. 2005). Vulnerability is generally defined in terms of the level of exposure to a particular threat (e.g., fire) and the community's capacity to respond to that threat. Studies attempt to measure vulnerability by way of key indicators pertaining to issues of exposure and adaptive capacity (e.g., Adger et al. 2005). Other studies on vulnerability examine the relationship between risk perception and vulnerability (Davidson et al. 2003) as well as vulnerability assessments to forest pests such as the mountain pine beetle in the interior of BC (MacKendrick and Parkins 2005).

Also found within resilience studies is work oriented towards community resilience and social resilience. Community resilience at its heart rests on the idea of adaptability, which is defined as "the capacity for humans to change their behaviours, economic relationships, and social institutions such that economic vitality is maintained and social stresses are minimized" (Joseph and Krishnaswamy 2010). Magis (2010) also offers an approach to community

resilience and ideas on how to build community capacity to thrive in an environment characterized by change. This literature again emphasizes the development of indicators needed for community transition. However, not all resilience studies involve indicator development and instead offer important contributions for developing theoretical approaches to the under-theorized social resilience component of complex socio-ecological systems (e.g., Davidson 2010). More in line with this dissertation is a resilience study that bridges resilience theory with the morphogenetic approach (Lyon and Parkins 2013).

An additional research field in community sustainability includes studies of place attachment. Studies of place attachment offer possible analytical tools for examining responses. For example, Beckley (2003) describes two place attachments: anchors and magnets. Magnets are the draw that people articulate in terms of, for example, amenities, environmental quality, no traffic, or quality of place to raise a family. Anchors are social structural factors such as family dynamics and social networks. These place attachments can be used to explain why people are attached to their community even when their economic well-being (i.e., income) indicators are not good.

Although these fields of research in community sustainability (and in some cases resilience) offer assessments of social processes required to overcome challenges such as social capital, they continue to represent largely static models of sustainability research at the community level, with a heavy emphasis on indicator development and variable analysis. In general, these models would benefit from a more theoretical and dynamic sense of social change, but more

specifically they would benefit from having more attention paid to individuals and the dynamic interplay between agency, social structure, and culture in two forest community contexts. As such, rather than assessing a community's potential or capacity for change, we also need a better sense of how people actually undertake a process of change. Therefore, more attention to these social dynamics and to individuals' experiences is warranted and will involve giving attention to human agency and the interaction with social structural and cultural forces that affect the conditions that lead people to respond. To achieve such an ambitious goal, I explored Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach because I believe it offers dynamic explanations of social change over time and space.

However, before I discuss the basis of Archer's theoretical approach, I will provide a brief overview of how each of the key concepts – agency, culture, and social structure – are understood in sociology and how they are generally accounted for (or not) in studies on forest communities. From this overview, it should be clearer as to what these concepts mean, how they are included (or not) in the literature, and how there is a need for an analytical approach that provides an explanatory methodology for examining the interplay between them. I adopt Archer's articulation of the concepts of agency, social structure and culture in this dissertation, which I discuss later in the chapter under the morphogenetic approach. The main purpose for the following discussion is to illustrate the need for analytically including all three concepts in this study.

Agency, Social Structure, *and* Culture

In sociology, a central approach to understanding human behaviour is through the structure-agency framework. With varying perspectives on the definition of each concept and how they relate to one other, the general purpose of the structure-agency framework rests on questioning the degree to which social structure and/or agency shape (or for some, determine) human behaviour and thought. In other words, this speaks to central dilemmas in sociology pertaining to the degree that human action is voluntary or determined as well as to contending positions of Subjectivism versus Objectivism. How independent each of these concepts are or how much of an interplay exists between them has shaped a long tradition in social theory interested in understanding human behaviour and social change. There are theorists who characterize the relationship in terms of ontologically fixed poles of structure versus agency, such as those emphasizing structure (e.g., Durkheim, Levi-Strauss, Parsons, Merton). There are also theorists who give analytical priority to agency (e.g., Weber, Blumer, Mead, Goffman). For King (2005), the dilemma of putting too much emphasis on either agency or structure results in a danger of randomness of choice with the former and a danger of determinism for the latter.

However, much of the work today is advancing attempts at synthesizing and accounting for the varying degrees of interplay between the two concepts, such as Anthony Giddens' (1984) *Structuration* approach, Bourdieu's (e.g., 1977) work on the development of *Habitus* (and related concepts such as *fields, capital* and *misrecognition*), and Margaret Archer's (1995) *Morphogenetic Approach*,

which is used in this dissertation. While contemporary theorists continue to explore ways of integrating the two spheres of agency and structure, the call for examining this interaction or interplay is limited in literature related to this dissertation. An exception includes Connor (2011), who argues that addressing the agency-structure *interaction* is required when articulating a coherent theory of practice for community development. As the debate and call for attention given to agency-structure continues in social theory, we turn our attention now to understanding in general what agency, social structure, and culture are, and how they are studied in literature relevant to this study.

Agency

When we think of human response in terms of human action, a logical place to start our overview of key concepts used in this dissertation is with agency, which also holds a core conceptual position within sociology. What is arguably a crucial component of the crux of the agency – structure debate is the role agency plays in explaining human behaviour.

Agency can be defined as a noun (e.g., government agency) or a verb (e.g., actions of individuals). The latter definition is most relevant to this study. Agency in general refers to human action or the capacity an individual has to act. For Emirbayer and Mische (1998), agency is "a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)" (p.963). When examined at a deeper level,

agency for Emirbayer and Mische (1998) entails "engagement by individuals of different structural environments…through interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment" (p.1970). Agency is not merely individuals choosing to act one way or another, nor is it the cause of human action solely linked to their decision to pursue one course of action over another. Agency is also a processual and relational experience individuals have when they choose their course of action. The causal source for action rests not only within the moment individuals decide on a course of action but also relationally when individuals interact with social structure and culture. Therefore, the source of causal power rests not solely in the individual but within the broader dimensions that in turn influence one's course of action.

Literature relevant to this dissertation finds agency constituting an important object of analysis for some studies. For example, Dale and Sparks (2010) examine agency in the context of forest community sustainability in terms of its linkage to social capital. However, while agency plays an important role in some studies, there remains a gap in the literature that examines the *interplay* between agency and social structure (and culture).

Social Structure

Equally central to sociological inquiry is the role social structure plays in influencing human behaviour. While pinning down a decisive definition of social structure is difficult in the literature, it is safe to generalize it in terms of an enduring pattern of interrelationships of social elements such as class, gender, and family. The degree to which social structures determine or influence human

behaviour has been debated throughout the history of social theory and is beyond this study. What is acknowledged in this dissertation is the belief that social structures are a social force that influence human action and are somehow external to agency.

Social structures are an important object of analysis in sociology. Similar to many concepts used in sociology, they have different meanings. Stones (2007) draws upon Lopez and Scott's (2000) interpretation of social structures whereby structures are conceptualized in relational and institutional terms. Structures from a relational perspective refer to networks of social relations that tie people together into groups or social systems (Stones 2007). Structure in institutional terms refers to beliefs, values, symbols, ideas and expectations that constitute the people's mutual knowledge and allow them to communicate (Stones 2007). The notion of pattern is also used when describing both of these perspectives of structure. This is particularly evident in many definitions of social structure. For example, definitions often speak to relatively enduring patterns or interrelationships of social elements. These patterns are produced by agents adhering to normative expectations (institutional perspective) or in accordance with requirements of mutual interdependence (relational perspective) (Stones 2007). This dissertation and its application of Archer's morphogenetic approach leans into the relational notion of social structures as described above. I turn to the field of political economy in Chapter 4 to understand the preconditioning structural dimensions relevant to this study.

Culture

Similar to the concept of social structure in sociology, culture plays a crucial analytical role in studying human behaviour and action. However, the role of culture as a topic of analysis remained peripheral in sociological studies until the mid-20th century, when it began gaining analytical importance. Interestingly, while it has gained importance, it remains a difficult concept to define despite its common usage and vital role in understanding human action. Culture shares a similar elusiveness to that of social structures due in part to its history in the discipline and the corresponding variety of conceptualizations and analytical approaches that often leave it a vague and complex concept. Providing a genesis of the various, and at times discordant, perspectives and approaches to the study of "culture" throughout its usage in sociology is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, the objective here is to identify conceptual trends with particular emphasis on the conceptualizations and approaches today. This is important because to study "culture" as a possible dimension that is constraining/enabling people's course of action requires that I define culture and present approaches for studying it.

While culture has played a peripheral analytical role for classical sociologists (e.g., Marx, Weber, Durkheim), it was not until the mid-20th century when it gained analytical importance. The cultural turn of the 1960s, with its postmodern and post-structural approaches, helped to bring the analysis of culture to center stage. A scan of the history of literature in the field of sociology yields a vast array of definitions including culture as artifacts, as an institution, as an object, as

discourse (e.g., Appadurai 1996), and as an industry (e.g., Adorno 1991), but more recently as a meaning-making process. Drawing upon Spillman's (2007) overview of cultural sociology, culture today is conceptualized in processual terms where culture is defined as "human processes of meaning-making generating artifacts, categories, norms, values, practices, rituals, symbols, worldviews, ideas, ideologies, and discourses" (p. 1). Culture is not a "thing" but instead a process of how people make sense of the world around them. In other words, culture is defined in analytical terms as opposed to an empirical topic (e.g., symbols, values and meanings shared by a group in contrast to another group) or as an institutional domain (e.g., set of activities and artifacts contrasted with other institutional realms like the economy or politics). Cultural sociology studies how meaning-making occurs, why there are variations in meanings, the ways meaning-making plays a role in generating solidarity or conflict and, most relevant to this dissertation, how meanings influence human action.

With the meaning-making process central in cultural analysis in sociology today, a number of interesting challenges for studying culture have emerged. Two questions in particular are relevant to this study: what is the relationship between structures and culture and how can the causal impact of meaning-making processes be specified while preserving the central importance of interpretation? (Spillman 2007). The relationship between culture and structures is anything but clear and instead reveals a tension of sorts with regards to how one distinguishes between the two, especially within the agency-structure framework. For instance, culture can be characterized as structure (e.g., Hays 1994). The focus on the

meaning-making process in particular differs from that of sociology's approach to social structures, which are examined regardless of the meanings attached to them. In addition, for Spillman (2007), while some sociological studies have included analysis of norms, attitudes and values, the analytical exclusion of the meaning-making process neglects an important component in understanding the process of a social structure formation and change.

How one conceptualizes culture can shape how one studies culture. For instance, given that the agency-structure holds a primary position in sociology analysis, where does culture fit in relation to structure or in relation to agency? How is this conceptually mapped out and how is it studied? The second question also raises interesting questions that speak to long-standing debates in terms of the role of causation in sociological analysis. With its linkage to positivist epistemology in sociology, causation stirs debate amongst those that have embraced the emergence of interpretivist epistemology. The challenge then becomes how one accounts for causation while at the same time preserving the central importance of interpretation. In the end, I attempt to contribute to addressing these challenges. I believe that including a cultural dimension broadens the analysis within the agency-structure framework by exploring the meaning-making process in hopes of enriching or better capturing an understanding of human action and the factors that influence people's course of action. The discussion quickly turns to how to approach these issues in a way that is both theoretically sound and empirically fruitful.

According to Spillman (2007), three common approaches to culture (sometimes used in combination) have emerged since the meaning-making process took centre stage in cultural studies. The first approach focuses on the ways in which meanings, values and artifacts are generated within particular social contexts such as organizations, institutions and networks. This approach gives analytical emphasis to the ways in which these social contexts influence the emergence of meanings. A second approach turns to interactions and social practices as the object of analysis. In this case, analysis focuses on how these activities themselves are meaning-making processes and again includes the role context plays in influencing an individual's or group's actions with meanings. For example, Swidler's (2001) work loosens the grip on assuming that meanings and values are consistently shared or understood by a given group of people or by individuals. As such, there are diverse interpretations of common norms, values and cognitive frames whereby individuals draw on what Swidler refers to as symbolic repertoires or toolkits according to a given context. This means that culture is contingent and a variable element depending on how action is framed (Spillman 2007).

Last is the approach that draws on the humanities to explore culture-structures or discourses. In particular, this involves understanding the role that deep structures in discourse play in meaning making. For example, in research, these culture-structures are examined for their categories, codes, genre and narrative to show how signifiers derive meaning from their relations in systems of signs. What these approaches tell us is that cultural sociologists study specific dimensions of

the meaning-making process in a range of empirical sites. This in turn challenges the over-generalizing and static conceptions of culture as a "whole way of life" of a clearly bounded group in contrast with another group or as focused on studying expressive artifacts and activities distinct from economics or politics.

In addition, the lessons described above correspond with conceptualizations in other disciplines such as anthropology, which have always given the study of culture significantly more attention throughout history. For example, for Rosaldo (1993), culture is neither monolithic nor static and is instead diverse across space and time, which for this study means that the culture of forest communities may vary spatially and temporally throughout rural BC. In other words, there is no "one" single forest community culture fixed in a particular time. Culture is dynamic and must be conceptualized and studied accordingly. The result of re-conceptualizing culture as boundless, dynamic, diverse, and fluid across time and space and time offers ways in which more empirically fruitful research can be achieved.

Today we see greater sociological attention given to culture and to the meaning-making process, in particular with studies of art and of the mass culture, ethnographies of deviant or powerless subcultures and in sociology of knowledge. While these approaches to the meaning-making processes have contributed to the inclusion of culture within the sociological lens, the innovative approaches to the study of culture as we know it today did not develop until a theoretical impasse occurred between conflict and structural-functionalist theorists. The contrasting perspectives offered by conflict theories of ideology and structural-functionalist

theories of attitudes, values and norms both contributed to greater insight in studies of culture but they also "over-generalized about culture, seeing it as a reflection of society, oversimplifying internal complexity, active culture reproduction, and the independent effects of meaning-making processes themselves" (Spillman 2007, p. 3). These repercussions in particular later triggered theoretical innovations for studying meaning-making processes and launched new interest that rejected the contrasting alternatives (e.g., Alexander 1990; Archer 1995; Bourdieu 1977; Swidler 1986). Overall, attention turned to the need for developing a critical analysis of culture's influence on human action that avoids over-generalized, reductionist and static conceptions of culture.

Providing a meaningful understanding of the responses of individuals to their given crisis in the two forest community contexts requires that we account for both social structure and culture. However, how does one examine and analyze these two concepts that are inherently entangled and convoluted in this or any human experience? For this dissertation I turn to the work of Margaret Archer, who offers an approach based on analytical dualism that temporarily suspends each sphere (agency, structure and culture) for the analytical purpose of identifying the causal powers that are emergent within each sphere. To prime the discussion around what this means, I will first provide the theoretical background – social realism – from which Archer's work is situated to better understand her ontological and epistemological foundation. From here a better understanding of the underpinnings of her theory are realized with particular attention given to the concepts of emergence and stratification.

Important for any study of the social world is an understanding of what social reality is and how one examines it. This, of course, speaks more broadly to philosophical questions directly linked to the ontological and epistemological basis of social reality because how one situates him or herself within these domains shapes how one perceives and studies social reality. As such, I present Archer's philosophical underpinnings with the purpose of situating her interpretation of critical realism.

Critical Realism

Critical realism is a heterogeneous movement in philosophy and human sciences that gained popularity in the 1970s mainly due to the contribution of British Philosopher Roy Bhaskar. While the concept itself is not new, critical realism gained a notable foothold in 1975 with the publication of *A Realist Theory of Science*, which others have since adopted in various ways (e.g., Archer 1995, Harré and Madden 1975; Sayer 1984; Collier 1994). While Bhaskar's version is considered a leading source in the tradition, others have made important contributions to the field (e.g., George Santayana and Arthur Lovejoy). As such, mapping out the various streams of what critical realism is or how it is approached in the literature is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, a general discussion of what critical realism entails and key features of Bhaskar's version are briefly explained below. The purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate how Margaret Archer's work, and morphogenetic approach in particular, includes features of Bhaskar's account and also illustrates her contribution to the critical realism field.

For the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the field in which Archer's works are situated, we turn to this eclectic tradition known as critical realism. While there are many different perspectives and developments in this field, it generally offers a unique way to understand reality (Danermark et al. 2002). Situated within long-standing ontological and epistemological debates in western philosophy of science over what constitutes reality and how to study it, critical realism in particular challenges the tradition of logical positivism's conception of science. In particular it challenges its foundationalist view of claiming absolute knowledge and its assumption that reality can be reduced to what can be perceived by our senses and understood exclusively through rationalism (Danermark et al. 2002). In other words, and at the risk of over-simplifying both logical positivism and critical realism, it provides an anti-foundationalist approach to reality that attempts to include dimensions of reality that logical positivism excludes – namely deep structures that contain underlying mechanisms that are not evident through empiricism alone (more on this later). In other words, there is more to the social reality that empiricism alone cannot capture, which limits our understanding of the reality at hand.

The result of reducing reality to what is perceivable by our senses constitutes an error for critical realists because it "flattens" reality and restricts our understanding of the world (Danermark et al. 2002). The flattening process means that ontology is reduced to epistemology. For critical realists, reality is not limited alone to what can be observed through our senses and instead contains deeper structures with underlying mechanisms. Without a deeper understanding of the

reality, our knowledge claims are limited to the empirical accounts exclusively. In other words, we can never have a pure or fully realized experience with reality according to a positivist tradition. We can only have experiences that are determined by the concepts, meanings and beliefs we bring to understanding the external world and therefore can never completely know this external world on a purely empirical basis. Our knowledge of it is then fallible and subject to critique. Critical realism offers the means to theoretically and methodologically enable us to examine the external world that does not involve metaphysics or a foundation of absolute knowledge (e.g., empiricism or rationalism) (Danermark et al. 2002, p. 10).

When applied to the social sciences[13], critical realism offers explanatory power as opposed to predictive utility. It looks beyond the empirical findings (e.g., observations) and seeks to examine a deeper understanding of the *mechanisms or generative powers* that operate behind the observable. These are the emergent causal powers of, for example, social structures or culture that occur in a particular point in time and place. The social world is understood as a multi-dimensional structure independent of humans that we experience by way of the concepts, meanings, beliefs, theories, methods, and modes of inquiry that we draw upon to categorize, describe, and explain our experience of the social world (Bhaskar and Lawson 1998). As such, while critical realism is rooted in realism, which acknowledges that producing knowledge of our world is only possible when granting the existence of a material reality independent of human thought

[13] Bhaskar also offers an approach to the natural sciences but this is not discussed in this dissertation.

and perception, it adopts a non-foundationalist approach when it comes to the relationships between knowledge claims and the given reality. In other words, there is no one-to-one correlation between the way in which we develop knowledge claims and the world in which we are experiencing those knowledge claims. This is a crucial contribution of critical realism that Bhaskar (1975) himself articulates in terms of distinguishing between intransitive dimensions and transitive dimensions.

A distinctive feature of the Bhaskarian version of critical realism is the idea that there are "two sides" of knowledge that must be distinguished during the process of knowledge production. That is, the theory of knowledge (epistemology) must be separate from the theory of being (ontology). For Bhaskar (1975), it is crucial to ensure that when making knowledge claims, intransitive dimensions are kept separate from transitive dimensions. Intransitive dimensions are objects of scientific discovery and investigation that exist independently of human activity and have not been produced by human activity (e.g., gravity, entropy, process of electrolysis). They exist prior to human perception or reason, hence the association with realism. The other side of knowledge concerns the realm of knowledge claims about those objects of knowledge and constitutes what Bhaskar calls the transitive objects of knowledge or material causes.

Transitive dimensions are socially defined and refer to the idea that knowledge is a social product that is produced through the social activity of the science of the day. Transitive objects are the raw materials of science that we use to make knowledge claims about the social or natural world under investigation.

They include theories, methods, paradigms, models and techniques of inquiry available to the researcher. As such, intransitive dimensions represent the objects from the independent world, which through transitive dimensions enable us to gain knowledge. Therefore, while there is an independent knowable world, we come to know that world by our transitive dimensions or raw materials of science of the day. As such, critical realism believes there is an external world independent of human consciousness (the linkage to realism) but there is also a realm in which our knowledge of reality is socially determined and fallible.

For Bhaskar, it is crucial that the intransitive dimensions (i.e., the way things are independent of human activity) are distinguished from the transitive dimensions (i.e., realm of knowledge claims used to explain the way things are). If these two dimensions are not separated, the result is what Bhaskar calls an "epistemic fallacy," which occurs when ontological statements are analyzed in terms of epistemological statements or when the question of what is (onotolgy) is reduced to what we can know (epistemology) (Bhaskar 1975). For Bhaskar (1975), the crux of critical realism, and what makes it "critical,"[14] is the acceptance of the fallibility of knowledge claims of an independent reality that is made possible by ensuring that ontology is separate from epistemology.

With a background in Bhaskar's work provided above, we now turn our attention more specifically to features of his critical realism that form key underpinnings of Archer's morphogenetic approach. I have chosen to highlight

---

[14] What constitutes critical within critical realism is not consistent throughout the movement. For a summary of the various meanings of critical in critical realism see Danermark et al. (2002, p. 200-201).

Bhaskar's work for two reasons: first, his treatment has raised him to the level of a key figure or representative in the movement; and second, Archer draws upon Bhaskar's contribution to critical realism in developing the morphogenetic approach. In particular, Archer adopts his stratified social ontology and concept of emergence.

While the separation between intransitive and transitive dimensions is crucial within a critical realism approach, other ontological features are important to note because of their direct connection to Archer's morphogenetic approach, namely a stratified account of reality and the idea of emergence. For Bhaskar (1979), the independent reality that is separate from human activity is that of a stratified reality. This stratified account of reality articulates reality in terms of levels or strata. Bhaskar describes three strata within his account of reality: 1) The ***empirical*** strata that includes observable experiences and events; 2) The ***actual*** strata that entails actual events that have been generated by underlying mechanisms; and 3) The ***real*** strata, which is the deeper level where causal powers or mechanisms that generated actual events are located. Analytically speaking, critical realism gives particular emphasis to the 3rd level to examine what produces or causes the events that are observed. These "causes" are mechanisms for Bhaskar (1975), and when observed become empirical fact. Therefore, to understand the event we must examine the underlying causal mechanism and not just the empirically observable events (Danermark et al. 2002). What this means for research is that the analytical focus turns to **"**relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience,

what actually happens, and the underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world" (Danermark et al 2002, p. 21).

The stratified account of reality also includes the concept of emergence. For Bhaskar (1993), emergence is defined as the relationship that occurs between two strata or levels (e.g., between real and actual stratums) whereby the higher level is rooted in and arises out of the more basic lower level. While the higher level arises out of the lower level, it can also react back on the lower level. "In emergence, generally, new beings (entities, structures, totalities, concepts) are generated out of pre-existing material from which they could have been neither induced nor deduced" (Bhaskar 1993, p. 49). Another way to describe emergence is "situations in which the conjunction of two or more features or aspects gives rise to new phenomena, which have properties which are irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence" (Sayer 2000, p. 12). For Archer, "[i]rreducible means that the different strata are *separable* by definition precisely because of the properties and powers which only belong to each of them and whose emergence from one another justifies their differentiation as strata at all" (1995, p. 14).

Emergence is associated with causal tendencies or causal powers mentioned above that are important in critical realist analysis. Causal tendencies or mechanisms operate at deeper ontological levels of reality and are defined as a characteristic pattern of activity or tendency of a mechanism. They are inherent properties of objects and exist whether people are aware of them and activate them or not. These tendencies occur between levels of reality and can flow

upwards or downwards and are therefore multidirectional. Important for critical realism is the idea that while higher-level strata emerges out of lower levels, they are causally irreducible to the lower levels. For Archer (1995), emergence is a central concept to her theory, which constitutes an important object of analysis – emergent properties – when operationalizing the morphogenetic approach. Archer describes emergence and what emergent properties are in the following excerpt:

> Instead of one-dimensional reality coming to us through the "hard-data" supplied by the senses, to speak of 'emergence' implies a stratified social world including non-observable entities, where talk of its ultimate constituents makes no sense, given that the relational properties pertaining to each stratum are all real, that it is nonsense to discuss whether something (like water) is more real than something else (like hydrogen and oxygen), and that regress as a means of determining 'ultimate constituents' is of no help in this respect and an unnecessary distraction into social or any other type of theorizing. We would not try to explain the power of people to think by reference to the cells that constitute them (Archer 1995, p. 50-1).

What this all means for the explanatory power of critical realism is that particular attention is given to the *underlying causal mechanism* (or emergent causal powers) and understanding how these mechanisms work in addition to the observable events or experiences. In other words, when studying social phenomena, analytical attention is given to explain the causal mechanisms that produce it. Archer adopts the explanatory potential of critical realism when presenting the morphogenetic explanatory approach.

For Archer (1995), the problem of the relationship between agency and structure, and in particular how to theoretically approach and empirically explain social phenomena, forms the basis of the core challenge for sociology because it rests on the very nature of what society intrinsically is (e.g., parts vs. people). In addition, exploring the relationship also finds direct relevance in people's daily

lives since we regularly confront conditions that constrain or enable our everyday ambition and chosen courses of action (e.g., gender, ethnicity, income, environmental degradation, religion). To these ends, Archer has developed an explanatory methodology called the *morphogenetic approach* that provides an analytical approach that accounts for the *interplay* between agency, structure, and culture where time is treated as an important theoretical variable. All three of these features are important for examining an individual's response to crisis since individuals can face dynamic and ever-changing conditions constraining or enabling their responses. In other words, the interplay between agency and structure and culture is never static and is instead a dynamic process subject to change, which in turn influences or reconfigures people's chosen course of action in a given context and point in time.

A unique contribution of this study is the operationalization of the morphogenetic approach to the given topic of individuals who are faced with the threat of their community declining. Other studies have applied the morphogenetic approach that includes empirical studies in literature related to entrepreneurialism (e.g., Mole and Mole 2010), project management (e.g., Cuellar 2010), and information systems (e.g., Mutch 2010). Within sociology, there are studies examining religion (e.g., Hoel 2010), the life experiences and life strategies of workers in Poland since the end of state socialism in 1989 (Mrozowicki 2011), and a study from the same project this dissertation stems from. The latter study operationalizes the cultural morphogenetic approach combined with resilience theory in two forest-based communities in rural British

Columbia (Lyon and Parkins 2013). Lastly, Quinn (2006) examines the emergence of a formal academic staff development program at a South African university. While these studies reveal the utility and benefit of applying the morphogenetic approach in their given topics, I seek to operationalize the morphogenetic approach within a natural resource-based community context to expand its application and question its utility in examining people's experience during crisis. With that said, I now turn the discussion to briefly introducing Margaret Archer before outlining the morphogenetic approach.

Introduction to the Work of Margaret Archer

Archer's work in general rests on the development of the morphogenetic approach (or cycle), and is explained throughout a number of books spanning four decades. The debut of the morphogenetic approach is found in Archer's *Social Origins of Educational Systems* (1979), an 800-page comparative study of educational politics in France, England, Russia and Denmark. It is here that we begin to see the approach's utility in explaining cultural, social and individual change within complex social systems. Archer's earlier work focuses on the social and cultural dimensions and how they interact with human action (1979; 1995; 1996) while the later publications turn to the individual level with specific attention on reflexivity and social mobility (Archer 2000; Archer 2003; Archer 2007).

The Morphogenetic Approach

The morphogenetic approach is a three-cycle analytical explanatory method that accounts for change in a social system over time. For this

dissertation, it is presented as the analytical means to account for the complex interchanges between agency, structure and culture. Morphogenesis has its roots in the Greek language where *morphe* means "form" or "shape" and *genesis* means origin or creation. For Archer, the morphogenetic approach is concerned with change, and in particular, social change and why change or stability occurs in a given context. The concept of morphogenesis is not unique to Archer's work; she adapted the idea from the general systems theorist Walter Buckley, who in 1967 defined morphogenesis as "those processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, structure or state" while morphostasis "refers to those processes in complex system-environment exchanges that tend to preserve or maintain a system's given form, organization or state" (p58-9). What the morphogenetic approach offers that other approaches (e.g., Giddens' Structuration theory) do not, according to Archer, is that it reveals the interplay between agency and structure and culture while avoiding the conflation of either variable and instead treats agency, structure, and culture as independent entities that are not reducible to one another (Archer 1982; 1995). The morphogenetic approach then looks to identify causal powers within each component, which constitute the potential triggers for change to occur in a given system since, for Archer (1995; 1996; 2003; 2007), change in society is significantly shaped by the activation of causal powers located in the emergent properties of social structures, culture and agency. To achieve the challenge of mapping out this unique analytical landscape it is necessary to adopt analytical dualism.

The following discussion begins with explaining the basis of analytical dualism followed by an outline of the elements (i.e., system integration and social integration or "parts" and "people") of structural morphogenetics. This is followed by a discussion on cultural morphogenetics before bringing the two together in illustrating how the morphogenetic cycle works and can be applied. The morphogenetic cycle is the means of operationalizing analytical dualism and is "thus presented as the practical methodological embodiment of the realist social ontology" (Archer 1995, p. 15).

Analytical Dualism: A Non-conflationary Analytical Approach

Analytical dualism is an analytical approach predicated on a "non-conflationary perspective of structure and agency and their analytical separation on a temporal basis" (Archer 1995, p. 168) for the purpose of understanding the more singular causal powers of both structure and agency. The analysis allows one to separate the "components" of society (e.g., structure and agency), and grant equal analytical attention to them without conflating one component into the other. It is the crux of Archer's morphogenetic approach and has its roots in David Lockwood's (1964) work entitled, *Social Integration and System Integration*. Lockwood is credited with offering a response to the debate between explanations of social change brought forward by normative functionalists and conflict theorists. Lockwood argued that the normative functionalist account of social change emphasizes structural relationships and systemic interdependencies, while conflict theorists focused on agency relations and group actions. Lockwood then argued that both sides require more balanced attention when accounting for social

change, which he characterized as the need to separate and examine the interplay between "system integration" (normative dimension) and "social integration" (conflict dimension) or the "parts" and the "people." System integration refers to the degree to which relations between the "parts" are orderly or in conflict, while social integration refers to the degree to which relations between people are orderly or in conflict.

The distinction between "parts" and "people" also marks a crucial point of departure for Archer where she argues that other theoretical attempts at reconciling the "problem of structure and agency" ultimately result in conflation. For Archer (1995), other theories examining the interplay between agency and structure conflate either upwards, downwards or centrally. Upwards conflation consists of theories where the source of change (or causal efficacy) is located in the individual (or agent) and structures have no autonomy, whereas downward theories deny autonomy in agency and locate the source of change (or causal efficacy) in the structure (Archer 1995). Central conflation represents those theories that have attempted to account for both structure and agency but for Archer fail in completely separating the two and ensuring they remain irreducibly confounded. Archer cites and has extensively criticized Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, which she argues conflates by co-constituting both parts and people, resulting in the inability to clearly delineate between the two to examine how each influences the other[15] (Archer 1995). The non-conflation of parts and people is important for Archer because the objective is to eventually identify and

[15] For more information on Archer's critique of Giddens' Structuration theory, see Archer (1982; 1995; 1996).

analyze the generative powers or causal properties of the components since the interplay is marked by the moment in which causal properties are either activated or not. For Archer, to identify and analyze the casual properties, one must use a stratified social ontology and the principle of emergence.

Archer (1995) further develops what she argues is missing in Lockwood's distinction between the two components, that is, what actually constitutes the "component parts" of social systems and how they can exert causal effects on people: *emergent properties and their generative powers*. This process begins by conceptualizing the components as having different levels or strata whereby each level contains emergent causal potentials. As a result, analysis includes accounting for stratified agency, structures, and culture.

The principal of emergence underpins Archer's ontology as well and forms the basis of her conception of emergent properties, which are important to identify when employing the morphogenetic approach. That is, one must identify the emergent properties in order to provide the morphogenetic approach to the problem at hand. This is because the emergent properties contain the causal powers, which determine the outcome of social interaction (between agents, social structures and culture) resulting in either transformation or stability of existing structures. Emergent properties for Archer are located in various strata within each field (agency, structure and culture). For Archer, analytical dualism provides the analytical means to temporarily suspend each field to examine the interaction between agency, social structures and culture. In other words, it provides the means from which to examine the "interplay within and between the three cycles,

for the ultimate benefit of analytical dualism is that it is not a static method of differentiation but a tool for examining the dynamics by which the 'parts' and the 'people' shape and reshape one another through their reciprocal interaction over time" (Archer 1995, p. 194). What this means in terms of the interaction between agency, social structure and culture is that all three fields influence each other. As such, "*any form of socio-cultural conditioning only exerts its effect on people and is only efficacious through people*" [emphasis in original] while agency also has its own emergent powers with two defining features: "they modify the capacities of component members (affecting their consciousness and commitments, affinities and animosities) and exert causal powers proper to their relations themselves *vis-à-vis* other agents or their groups (such as association, organization, opposition and articulation of interests)" (Archer 1995, p. 184). The following discussion maps out the emergent properties of each field and highlights the specific properties examined in this study.

Stratified Model of Agency (People)

Agency is characterized in terms of personal emergent properties (PEPs), which includes properties and powers of people such as "capacities for articulating shared interests, organizing for collective action, generating social movements and exercising corporate influence in decision making" (Archer 1995, p. 259-260). Agency plays a key role in cultural and structural morphogenesis as the domain where people enact or suspend personal emergent properties to influence social change or stability. For Archer, agency is a stratified reality whereby people can undergo transformation themselves when they pursue social

change (Archer 1995). For this dissertation, we will not examine the full extent of a process of personal transformation and instead focus exclusively on the process of transforming Primary Agents into collective agents as discussed below.

For Archer (1995), agency contains three levels of existence - person, agent and actor. The "person" is linked to personal identity while agent and actor correspond to the development of social identity (Archer 1995). This stratified view allows the researcher to choose the level(s) relevant to the study at hand (Archer 1995). Particular attention is given to the level of "agent" for this dissertation. "Agents, from the morphogenetic perspective, are agents *of* something. Baldly, they are agents of the socio-cultural system into which they are born (groups or collectivities in the same position or situations) and equally they are agents of the systemic features they transform (since groups and collectivities are modified in the process)" (Archer 1995, p. 257). Agents have different distributions of resources (wealth, expertise, sanction) that determine whether or not they can pursue a particular course of action. They are defined as "collectivities" sharing the same life chances and are broken into Primary Agents and Corporate Agents. For morphogenesis to occur, the former must transform into the latter (Archer 1995). Collectivities are all born into an ongoing socio-cultural system (aka social stratification) and have agential effects on the stability or change of that system (Archer 1995). Their life chances can vary depending on the degree of power and material resources they are born into – those agents with more of both often prevail in a given social system. However, collectivities without a say still react and respond to their given circumstances. Similar

responses from those in similar positions in society can also generate powerful effects (Archer 1995).

Primary Agents are those that neither express interest nor organize for the strategic pursuit in society or given institutional sector, while Corporate Agents are those who are aware of what they want and articulate their aims and develop some form of organization for their pursuit (Archer 1995). Primary Agents "play no part in the strategic guidance of society because they literally have no say" in structural or cultural modeling in society (Archer 2000, p. 268). As is the case for all agents, they are born into existing structural (SEPs) and cultural (CEPs) conditions that constrain or enable their chosen course of action. They are not, however, passive, because they can exercise their own emergent properties and powers (PEPs) such as collection action and/or reflexivity (Archer 2003). As such, Primary Agents may be suspending their agential powers within the given socio-cultural context. This should not be understood as Primary Agents being passive recipients of "things" happening to them. Instead, inaction must be understood within the context of relations between all collectives involved (Archer 1995). Primary Agents have a vested interest in improving their life chances by becoming more involved in changing (or stabilizing) their given socio-cultural conditions. This can be achieved through exercising PEPs that include, but are not exclusive to, collective action. With collective action of particular interest for this dissertation, it is therefore important to understand that "[t]he power to exercise collective action (or not) will be enabled or constrained by the nature of the systemic context in which agents are placed" (Archer 2000, p. 269).

Identifying the socio-cultural factors that enable and constrain collective action is a key objective of this study.

Corporate Agents are groups "who are aware of what they want, can articulate it to themselves and others, and have organized in order to get it, can engage in concerted action to re-shape or retain the structural or cultural feature in question" (Archer 1995, p. 258). The two key elements of what constitutes a corporate agent then are that they articulate what they want and are organized. Corporate agents include "self-conscious vested interest groups, promotive interest groups, social movements and defensive associations" (p258). "Corporate Agency thus shapes the *context* for all actors (usually not in the way any particular agent wants but as the emergent consequences of Corporate interaction). Primary Agency inhabits this context, but in responding to it also reconstitutes the *environment* which Corporate Agency seeks to control" [original emphasis] (Archer 1995, p. 260). Primary Agents can apply pressure to Corporate Agents by applying aggregate environmental pressures and problems, which disrupt the Corporate Agents' ability to achieve their promotive interests. Corporate Agents then have the task of both pursuing their self-declared goals as defined in a previous social context while at the same time achieving their interests in a social environment modified by Primary Agents (Archer 1995). The outcome of this social interaction, whereby Primary Agents interact with Corporate Agents results in transformation (or not) at the systemic level.

For Archer, the transformation is also articulated in terms of a morphogenetic process whereby "[a]gency, in its attempt to sustain or transform

the social system, is inexorably drawn into sustaining or transforming the categories of Corporate and Primary Agents themselves (Archer 1995, p. 260-61). For a morphostatic outcome, or lack of transformation from primary to corporate agency, we must examine the divide between the primary and corporate, and how pre-groupings are maintained during interaction. For a scenario whereby Primary Agents transform into corporate, the morphogenetic outcome requires that we examine how regrouping occurred in the course of interaction (Archer 1995).

Social Interaction and the Transformation of Primary to Corporate Agent

The transformation from Primary to Corporate Agent at the core requires the presence of "organized interest groups and articulated ideational alternatives (Archer 1995, p. 262). To determine whether this is the case in a given context, analytical attention turns to examining the interaction between Primary and Corporate Agents.

For the sake of illustrating the conditions for transformation (or not), the following discussion is set within morphogenetic and morphostatic scenarios. The morphogenetic scenario explains when transformation occurs, which begins with Primary Agents organizing for their pursuit and expressing their interests to the Corporate Agents or structural and cultural elites. The result is an increased number of Corporate Agents with the diversity of interests that creates conflict between them. There is a decline of Primary Agents because a number of them have organized and articulated their ideas. Archer explains that the increased proliferation of Primary Agents is the result of the long-term defensive strategies of vested interest groups stimulating the formation of promotive interest groups

(both material and ideal). “They do this by spawning social differentiation and ideational diversification as part and parcel of the pursuits of vested interests…” (Archer 1995, p. 263-64). As Corporate Agents seek to challenge the systemic and institutional structures, the environment and situations change for the remaining Primary Agents. Corporate Agents can then create new environmental problems since they are not necessarily in pursuit of the same interests. In the end, the morphogenetic scenario involves:

> The progressive expansion of the number of Corporate Agents, of those who are numbered among them, and a divergence of the interests represented by them, thus resulting in substantial conflict between them. Accompanying this process is a complementary shrinkage of Primary Agents, due in part to their mobilization to join burgeoning movements and defensive associations as some of them combine to form novel types of Corporate Agency” (Archer 1995, p. 263).

For a morphostatic outcome (i.e., social stability), the scenario begins with identifying the vested interest groups (or structural and cultural elites) evident in the pre-existing socio-cultural context. These are the groups that have a specific interest in maintaining the status quo because they benefit from their positions within that predetermined context. As such, there is a long-standing relationship between the two groups that is maintained through interaction. In terms of the structural domain, Corporate Agents have a concentration of resources within a social organization (e.g., totalitarianism is an extreme example given by Archer) that limits or prevents the ability of Primary Agents to express and pursue their interests. Primary Agents hold a subordinate position in society, which allows the structure to perpetuate.

The cultural domain is characterized in this scenario as having one set of hegemonic ideas and a culturally dominant group (i.e., Corporate Agents in this example) that has not faced ideational opposition, and is able to reproduce those ideas amongst the various Primary Agents. More specifically, the ideas that are available to Primary Agents are homogeneous and lack diversity or alternative perspectives. As such, Primary Agents are limited in the types of ideas they can come up with to articulate social grievances or interests. Structurally speaking, the Primary Agents lack the ability to organize because of a lack of differentiated interest groups to challenge the cultural control. In the end, this simplified scenario shows how the intersection between structural and cultural domains can limit the transformation of Primary to Corporate Agents by constraining the organization of interest groups and articulation of ideational alternatives. The result is that Primary Agents "re-act atomistcally" whereby "[a]ntipathetic reactions are restricted to the quiet cherishing of grievances or doubts, the lone rebelry of sacrilege or insubordination, or personal withdrawal – geography and ecology permitting" (Archer 1995, p. 262). While Primary Agents are limited in their ability to organize and articulate their interests, the way in which Corporate Agents remain in solidarity is an important factor:

> Of equal importance in this configuration is the fact that elites too are constrained by the absence of ideational or organizational alternatives, but each is simultaneously enabled by what the other is doing. Thus, the structural elite is trapped in the only kind of cultural discourse, which is currently in social parlance; similarly the cultural elite is enmeshed by the monolithic power structure, which is the only form of social organization present. Given this conjunction the two elites have no *immediate* alternative but to live together, but what is much more important is that they have every interest in *continuing* to do so" (Archer 1995, p. 262).

While the preceding scenarios of morphogenesis and morphostasis are simplified portrayals of society, they provide the conditional elements for understanding how and why Primary Agents transition into Corporate Agents or not. Primary Agents have a vested interest in exercising the CEP of collective action to improve their life chances by having a say in society and transforming the structural and/or cultural conditions they are born into. Yet, as discussed here there are constraints that Primary Agents can face that in turn limit their ability to contribute to social change. I give particular attention to the group of people interviewed in each of the two forest community settings to explore whether the transformation from Primary Agents into Corporate Agents is evident, and how this potential transformation is related to variation in response to crisis.

Stratified Model of Social Structure (Parts)

Social structures for Archer are defined in general terms: "overt and relatively enduring patterning in social life" such as institutional patterns, social organizations or socio-economic class (Archer 1995, p. 172). What is of greater importance to the morphogenetic approach is not the social structures per se but the component elements or SEPs located throughout its stratified existence. SEPs are "distributions, roles, institutional structures, social systems" (Archer 1995, p. 176). SEPs are "irreducible to people and relatively enduring, as with all incidences of emergence, are specifically defined as those *internal and necessary relationships* [e.g., forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident - community] which entail material resources, whether physical or human, and which generate causal powers proper to the relation itself" (Archer 1995, p. 177). SEPs are the outcome

of internal relations between various structures found within a particular social system. They are not empirically observable but the generative power they contain is. That is, the causal influence of social structures is the generative power that interacts with agency (or agents) and human behaviour.

Archer outlines four levels where interaction between "people" and "parts" or agency and structure occur. The first level is the positional level and here is where social structures organize people into different positions due to the way in which the structured distribution of resources pre-groups collectivities into privileged and non-privileged. "Thus, each 'generation' begins life stratified and these different collectivities have vested interests in maintaining their advantages or improving their lot" (1999, p. 185). Another level containing emergent properties is that of roles. Roles are necessarily and internally related to other roles (e.g., doctor/patient, forest/mill worker – mill owner, resident - community) and to material requirements (e.g., hospitals, forest mills, equipment and trained personal). What is important in this level is the difference between roles and their occupants in that while the role itself is relatively autonomous and prescribes certain "dos and don'ts" or norms for the occupants, people themselves bring their own personal characteristics (e.g., ideals, skills, and creativity) to a role. Roles are therefore subject to change or transformation depending on the degree to which occupants may wish to attempt to influence a role to change. It is therefore important to "distinguish between the properties pertaining to the role itself and the contingent properties belonging to its current holders" (Archer 1995, p. 186).

The level of roles is the primary level of analysis in this research study and is discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

The last two levels entail the institutional level where the importance of social integration or the relations amongst the relevant population is examined. The focus is on the interplay between institutions and organized groups (corporate agency). The final level described by Archer is the interplay between the systemic or society-wide level and populations. Society is complex and, when characterized as a system, is made up of structures and the relations between them that reveal incompatibilities and complementarities (Archer 1995).

Stratified Model of Culture (Parts)

For Archer, culture is defined as "all intelligibilia that is to any item which has the dispositional capacity of being understood by someone" (xviii). While not exactly straightforward, what Archer does provide is an explanatory approach to examining culture. As such, Archer does not offer a theory of culture per se as much as a theory of cultural dynamics that culminates in a theory of cultural morphogenesis (i.e., cultural change or stability). The theory of cultural dynamics begins with Archer's critique of sociology's limited attention to culture because of "The Myth of Cultural Integration" and its conflationary consequences:

> "My main argument is that the current theoretical deficiencies in the sociological analysis of culture are directly attributable to the conflation of Cultural System integration with Socio-Cultural integration – a confusion of the two which could be found within the anthropological heritage but which was intensified by the Myth of Cultural Integration in all its subsequent sociological manifestations. Consequently the premises and implications enshrined in the Myth must be disentangled and demolished before culture can assume a proper place in sociological analysis" (Archer 1996, p. 7).

The myth of cultural integration refers to the *a priori* assumption that culture is always and everywhere an integrated phenomenon that we all hold or share in common. Archer sees sociology's conceptual approach to culture in particular as one that "perpetuates an image of culture as a coherent pattern, a uniform ethos or a symbolically consistent universe" (1996, p. xvii). This conception of culture according to Archer prevents the ability to adequately examine culture or the interplay between agency and culture, and between culture and structure. What Archer advances instead is a unique approach that enables an understanding of cultural dynamics by examining the *logical consistency* between the components of culture (i.e., ideas, beliefs, values and theories) and the *causal consensus or cohesion* between groups of people. "Logical consistency is a property of the world of ideas, causal consensus is a property of people" (Archer 1996, p. 4). How to distinguish between the two realms of logical consistency and causal consistency is predicated on the employment of analytical dualism and again drawing on the explanatory power in Lockwood's distinction of social integration and system integration.

Archer turns again to Lockwood's explanatory power when distinguishing between social integration and system integration or "parts" and "people" to provide the analytical means to study the parts and people in the field of culture (Archer 1996). The "parts" and "people" are distinguished in terms or two levels in the cultural field: the Cultural System (CS) and the Socio-Cultural (S-C). The CS (or the "parts") is the sphere where ideas, beliefs, ideologies, values, theories are located whereas the Socio-Cultural level constitutes the people. It is within the

CS where one examines the logical consistency, or "the degree of internal compatibility between components of culture," while the Socio-Cultural contains the causal consensus, or "the degree of social uniformity produced by the imposition of culture by one set of people on another" (Archer 1996, p. 4).

The degree of logical consistency between the components entails examining the propositions in the CS level. The logical relationship between propositions can either be consistent (complimentary) or inconsistent (contradictory) and produce what Archer refers to as *situational logics* or the contexts from which agents choose their course of action (1996). In other words, the situational logics exert causal influence on people. The objective is to "examin[e] the effects of holding ideas with particular logical relations (or contradiction or complimentary to holders) – not with the (Socio-Cultural) reasons for these being held, reasons which would necessarily have been conditioned by an anterior cultural context" (Archer 1996, p. xxii). The CS components exist regardless of whether people in the given context are aware of them or embrace them (Archer 1996). These components also have the potential to influence people in the future if agents choose to activate those that are inactive in the present time. In other words, they exist regardless of the level of knowledge about or consciousness of those items.

Contradictions "mould problem-ridden situations for actors which they must confront if and when they realize, or are made to acknowledge, the proposition(s) they endorse are enmeshed in some inconsistency. What they do next is not determined: they have the options of irrational dogmatism or of

abandoning the theory or belief altogether, but if they want to go on holding it non-dogmatically then their only recourse is to repair the inconsistency, that is the force of the situational logic." Complementarities "mould problem-free situations for agents who can explore their ideational environments without danger or difficulty and from this build up an elaborate conspectus, the elements of which are mutually consistent and reinforcing. This by contrast fosters a situational logic of reproduction aimed at retaining this felicitous cluster and discouraging alterations in it" (Archer 1996, p. xxii). In the end, depending on what ideas or beliefs people hold, they can be either contradictory or complementarily, with ideas and beliefs previously established in the CS level. In turn, this outcome creates situational logics for people to face at the given time.

It is important to understand that the CS level of culture contains the "parts" of culture and that it does not exist in isolation or act independently from the S-C or "people" level (Archer 1996). CS and S-C "do not exist or operate independently of one another; they overlap, intertwine and are mutually influential" (Archer 1996, p. xix). In reality, the degree of logical consistency interacts over time with *causal relations* between cultural agents, who are located on the level of Socio-Cultural integration. The causal relationship between groups and individuals is of significant interest for Archer's theory of cultural dynamics because the causal relationships "have their own dynamics, rooted in different material interests, producing various forms of social stratification and different ideal interests, such as ethnic, religious or linguistic divides (which are ideational but not propositional). These make their own contribution to cultural stability or

change through the influences they exert upon what actors do on the spot" (Archer 1996, p. xxii).

It is also important to note that the CS level emerges from and/or evolves over time due to the outcome of causal relations between cultural agents in the S-C level. As such, the parts of culture that people face in the present were developed during previous cycles and, in particular, during previous interactions between CS and S-C. What this means for this dissertation is that the ideas, beliefs, values, or theories that individuals interacted with while choosing their course of action through their given crisis were created prior to the initiation of the circumstance. Analytical attention is then given to examine whether the ideas in the cultural sphere are in logical contradiction or whether they are complementary to one another. In examining these ideas, we will be able to identify the cultural attributes that constrain or enable effective action in response to crisis.

The Morphogenetic Approach in Practice

While the previous sections discussed the morphogenetic approach in rather abstract terms, attention now shifts towards applying the approach to individuals' response(s) to social crisis in two forest community contexts in rural BC. While Archer carries out the morphogenetic approach for each of the three components – agency, structural, and culture – I have limited the analysis to whether there is a morphogenetic or morphostatis outcome of social structures and culture. This study does not apply the morphogenetic approach to agency (see earlier discussion on Stratified Model of Agency) but includes the examination of

the mediatory process of reflexivity to examine the interaction between the research participants and the social structures and cultural dimensions they encounter as they move through crisis.

In moving towards grounding these ideas in a practical approach, the morphogenetic approach rests on two theorems: 1) That structure/culture logically predates the action(s) which transforms it; and 2) that structural/cultural elaboration logically postdates those actions, which can be represented as shown (adopted from Archer 1995, p. 76). Important to note here is Archer's (1995) argument that people do not re-create structures during every interaction; instead, they either *transform or reproduce* existing structures that predate the interaction. This highlights the importance of time as a theoretical variable. The temporal dimension becomes particularly important when understanding the intersection between components since determining whether change to the social system occurs or not also operates over time. The morphogenetic approach allows the researcher to explain how or why things change (or not) by examining the *interplay* between "parts" and "people" over time. As such, it is important to note that what is being defended is not philosophical dualism, but the utility of analytical dualism that allows for the examination of the interplay between the parts and the people.

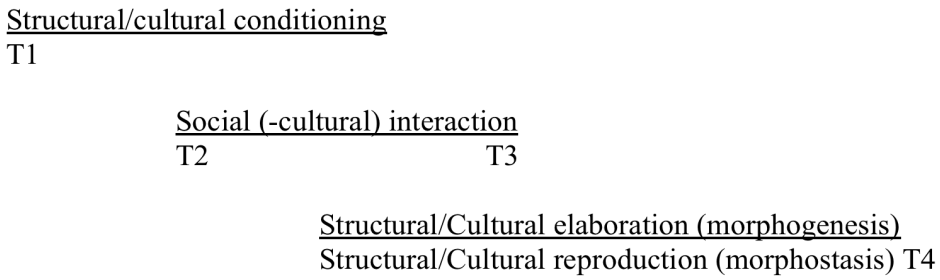
Whether one is examining social structures or culture, the analysis for Archer remains squarely on the interplay between "parts" (Systems Integration and Cultural Systems levels) and "people" (Social Integration and Socio-Cultural levels). For social structures, the focus is on internal and necessary relations

between and within, whereas for culture the focus is on logical relations between components of the CS. Causal influences are then examined in terms of how social structures influence social interactions and how CS influences the S-C level in the cultural field. There are also causal relationships between groups and individuals at the level of social integration and S-C. The practical application of the morphogenetic approach rests on four core propositions:

(i) Logical relationships between components of the Cultural System (CS) and there are internal and necessary relations within and between social structures (SS).
(ii) Causal influences exerted by the CS on the Socio-Cultural (S-C) level and causal influences that are exerted by social structure(s) (SS) on social interactions (SI).
(iii) Causal relationships between groups and individuals at the S-C level and causal relationships between groups and individuals at the level of social interaction (SI).
(iv) Elaboration of the CS due to the S-C level modifying current logical relationships and introducing new ones. Social interaction (SI) elaborates upon the composition of social structure(s) (SS) by modifying current internal and necessary structural relationships and introducing new ones where morphogenesis is concerned. Alternatively, social interaction (SI) reproduces existing internal and necessary structural relations when morphostasis applies. (Adapted from Archer 1996, p. 106 for cultural features and Archer 1995:168-9 for social structures).

Figure 6 illustrates the three-part cycle [structural/cultural conditions (S-C), Social (cultural) interaction (SI), Structural/Cultural Elaboration (SE)] of the morphogenetic approach along with the theoretical variable of time (T). Important to note is that all three lines (or cycles) are in fact a continuous line but Archer has broken up the flows into intervals for analytical purposes.

Figure 6: Three-part Morphogenetic Cycle (Source: Archer 1995, 1996)



The cycle starts at T1 by identifying the structures and cultural factors that exist prior to interaction and form the conditions from which social interaction occurs between agents and the pre-existing structures/culture. Structural conditions are created by prior distribution of resources, life chances, vested interests and bargaining power, which influence past mediation of agents. Cultural conditions are created by prior outcomes of contradictory or complementary relations between "parts" of the Cultural System and relationships between "people" in the Socio-Cultural level. Important during this stage are the internal and necessary relations between structural properties and cultural properties, which produce "distinctive *situational logics*, which predispose agents towards *specific courses of action* for the promotion of their interests" (Archer 1995, p. 216). The primary objective of this first cycle is to identify the processes guiding action in a particular direction or the conditional influences (Archer 1995), which for this study entail what structural and cultural factors constrain/enable people's choice of action. This stage also reveals how CS evolves out of S-C over time.

The next cycle (T2-T3) examines how agents respond to the distinctive situational logics or conditions they are now faced with from the first stage and from other forms of agent and structural/cultural interactions, but most importantly, by the reflexive monitoring of strategies for responding to conditions. The reflexive monitoring is of particular interest for this dissertation since this marks the point in the cycle in which agents exercise strategies of action. This is also the moment where mediation or interaction between agency and structure and culture occurs; individuals mediate when faced with constraining/enabling factors. Mediation is defined "as an objective influence which conditions action patterns and supplies agents with strategic directional guidance" (Archer 1995, p. 196). For Archer (1995), the mediation process unfolds during people's internal conversation or reflexivity. This stage is also the point when emergent causal properties are activated or not and marks a critical point in the morphogenetic approach and forms the primary stage of analysis for this dissertation. This is the core moment of being "social" from Archer's point of view and the corresponding relations that exist, influence, evolve and/or develop during interaction offer useful insight into the process of change because it directly relates to the degree to which structures and culture either maintain themselves or are transformed (Archer 1995).

The final stage of the cycle (T4) is the point at which actions deployed by agents either have the effect of preserving or transforming the structural and cultural conditions originating in stage one. In terms of structure, change is influenced by the degree to which bargaining power is converted into negotiating

strength between corporate actors since the power of agents and the exchange between agents mediate elaboration. As such, depending on the outcome of the third cycle (preserved or transformed structures), this forms the structural and cultural conditions for the next cycle to take place over time. Another way to describe the three cycles is emergence, interplay, and outcome. In the end, the morphogenetic approach provides an analysis that traces temporal historical trajectories of the interplay between agency, structure, and culture, which Archer (1995) describes as analytical histories of emergence over time.

Archer describes the interaction between structures and culture as culture penetrating structure and vice versa "…there is structural penetration of the cultural realm, and cultural penetration of the structural sphere. Hence the need to theorize about the intersection of the structural and cultural fields, for the simple sociological reason that actors themselves do have positions in both domains simultaneously" (1995, p. 305). Practically speaking, the challenge then is to determine when one is more consequential for the other and vice versa (Archer 1995). Given the fluidity and nature of the process of interaction between agency, structure, and culture, it may be better to characterize the interaction in terms of degrees of consequence unless it is apparent that either culture or structure are causing change to or instability in the social system.

For this dissertation, I focus on the mediatory process of reflexivity to examine the interaction between agency, structure, and culture in people's responses to crisis by exploring the factors constraining and enabling (i.e., structural and cultural emergent properties) their chosen courses of action. In

other words, with the morphogenetic approach as the broader analytical approach used in the research, I now narrow the analysis onto the mediatory process of reflexivity, which will reveal whether the activation (or not) of the emergent powers of structures and culture is mediated *through* agency. For Archer, "through" is called social conditioning and occurs during the second stage of the morphogenetic approach (i.e., during socio-cultural interaction or T2 – T3), which means turning now to examining constraining and enabling factors within people's internal conversation.

Reflexivity and the Mediation of Agency, Structure, and Culture

"Central to realist social theory is the statement that 'the causal power of social forms is mediated through social agency'" (Archer 2003, p. 2). The interaction between agency and structures and culture consists of a process of mediation whereby structures and culture are mediated through agents (Archer 1995, 2003). Consequently while agency, structures, and culture each contain emergent causal properties, it is agency or the agent alone that chooses to activate them or not. It is possible to examine this interaction by examining people's internal conversation or reflexivity, which reveals the process whereby individuals interact with structures and face constraints and enablers in their situations.

Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity has received considerable attention in a number of different disciplines such as environmental sociology, where it is examined in terms of reflexive modernization (e.g., Beck 1992; Beck et al. 1994; Giddens

1990) and more recently in a study that analyzes social responses to climate change (Davidson 2012). For Archer (2003, 2007), understanding the actual *process* of reflexivity is under-explored and under-theorized. It is through the process of reflexive deliberations that individuals reach an understanding of their social circumstances and determine their corresponding courses of action.

To understand how actors "choose" their courses of action, Archer turns to the process of reflexivity or reflexive deliberations. Reflexivity is "the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa" (2007, p. 4). It is concerned with internal conversations about matters that are of concern to actors and enable them to reach an understanding, and choice of action. The process is not about looking inwards, it is how we converse with ourselves to determine what we believe and desire, and the course of action we choose to follow. "The key feature of reflexive inner dialogue is silently to pose questions to ourselves and to answer them, to speculate about ourselves, any aspect of our environment and, above all, about the relationship between them" (Archer 2007, p. 63). Internal conversations are important to understand because they are responsible for mediating the impact of structural and cultural emergent properties because "it is the subject's objectives and internal deliberations about their external feasibility that determine how they confront the structural and cultural circumstances whose presence they cannot avoid" (Archer 2007, p. 65). Reflexive thought is understood as an inner conversation because reflexivity is not a vague process of self-awareness; instead, it involves an exploratory process of questioning by the subject in relation to an

object. The reflexive deliberation process allows us to accomplish three things: 1) delineate and prioritize our concerns; 2) survey our objective circumstances and make judgments about courses of action; and 3) evaluate whether the actions we choose express our ultimate concerns and are within our means.

Archer (2003) argues that the very existence of society depends upon the self-acquaintance of its individual members. In other words, a society whose members are not engaging in a process of internal conversation and in turn making sense of their social realities could not exist, because the individuals could not accept social expectations or fulfill any social roles. For Archer, "it is the personal power that enables us to be authors of our own projects in society" (2003, p. 34). Turning to Charles Taylor's (1985) work on self-interpretation, Archer (2003) links Taylor's account of humans as having the capacity to be "strong evaluators," which for Archer is important because when exercised, this enables humans to define where they stand in relation to their external reality.

Personal reflexivity for Archer is the mediating element between structure, culture and agency. These inner dialogues are characterized as emergent power located in the actor as opposed to a habitual, routine action, which, according to Archer, is associated with modernity (Archer 2007). The internal conversation is a personal emergent property that is not psychological since inner conversations consist of "relational properties," whereby questions are posed in the mind in relation to the surrounding world (Archer 2003, p. 94). This same logic is applied to all properties of structure and culture, which are emergent relationally to another entity. For instance, Archer gives the example of capital as an emergent

property of structures since it relates to material components of one's social world.

In examining the practice of reflexivity, Archer (2003, 2007) found that people do not experience the practice in the same way. In other words, it is not a homogenous phenomenon that everyone experiences, but instead a heterogeneous process whereby different people experience different modes of reflexivity. People can employ different modes throughout their internal conversation but one mode often dominates. For Archer, these modes are characterized as four non-exclusive or static types of reflexivity: communicative, autonomous, meta-reflexive and fractured reflexives. *Communicative* reflexives are those whose internal conversations require engaging in an external dialogue with others (e.g., friends and family) before choosing a course of action. *Autonomous* reflexives are the opposite of communicative in that they have confidence in relying on their own mental resources (e.g., their own judgment) to choose a course of action. This self-confident individualized type of reflexivity is reliant and self-motivated and concerned with actions that benefit the individual. *Autonomous* reflexives are those who sustain self-contained internal conversations that lead directly to self-oriented action. *Meta-reflexives* are those who engage in inner dialogue focused on self-evaluation about being the person they seek to be (e.g., ideals) and self-awareness of circumstances that constrain or enable their ideals. They are critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and are critical about effective action in society before choosing a course of action (e.g., politically oriented action). *Fractured* reflexive*s* are those whose internal conversations lead

to increased distress and social disorientation that prevents them from determining a purposeful course of action. It is through the lens of reflexivity, and Archer's typology, that we will understand how people in the two forest community contexts mediate the structural and cultural constraining and enabling factors in the given crisis and in turn choose a course of action.

An important point to remember is that the source of "causal power" is located in the individual (e.g., through reflexive deliberation) as well as in structural (SEPs) and cultural (CEPs) forces. Cultural and structural properties do not have causal powers in and of themselves. Instead, the individual has the emergent power required to activate the structural and cultural properties. Constraining and enabling factors derive from structural and cultural emergent properties but the activation of their "causal power" is contingent upon the actor perceiving them in a manner that grants them their causal effect and in turn affects the individual's choice of action. When SEPs and CEPs are activated, they either constrain and/or enable social action. If agents do not activate them, they remain unexercised. They are also relatively enduring over time and maintain their generative potential until another agent or group pursues a new course of action at another point in time. It is therefore important to distinguish between structural properties and the exercise of their causal powers. In other words, structures and culture impinge on agents, and agents use their own personal powers to act in one way or another within the given situational logic (Archer 2003):

> People…are capable of resisting, repudiating, suspending or circumventing structural and cultural tendencies, in ways which are unpredictable because of their creative powers as human beings. In other words, the exercise of socio-cultural powers is dependent *inter alia* upon

> their reception and realization by people: their effect is not direct but mediated, for there are no other ways in which it could be exercised without invoking impersonal social forces (Archer 1995, p. 195-96).

Structural or cultural properties are not reified; they exist externally from human consciousness; they are social forms and sets of ideas and/or beliefs that originate from people (Archer 2003). As such, while the actor reflexively deliberates over circumstances that include SEPs and CEPs, the origins of these properties may be found outside of or spatially distant from the individual's locality. For example, an individual in a forest community may engage in a reflexive dialogue about accessing timber resources for a community forest licence and realize this is not feasible due to forest policy limitations concerning access to timber within the tenure system in BC. As a result, the individual activates this structural constraint. However, the ideas and beliefs associated with the way to do forestry in BC (i.e., the industrial forest model) originated in and are perpetuated by people/groups in Vancouver/Victoria and the global economy, not in the forest community.

A transformation from Primary Agent to Corporate Agent is crucial for social change or morphogenesis to take place. As such, given the objective of this research is to study whether people have the capacity to overcome crisis in their respected community contexts by examining responses – individually and/or collectively - I turn to literature on collective action to provide additional analytical means for examining the collective action portion of responses.

Collective Action

As stated earlier in the chapter, Archer describes agents in terms of primary and corporate with the premise that for morphogenesis or social change to occur, Primary Agents must transform into Corporate Agents. Primary Agents lack a say in the morphogenetic process because they are groups of people that do not express their interest(s) or organize for their strategic pursuit either in society or in a given institutional context (Archer 1995). This does not mean they cannot have an effect "but the effects are unarticulated in both senses of the word – uncoordinated in action and unstated in aim" (Archer 1995, p. 259). Archer's theoretical framework for explaining how and why Primary Agents transform into Corporate Agents (or not) focuses on discursive and organizational realms, and in particular the *emergent properties* of individuals as opposed to empirical observations (e.g., individuals and degree of resources available determine whether collective action occurs). That is, the transformation occurs when a group of people articulates its concerns and organizes in some fashion to have a say in changing or stabilizing structural and cultural models in society. While the framework offers utility for this dissertation, it is worth exploring the literature on collective action in general to ensure there are no additional details or aspects that could be used to enrich (or challenge) Archer's approach to collection action.

I turn to collective action theory to better understand the collective responses of people in the two community contexts of Mackenzie and McBride. Particular attention will be given to understanding why collective action did or did

not occur; in other words, what factors constrained and/or enabled collective responses from people faced with the threat of community decline.

This study draws upon the wide-ranging field of study known as collective behaviour, which generally examines the emergence of behaviour in response to some kind of unfavourable circumstance (Marshall 1998; Jary and Jary 2000). This can involve examining a spectrum of responses from more coordinated and organized forms such as social movements, responses to natural disasters, riots and rumours to more spontaneous responses such as mass hysterias (Marshall 1998). However, with such a broad field of research, this study attempts to narrow down the analytical scope by focusing on collective action, which looks more closely at the action taken by a group of people to pursue their shared interests in response to a particular phenomenon (Marshall 1998).

Collective action provides a way of understanding the relationship between an "event" (Olzak 1989) (e.g., mill closures) and the inclination for people to work together (Ahn and Ostrom 2002). Earlier research on collective action focuses on the nature of rational choice in participating in collective action. For example, Olson (1965) argues that no rational self-interested individual would contribute to preserving or producing a public good. However, recent research argues that rationality alone does not explain human behaviour since there is widespread evidence that collective action is everywhere, but that it is not inevitable (Ostrom 2000). The objects of analysis in collective action research remain broad-based (e.g., crowds, protests, riots, cooperatives, social movements) with much of the recent literature in sociology focusing on social movements/new

social movements (Della Porta and Diani 2006; Tarrow 1998; Carroll 1997; Myers 1997; Melucci 1996; Diani and Eyerman 1992; Offe 1985; Touraine 1988). Within the study of social movements, several theories have emerged over time: relative deprivation (Merton 1968); resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977); structural strain (Smelser 1971); frame alignment (Benford and Snow 2000; Doyle et al. 2000); political opportunity theory (Meyer 2004; Koopmans 1999); and new social movements (Melucci 1996; Touraine 1988).

While social movement literature offers potentially useful analytical approaches for identifying the forms of collective action in the two forest community settings, field research to date reveals very little evidence of social movement activity in forest-dependent communities in BC faced with socio-economic and/or environmental challenges (see Prudham 2008 for exception with his study of a counter-hegemonic movement in Youbou, BC). As such, this study turns to a general concept of collective action to account for the forms (e.g., formal or informal actions) and conditions that enable and/or constrain its formation as opposed to understanding collective action within a social movement perspective. This approach to collective action will provide the analytical means to explain why, with dramatic stimuli, there was a limited collective response to crisis in the two forest community settings in this study. In particular, examining the collective response will increase understanding of causal linkages in relation to an observable lack of collective action around the dramatic economic decline in the forest sector.

This study adopts the definition of collective action in that it "requires the *involvement of a group of people*, it requires a *shared interest* within the group and it involves some kind of *common action* which works in pursuit of that shared interest" (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2004, p. 4, original italics). In addition, the "action" in collective action is characterized as voluntary as opposed to hired labour, and can include forms such as collective decision-making, setting rules of conduct of a group and designing management rules and implementing decisions (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2004). The action can occur directly by members of a group or by representatives of that group and through formal or informal organization as well, through more spontaneous action (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2004). The "shared interest" for this study is the desire by individuals to overcome the threat of community decline by engaging in "common action(s)" designed to move through the crisis they faced in each of the community contexts.

Empirical research on collective action reveals four modes of analysis that are evident in the literature. The first examines deprivation of material resources such as employment opportunities (Wilkes 2004), along with the degree of availability of resources in terms of intellectual leadership or political support (Cress and Snow 1996). To understand social driving forces, Rudd (2000) examines the linkages between human decision-making at the individual and collective levels with social visions. In other words, Rudd (2000) focuses on social interactions and the corresponding outcomes of those interactions (e.g., environmental change, economic prosperity). Lastly, beyond internal resource characteristics are external factors such as political events that influence opportunities for collective action

(Koopmans 1999). Also discussed briefly by Koopmans (1999) is the idea of "cultural opportunity structures" whereby the cultural context presents opportunities for social movements. In the end, while all of these modes of analysis provide useful approaches to understanding the emergence of collective action, there remains a gap in how collective action is constrained/enabled within an intersection of agency, cultural dimensions and broader social structures.

More closely related to this topic is empirical research that examines characteristics of resource-based communities. These characteristics can be associated with conditions that facilitate the emergence of collective action. These studies look at the history of economic instability (Krannich et al. 1985), levels of education (i.e., lower levels), the degree of skill sets available within communities (Freudenburg 1992) and asymmetrical power relations between community and industry/the state (Beckley 1996). Recent literature captures community trends to seek or develop relationships, such as community forest initiatives, with industry or government (Bullock and Hanna 2008; McCarthy 2006; Teitelbaum et al. 2006). There is also research that examines purchase of local mills by mill employees (Beckley and Krogman 2002) and the political and economic characteristics of local ownership. This includes a case study of the community of Revelstoke, BC, which in 1993 acquired licences to hold a community-controlled forest and log yard (Varghese et al. 2006). In Northern BC there is one study that examines a place-based rural social movement in communities (Larson 2008) while the south coast of BC reveals a counter-hegemonic group of forest workers challenging global forestry (Prudham 2008). While all of these case studies

examine the contextual nature of responses (in these cases, collective action), there is a gap in empirical research examining the intersection of local cultural dimensions with broader social structures. The gap is particularly evident when examining experiences of individuals in rural BC following crises generated by impacts of shifting global markets and an unprecedented insect outbreak on the shape and scope of the local forest industry.

Conclusion

To examine whether the conditions under which people can have the capacity to move through crisis and identify the factors constraining/enabling their courses of action requires a unique theoretical approach. In this chapter I began by acknowledging the analytical limitations in the sociology of community sustainability (and in some cases resilience). I concluded that the field offers assessment of social processes required to overcome challenges such as capacity assessments focused on social capital but that it continues to represent largely static models of sustainability research at the community level with a heavy emphasis on indicator development and variable analysis. I suggested that these models would benefit from a more theoretical and dynamic sense of social change in general but, more specifically, that attention should be given to individuals and the dynamic interplay between agency, social structures, and culture in the two forest community contexts. Awareness of these social dynamics and the individuals' experience is raised by giving attention to human agency and the interaction with social structural and cultural forces that affect the capacity to

respond. Thus, in this dissertation I operationalize Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach to examine this interaction.

Couched in the field of critical realism, the morphogenetic approach is a three-stage cycle that provides the analytical means for examining the interplay or *mediatory* process between agency, social structures and culture. The first stage of the cycle reveals the situational logics or conditions that people interact with during the second stage while the third stage reveals the outcome of stability of instability structural or cultural attributes. The objective is "to conceptualise how certain properties of the 'parts' and certain properties of the 'people' actually combine at the interface…" (Archer 1996, p. xx). Analytical dualism in particular provides the analytical means to avoid the conflation of agency, structure, and culture by temporally suspending and separating each field with the specific purpose of identifying the causal powers or emergent properties of structure (SEPs) and culture (CEPs) from those of agents or agency. Emergent properties contain the causal powers, which determine the outcome of social interaction (between agents, social structures and culture), resulting in either transformation or the stability of existing structures. As such, Archer does not provide theories of social structure or culture per se, but rather a theory of structural and cultural dynamics in terms of SEPs and CEPs.

Whether one is examining social structures or culture, the analysis focuses squarely on the interplay between "parts" (Systems Integration and Cultural Systems levels) and "people" (Social Integration and Socio-Cultural levels). The focus is on internal and necessary relations between and within social structures

(e.g., people and roles), while for culture, the analytical focus is on logical consistency between the components of culture (i.e., ideas, beliefs, ideology, values and theories) and the causal consensus between groups of people. In other words, Archer analytically separates the degree of consistency among components found in CS (e.g., ideas, values, beliefs) from their socio-cultural usage in the S-C to understand how these logical relations impinge on people involved at the S-C level.

The morphogenesis of social structures focuses on emergent properties, which are different from a structure per se, defined as "overt and relatively enduring patterning in social life" such as institutional patterns, social organizations or socio-economic class (Archer 1995, p. 172). Structural emergent properties (SEPs) are "distributions, roles, institutional structures, social systems" (Archer 1995, p. 176). They are also "irreducible to people and relatively enduring, as with all incidences of emergence, are specifically defined as those internal and necessary relationships [e.g., the relationship between forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident - community] which entail material resources, whether physical or human, and which generate causal powers proper to the relation itself" (Archer 1995, p. 177).

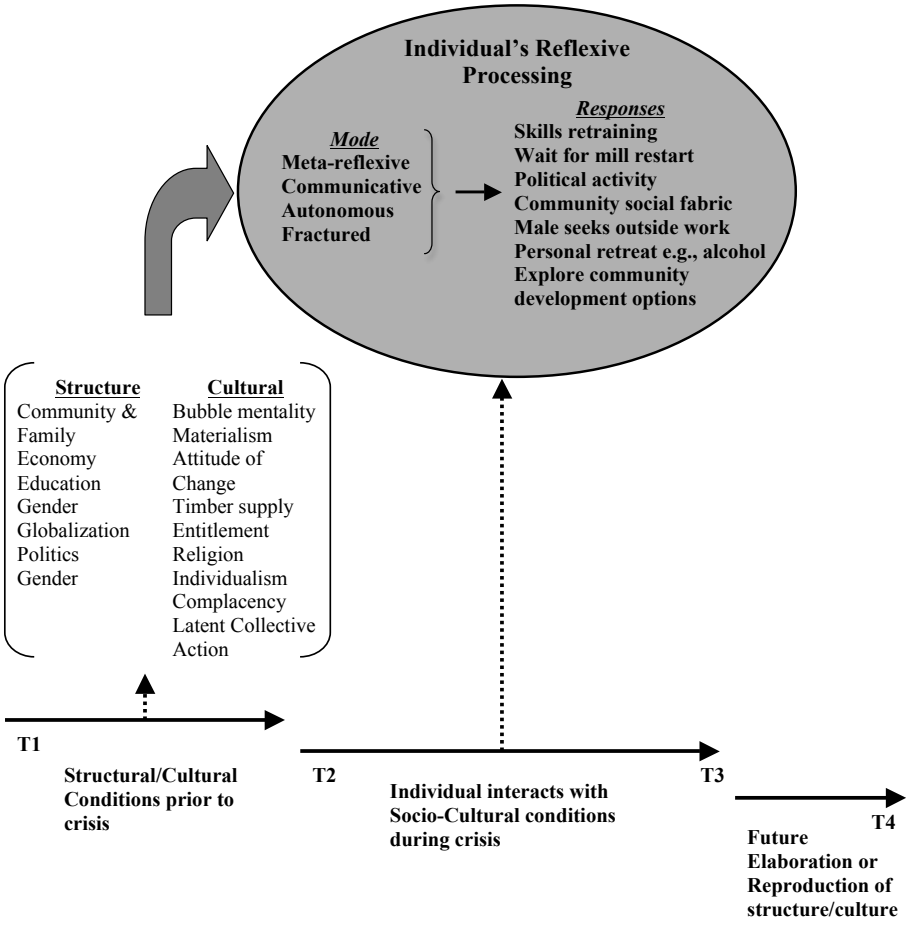
In terms of the morphogenesis of culture, as quoted earlier, Archer defines culture as "all intelligibilia that is to any item which has the dispositional capacity of being understood by someone" (1996, p. xviii). What is offered is not a theory of culture per se as much as a unique approach to cultural dynamics that analytically distinguishes between logical consistency between the components of

culture or cultural emergent properties (i.e., ideas, beliefs, ideology, values and theories) and the causal consensus between groups of people. The purpose is to examine "how contradictory or complementary relations between 'parts' of the Cultural System map onto orderly or conflictual relationships between 'people' at the Socio-Cultural level …" (1996, p. xxi). This allows for the analysis to answer questions such as what were the consequences of people holding certain ideas in the community contexts, does the interplay between certain ideas and people's responses result in social change in the communities or not, and what are the effects of holding certain ideas that either contradicted or complemented ideas in CS?

With my dissertation focus on whether people have the capacity to move forward through community crises, such as those faced by forestry-dependent communities in rural BC, analytical attention is limited to identifying the social structural and cultural factors constraining and/or enabling their response and chosen course of action. A particular course of action that is of interest to this study is whether people mobilize collectively in response to their given crisis or, in other words, whether Primary Agents transform into Collective Agents. The remainder of this dissertation specifically addresses these analytical objectives with Chapter 4 presenting stage one of the morphogenetic cycle and in particular the structural and cultural conditions that form the situational logic people face in stage two. Chapters 5 and 6 reveal the second stage exploring the mediation or interaction between agents, social structure and culture. In particular, these chapters present the identification of factors constraining and/or enabling people's

courses of action (individual and collective). The following diagram (see Figure 7) offers an illustration of the morphogenetic approach applied to the responses of people in this study.

Figure 7: Morphogenetic Cycle Applied to People's Response to Crisis



Chapter 4: Structural and Cultural Conditions of Crisis

In this chapter I explore the structural and cultural conditions that are evident in the first stage of the morphogenetic cycle. As discussed in Chapter 3, the first stage of the cycle contains structures and cultural factors that exist prior to interaction and form the conditions from which social interaction occurs between agents and the pre-existing structures/culture. Structural conditions are created by prior distribution of resources, life chances, vested interests and bargaining power, which influenced past mediation of agents. Cultural conditions are created by prior outcomes of contradictory or complementary relations between "parts" of the Cultural System (CS) and relationships between "people" in the Socio-Cultural (CS) level. Important during this stage are the internal and necessary relations between structural properties and cultural properties, which produce "distinctive *situational logics*, which predispose agents towards *specific courses of action* for the promotion of their interests" (Archer 1995, p. 216). The primary objective of this first cycle is to identify the processes guiding action in a particular direction or the conditional influences (Archer 1995), which for this study entails the structural and cultural factors that are constraining/enabling a person's choice of action.

For this dissertation, this means examining the structural and cultural conditions relevant to the forestry context in British Columbia (BC) that precedes the period in which research participants face a crisis of job loss and the threat of community decline. The remainder of this chapter highlights a number of structural and cultural factors that create the conditions with which people interact

during the second stage of the morphogenetic cycle (see Chapters 5 and 6 for the discussion on the second stage). While structural conditions are clearly documented in the literature, there is limited research on cultural conditions in forest communities in British Columbia or Canada. As such, this gap in the literature will limit the analysis of cultural conditions within the morphogenetic cycle in Chapter 7 but will not limit the utility of the morphogenetic approach in this study.

British Columbia Forest Industry

The conventional forest industry[16] in BC has played an important role in the province's economy throughout its history. Forests cover approximately two-thirds (60 million hectares) of the province's land mass and are organized into a coastal sector and interior sector. The bulk of timber harvested is softwood used to make lumber, plywood, pulp and other products. Forest products have been the province's most important export commodity historically (averaging more than half of total exports), but since 1990 export numbers for the forest sector have been declining due to increased values in other sectors like energy and industrial goods. In terms of Gross Domestic Product, this has translated into a decline from 3% of total GDP prior to 1990 to 2% in 2011[17].

The land base in BC is 95% publically owned and the provincial government has political jurisdiction over managing forests and allocating

---

[16] The BC forestry industry consists of primary logging and forest services as well as wood and paper production. Manufacturing of wood (e.g., sawmills and planers) and paper (e.g., pulp and paper mills) form the basis of the production side of the industry.
[17] Source: Government of British Columbia. http://www.guidetobceconomy.org/major_industries/foresty.htm (accessed 15 July 2011).

harvesting rights on forest lands. The provincial government sells timber rights through a stumpage system and a regulated annual allowable cut system. Scattered throughout BC's rural landscape are forest communities (and other resource-based communities) that provide a source of labour for the industry, and in turn depend on the forest industry for their economic livelihoods and sustainability. However, the forest industry in BC has faced significant challenges in recent years mainly due to external global market forces and the mountain pine beetle. Both of these factors directly impact forest communities in rural BC.

The following discussion explores the structural and cultural conditions that participants faced within their respective community contexts and crises, and those which are analyzed within the second stage of the morphogenetic cycle (see Chapters 5 and 6). In order to accomplish this objective, I have turned to the field of political economy as well as policy literature relevant to the BC forest sector to glean information about structural conditions. Due to the limited number of cultural studies in forest communities in BC (or Canada), the discussion on cultural conditions is limited.

Structural Conditions

While literature on forest communities does not often include explicit analysis that identifies and examines social structures, there is considerable literature that accounts for social structures that can be referenced in this dissertation. As such, to understand the nature and effect of broader social structures constraining and/or enabling people's responses, this research draws on the literature of political economy to illustrate the examples and role social

structures play in influencing human action. “Political economy at its strongest has focused on processes whereby social change is located in the historical interaction of the economic, political, cultural, and ideological moments of social life, with the dynamic rooted in socio-economic life” (Clement and Williams 1989, p. 7). For this study, a political economy approach is concentrated on the provincial, national and global levels of analysis whereby individuals in forest community contexts influence and are in turn influenced by the broader political economy context. We begin by considering political dimensions followed by economic dimensions that together influence the structural conditions faced by participants in this study.

Political economy studies have included analysis of political conditions such as the fact that, despite having local municipal governments, communities remain subject to a centralized form of decision-making with respect to forest policy and management decisions. These are made outside the community by the provincial government or industry whose headquarters are located in major city centers like Vancouver (Marchak 1983; Nixon 1993; M’Gonigle and Parfitt 1994; Hutton 1997). This suggests that despite decentralization strategies such as the land-use planning process (e.g., Land and Resource Management Plans) rolled out in the 1990s designed to ensure transparency and public participation in land-use decisions, along with advances in community forestry opportunities, communities continue to experience a limited voice in the decision-making processes and this heavily influences their fate.

This marginalization is further entrenched by property rights for access to forest lands, since the provincial government has jurisdiction over 95% of the forest land in BC. Access to timber harvesting is realized through a tenure system that was designed in the 1940s with the goal of achieving "sustained yield management" to ensure long-term timber supply and, in turn, sustainable communities. Despite a small number of community forest licences issued to date, allocation of forest licences has favoured large forest companies capable of capitalizing on economies of scale.

The dynamic economic conditions and processes shaping the rural landscape have received considerable scholarly attention, particularly through the lens of Harold Innis' (1970) staples theory, which is about the failure to capture linkages with respect to inputs into production and processing of raw materials, and which leads to a dependence on external market demands and primary production. In addition, analysis has focused on the effects of economic restructuring in terms of a shift from Fordist to post-Fordist production models, while giving attention to flexible labour or flexible specialization processes (e.g., Hayter 2000). Other scholars examine how the staples economy itself has shifted to a post-staples economy for some communities in rural Canada (e.g., Brownsey and Howlett 2008). Another approach to examining structural dimensions in rural BC is to look at this through the lens of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is a difficult concept to succinctly define and operationalize. I have taken the perspective of presenting it in terms of a widespread philosophical, economic, social and political strategy associated with

the internationalization of capital since the late 1970s (Harvey 2005). It offers the "promise of political emancipation through economic growth, increasing prosperity, and market mediated social relations" (Heynen et al. 2007, p. 6). In general it is premised on the guiding metaphor of a "self-regulating market" to produce the desired social outcomes (McCarthy 2005). In examining where and how neoliberalism manifests itself, the object of analysis often centers on the role the state and the market mechanism play in organizing and managing society to achieve those social outcomes. More recent approaches to neoliberalism have attempted to account for the variability and multiplicity of ways the relationship manifests in society. Where earlier conceptualizations of neoliberalism characterize it in rather broad sweeping terms, others have put forward ways of understanding it in relation to the varied and specific ways in which it permeates in society by describing it as "hybridizing" with existing institutions (McCarthy 2005) or as "neoliberalizations" (Larner 2003; Peck and Tickell 2002). McCarthy (2005, p. 997-98) cites Larner (2003, p. 509), who summarizes it well by encouraging us to remain attentive "to the *different variants* of neoliberalism, to the *hybrid nature* of contemporary policies and programmes, or to the *multiple and contradictory aspects* of neoliberal spaces, techniques, and subjects" [emphasis in original].

Young and Matthews (2007) and Young (2008) argue that there is evidence of a neoliberal experiment underway in rural British Columbia. Whereas BC had historically adopted a traditional Fordist and Keynesian approach to economic development in regards to its forestry sector, recent neoliberal strategies

are reforming this model (Young 2008). For Young (2008) neoliberalism is defined as "a policy strategy that aims to achieve specific political and economic goals through the partial transfer of authority and/or responsibility from the public sphere (where it is subject to collective political contestation) to private domains (be they corporate, group, and/or individual) (cf. Jessop 2002a, p. 454)" (p5). Current resource sector reforms[18] are said to be "liberating" corporate actors from traditional obligations to the environment, labour and communities (Young 2008). Communities experience the effect of neoliberalism reforms[19] as they are presented with policies that promote entrepreneurial forms of development whereby the State and industry play a significantly smaller role in fostering community sustainability. The reforms are intended to transfer decision-making authority from the public domain (e.g., provincial government ministries) to private domains (e.g., corporate or individual actors). Conceptualized as a "roll back" and "roll out" process of the role of the State (Peck and Tickell 2002), there is a rolling back of Keynesian-welfare institutions and a rolling out of "self-help"-type initiatives (e.g., funding resources) for local communities (Young 2008). This translates into a breaking of the social contract between government and communities, as the government is no longer responsible for its previous role of providing jobs and services for communities. On the other hand, while communities face increased responsibility to address their problems, this broken

---

[18] Young (2008) provides examples of resource sector reforms. They include the Forestry Revitalization Plan, Working Forest Initiative, Two-Zone land-use system, Forest and Range Practices Act.

[19] Examples given by Young (2008) include the Rural Development Initiative, Community Futures Development Corporation (Entrepreneurial Programs), and Northern Development Initiative.

social contract creates an opportunity to develop endogenous strategies to overcome challenges such as mill closures. Two approaches in particular are emphasized in the following discussion – namely Fordist and neoliberal.

The BC landscape has experienced environmental, political, economic and social change over the past 100+ years (Halseth 2005). What is evident is that certain changes are accelerating at a rate that exceeds that of the past (Halseth 2005). The 1950s marked the origins of the industrial growth model in BC with natural resources earmarked as the means to generate prosperity. Halseth (2005) cites Williston and Keller (1997) who stated that the post-WWII period marked the moment when policy was directly oriented at "building" the province. The government that arrived in 1952 under the lead of W.A.C. Bennett laid the foundation for resource exploitation, which included the development of large-scale hydroelectricity projects (e.g., W.A.C Bennett dam in Peace River in northern BC) to provide energy across the province. For Young and Matthew (2007), the Bennett government's strategy for rural development included three characteristics and exemplified what they refer to as a Fordist experiment in BC. The first characteristic was the overhaul of the forestry policy to establish long-term tenure agreements to attract large firms, which forms a foundational component for rural development and community sustainability in BC.

The tenure system in BC is complex yet very important to take into account for this discussion. Tenure is essentially a means for allocating rights to resources. The forest land of BC is 95 percent public or Crown land, which translates into the provincial government having responsibility for stewardship

and rent collection from the forestlands. Stewardship comes in the forms of legislation and policies that guide the management regimes for the forest areas. Rent is accumulated from each tree harvested through a stumpage system. This rent is collected from licence holders who lease the land through various licence agreements that range in both duration and responsibilities. While a range of licences is available in the tenure system, the most commonly issued licences were and are “area based” (e.g., Tree Farm Licence or TFL) and “volume-based” (e.g., Forest Licence or FL) which give the licencee exclusive rights to harvest timber (Clogg 2007). The “area-based” licence gives the licencee harvesting rights for a specific area of land. “Volume-based” licences give the right to harvest a specified volume of timber. These two licences total approximately 80% of all licences distributed. The original purpose of the tenure system was to provide employment and incorporate a sustained yield forest management (SYFM) regime for the Crown lands of BC (Clogg 2007).

The tenure system has significant implications for communities. For communities, “the tenure system introduced in the 1940s was designed, in part, to insulate forest based communities from the boom and bust cycles by introducing sustained yield forestry and encouraging investment by large "integrated" companies (i.e., companies controlling many phases of production, manufacturing and sales). The tenure system was based on a “philosophical framework that rested on a neat equation: sustained yield ensures community sustainability”” (Clogg 1999, p. 4). Overall, it was believed that large firms would be attracted to

longer-term agreements and would, in turn, commit to forest renewal and provide employment and income tax revenue for the province (Hayter 2000).

The second characteristic exemplifying a Fordist experiment in BC involved the large investments in infrastructure development across the province – namely transportation to benefit industrial development. The third and final characteristic included the province encouraging the dispersion of resource extraction by setting the conditions for corporations within tenure agreements. These conditions included an appurtenancy clause, which required timber to be processed in the region it which it was harvested. This meant industry was required to construct and maintain appurtenant mills. The huge capital investments from corporations needed to build the mills were thought to be justified as there was a guarantee of a continuous supply of wood (Clogg 1999). Another condition was utilization requirements that required industry to harvest a variety of species to provide fibre sources for other forestry activities such as pulp and paper production; minimum harvesting levels to ensure a steady supply of timber (and revenue); and the dispersion of labour across the province, which was achieved through community building efforts whereby major industry firms shared the investment load in building new communities or "instant towns."

While attracting large-scale companies and building infrastructure was crucial, the need to provide, accommodate and ensure a stable source of labour was equally important. Consequently, a proliferation of "instant towns" sprung up across the province (and country). The towns were and continue to be

characterized as heavily dependent economically on the extraction of natural resources for employment and associated revenues.

According to the Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development (2013) company towns historically populated the rural areas of BC where resource extraction occurred. The company that owned the adjacent mill or held mining rights to nearby mines controlled company towns. The idea was that when the resource was depleted or lost its market value, the operation and community were shut down. This translated into uncertain social and economic circumstances for people living in these communities. In 1965, the provincial government recognized the need to create more permanent communities, which included an approach to community development that fostered measures to achieve this objective. This included well-planned, self-governing communities with their own local governments that held authority over decisions pertaining to land use, property taxation and infrastructure development. Instant towns were in a better position to manage the social affairs of the community while industry and government focused on economic development based on resource extraction. This approach to communities linked to the industrial growth model was the norm until decades later when changes were made to the arrangement.

According to the Provincial and Territorial Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee (2005), boom/bust cycles and the potential for mill closures have always been a reality faced by town residents, provincial and federal governments and industry. What has changed, however, are the characteristics of town political structures and

corresponding expectations for community sustainability. Historically, resource-based communities were characterized as company towns and companies and government were directly involved in their development and maintenance. As a result, the mentality was that depending on resource availability factors or economic conditions surrounding resource extraction, company towns could become ghost towns. What has changed is that the company town model (e.g., Mackenzie, BC) was restructured into an independent rural municipality. The result is "creation of a greater sense of permanence in these places and the heightened expectation of workers, residents and leaders in finding a new future for their community when industry closes. No longer company towns, remote communities have much higher expectations of survival." (Provincial and Territorial Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee 2005, p. 27). As such, mill closures in BC are not only associated with the significant socio-economic causes and consequences described earlier, but also reveal an interesting tension between community viability expectations and the characteristics of the industrial growth model that originated in the 1950s. The commitment to the industrial growth model in the years to follow has further entrenched skepticism about the provincial government's willingness to reorient its commitment to match expectations of community residents.

According to Halseth (2005), successive governments since the 1950s in BC have reinforced the industrial resource development policy. For example, the 1972 New Democratic Party (NDP) government of Dave Barrett proposed radical

changes such as diversifying tenure to enable smaller firms access to timber resources, but the provincial treasury, unions and corporations quickly defeated the proposal (Wilson 1998). The 1975 conservative Social Credit government of Bill Bennett provided very little movement toward alternative strategies to the status quo. The 1991 NDP government headed by Mike Harcourt presented two potentially new policy directions. An important backdrop to note during this period is the "War in the Woods" in BC, in which the environmental movement successfully pressured industry and government via civil disobedience and international boycott campaigns to disrupt the way forestry was practiced in BC. The result has been the increase in political and economic uncertainty for the forest industry and government (Shaw 2004).

The first policy presented by the government was the Forest Practice Code, coupled with new resource planning processes (e.g., Land and Resource Management Plans). The policy outlined strict harvesting and management guidelines while the processes sought to identify lands for protection as well as development. However, these strategies have been criticized for ensuring continuous market access for industry as opposed to meaningful outcomes on the ground (Hayter 2003). The second policy implemented was a new stumpage rate calculation to address the mounting uncertainty surrounding timber supply and annual harvests. The uncertainty emerged after concerns arose that harvest rates were not sustainable in some regions of the province. The outcome of this policy was a variable stumpage rate whereby the government would lower rates in one region while raising the rates in other areas to compensate for the variability in

operating conditions (e.g., geographic variation, timber quality). For Halseth (2005), this second approach reinforces the status quo policy directive of ensuring a continuous supply of timber resources to feed the industrial growth model. In other words, "successive governments have used public policy in support of industrial capital (and to a degree organized labour) in order to maintain provincial tax revenue" (Halseth 2005, p. 331). In the end, successive governments since the 1950s have adjusted policy only enough to ensure that large resource companies remain competitive and export-oriented. This commitment to an industrial growth model in BC has not prevailed without criticism from various actors in society.

It is important to note that the industrial resource-dependent growth model for BC has also faced considerable criticism from various sources including environmental groups, academics and First Nations groups. Academics include Marchak et al. (1999) and Clapp (1998), who raise concerns over environmental issues such as claiming that harvest rates in BC are unsustainable while M'Gonigle and Parfitt (1994) and Luckert et al. (2011) argue for tenure reform to broaden access to timber resources (e.g., for community forests, value-added operations and First Nations groups). Marchak et al. (1999) argue that the reality of the tenure rationale has been a success in providing employment in the past, but has failed to achieve the "sustainable yield forest" objective. The old-growth forests continue to be liquidated as "planned" but the replacement of second growth forests has not occurred to the levels needed for economic or ecological sustainability. This is due to a lack of sufficient replanting and Annual Allowable

Cut (AAC) levels that have exceeded the long-term harvest levels over the previous 20 years. Associated with over-cutting is the "falldown effect" that is said to be a reality in BC's forest industry. The "falldown effect" is a decrease in available timber from over-harvesting and the replacement of old-growth forests with second growth stands comprised of smaller trees and lower volumes. It generally signals the beginning of resource exhaustion and a social crisis (Clapp 1998). However, while all of these criticisms are extremely important, broader systemic changes are currently underway that we must consider in order to understand the conditions shaping policies that affect communities in rural BC today.

The Liberal government in BC has undertaken neoliberal reform strategies, particularly since 2003, that have shaped public policy and in turn ensure that resource companies remain competitive and export-oriented. The policies also release industry from community obligations. As discussed earlier, strategies for community development within the broader objective of rural development in BC since the 1950s have consisted of the government designing policies such as the tenure system and, in particular, the appurtenancy clause. For Young and Matthews (2007), while this strategy has proved successful in ensuring relatively stable livelihoods and community viability in the past, the neoliberal era has meant significant changes for industry and communities. Policies that have affected industry include the provincial government's decisions to remove the appurtenancy clause, utilization requirements, and minimum annual harvest levels, and the creation of a market-based timber pricing system as

opposed to the previous stumpage system in which government set the price. This rationale is illustrated in an excerpt taken from BC's Forestry Revitalization Plan released in 2003. In particular, the emphasis on ensuring that government does not keep forest companies from making sound decisions based on economic or market demands justifies relinquishing past responsibilities to community sustainability:

> Timber processing rules were introduced in an attempt to create local or regional economic benefits from the timber that was logged. But these regulations led to a series of unintended consequences that hinder the forest sector's ability to make sound, business-based decisions. Overall, mandatory links between logging and processing impair the ability of licencees to make decisions based on economics or market demand…Forcing licencees to process wood at mills with equipment that is outdated, or at mills that make products that are not in demand, prevents valuable public timber from flowing to other, better uses…Some British Columbians view these policies as part of the social contract that forest companies should meet in exchange for the right to log public land. But while these policies may have made sense in a different time with different market conditions, they have not shielded today's communities from job loss and economic difficulties. In fact, they serve as a disincentive and impediment for the forest industry, and they undermine the viability and strength that industry needs to continue contributing to British Columbia's economy and standard of living (British Columbia 2003, p. 17).

This form of reason, couched in neoliberal ideology, is having a significant impact on policies that directly affect forest-dependent communities in rural BC. For example, removing the appurtenancy clause has significant consequences in that it means the resource companies and government are no longer directly involved in the development or maintenance of forest communities. With industry's role in contributing to community sustainability relinquished, government's role is one of providing more "self-help"-type funding programs for local entrepreneurialism, infrastructure development and transitional support for workers. Consequently, residents and municipal community leaders

are left with greater responsibility for ensuring the sustainability of their communities.

Structural conditions the people interact with during the second phase of the morphogenetic approach are summarized as follows: In BC, a globalized forest industry and a centralized political structure impose limits on people's ability to participate in decision-making processes that impact their livelihoods and communities. The responsibility of individuals in the community contexts to sustain economic activities has increased and declined for both industry and government actors. The tenure system limits access to alternative economic models beyond an industrial model that favours economies of scale and businesses with the necessary resources to operate.

Cultural Conditions

Empirical research with cultural analysis in forest-based communities or forestry in general in BC and the rest of Canada often focuses on identity. Studies include analysis of the relationship between culture and identity in terms of gender construction and how culture influences our perception of the world. For example, Reed (2003) explores the role culture plays in gender construction by examining the experiences of women living in forestry communities who have faced, first hand, the transformation and restructuring of the forest industry. Satterfield (2002) shows us how culture provides people with a sense of identity and an understanding of our natural world, which at times forms the basis of conflict in BC (i.e., how forests are exploited). Dunk's (1994) ethnographic research of forest workers in northwestern Ontario analyzes their relationship to

the environment, and their representation of environmentalists. He finds that forest workers' interpretations of the environment and environmentalists have less to do with narrow economic concerns and more with social divisions due to class and regional differences. With attention on the meaning-making processes of forestry workers' perspectives of environmental issues, this research reveals the way in which the process of their identity construction shapes their understanding of environmental issues. There are also studies of forest worker culture, such as analysis of forms of knowledge of workers and how this knowledge is acquired (e.g., common sense knowledge as a characteristic of worker culture) (Dunk 1991 and Satterfeld 2002). What is again evident in the literature that examines culture is that little work has been done regarding the interaction between culture, agency, and social structures.

Culture and identity are also explored from the perspective of being a barrier or catalysts for social transformation in rural Canada. For example, Bullock (2013) examines how holding a "conventional" community identity in a northern Ontario forestry town impedes social change whereas reframing identity can promote change. Bryant (2013), Young (2013) and Davis and Reed (2013) also examine how community residents can play an influential role in creating social change by reframing community identity. Included in Young's (2013) analytical approach is the role imagination plays in community identity responses to economic change. These studies help us understand how the process of reforming community identity can itself play an enabling or constraining role in

responding to crisis or change brought on by outside sources (e.g., globalization or mountain pine beetle).

Other studies examine the relationship between culture and collective action or contestation within communities. Lyon and Parkins (2013) examine how the cultural characteristics found within perceptions of the relationship between a community and mill influenced the degree that collective action played as a response to mill closures in two forest communities in BC. Smith and Krannich (2000) interviewed short- and long-term residents in the Rocky Mountains and examined how their social values and attitudes varied, given their competing perspectives about land use, economic and tourism development, and environmental issues.

In the end, while the agency-structure framework has dominated the analytical gaze in modern social theory, the important questions are those focused on the role that culture plays in this framework (if any) and how one analyzes the interaction between agency, structure, and culture. Just as the analytical inclusion of structures provides us with the material elements of social life, including culture is equally important because it represents the ideational realm of social life. Neglecting to include and tease out both culture and cultural actors and structures and social agents results in collapsing one into the other. As a result, important analytical insights are ignored or overlooked (Archer 1996).

Other research in single resource communities offers a number of useful analytical factors associated with the cultural dimension. For instance, Parkins and Angell (2011) sought to understand susceptibility to substance in the forest

community of Hinton, Alberta. They found that, among other factors, cultural entitlement led some workers and their families to develop certain expectations and perceived privileges. For Parkins and Angell (2011), a culture of entitlement refers to "people who expect certain things (i.e., services and benefits) instead of thinking of these things as a privilege, and it refers to a predominant philosophy of people who work within a large-scale industrial economy" (p. 49). Sumner (2007) criticizes corporate globalization for altering rural culture by, for example, giving way to lifestyles based on individualism, consumption and isolation. Instead of embracing their own cultural characteristics, people adopt lifestyles similar to those in urban-consumptive behaviour such as consuming various material objects (e.g., cars, boats, etc.) and experiences (e.g., holidays).

Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the structural and cultural conditions that are evident in the first stage of the morphogenetic cycle. As discussed in Chapter 3, the first stage of the cycle contains structures and cultural factors that exist prior to interaction and form the conditions from which social interaction occurs between agents and the pre-existing structures/culture. Structural conditions are created by prior distribution of resources, life chances, vested interests and bargaining power, which influence past mediation of agents. Cultural conditions are created by prior outcomes of contradictory or complementary relations between "parts" of the Cultural System and relationships between "people" in the Socio-Cultural level. Important during this stage are the internal and necessary relations between structural properties and cultural properties, which produce "distinctive

situational logics, which predispose agents towards *specific courses of action* for the promotion of their interests" (Archer 1995, p. 216). The primary objective of this first cycle is to identify the processes guiding action in a particular direction or the conditional influences (Archer 1995) which, for this study, entail what structural and cultural factors are constraining/enabling people's choice of action.

The literature that is available suggests that the structural conditions include asymmetrical power relations between people in the community, the forest companies who employ them, and the political system in BC. There is also evidence of constrained access to timber by local residents despite community forest initiatives and decentralizing land-use decision-making processes. In the end, people in forest communities have a limited political voice in influencing decisions about the economic conditions on which they depend for their livelihoods.

In terms of culture, there is limited research in this area in general and no specific research that examines cultural dimensions of the two community contexts in this dissertation. In addition, with research emphasizing the effects of economic restructuring and social relations surrounding the capitalist system in BC, there is a gap in the literature that seeks to understand how social structure intersects with agency *and* cultural dimensions and how this in turn may be constraining/enabling individuals' responses to crisis in their given community setting.

With an understanding of the structural and cultural conditions evident for people living in communities linked to the forest sector, we now turn our analysis

more specifically to the mediatory process of reflexivity to examine the social interaction between agency, structure and culture in the two focal communities. In chapter 5 and 6, I examine responses through people's reflexive process to provide insight into why there are differences in responses. This analysis includes identifying and examining conditional factors constraining and/or enabling people's chosen courses of action.

Chapter 5: Individual Response to Crisis

"There are people, there are lives, there are homes and all of these things and it's not just about industry, it's not just about the economy but it's all the other things that come into play and it's been interesting to sit back and watch." [Mackenzie #5]

"But I think a lot of us are just here because we want to be here and we'll all do what we need to do to remain. Just be resourceful. Not everyone will be successful at that." [McBride #21]

In this chapter I examine the variation in individually oriented responses of participants and the factors constraining and/or enabling (i.e., the structural and cultural emergent properties) their chosen courses of action. Identifying constraining/enabling factors is useful for evaluating the variation in responses in terms of the sorts of social interaction that individuals confront as they move through crisis. Findings from examining the social interaction will also provide insight into the dynamic process of social change within the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride. Analytical attention is given to individually oriented responses, which means responses that reflect a course of action oriented towards each individual and/or his/her immediate family. Based on analysis of the mediatory process of reflexivity (see Table 2 for summary modes of reflexivity), I will examine the interaction between agency, social structure and culture as illustrated in the second cycle of the morphogenetic approach. This specifically entails identifying and examining the structural and cultural emergent causal properties in the social interaction between agency, structure and culture located within people's interview narratives.

Table 2: Modes of Reflexivity

Modes of Reflexivity	
Communicative reflexive:	Those whose internal conversations require completion and confirmation by others before resulting in courses of action.
Autonomous reflexive:	Those who sustain self-contained internal conversations leading directly to action.
Meta-reflexives:	Those who are critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and critical about effective action in society.
Fractured reflexives:	Those whose internal conversations intensify their distress and disorientation rather than leading to purposeful courses of action.

(Archer 2007, p. 93)

The chapter begins by examining common responses of participants in the research with particular attention to what modes of reflexivity are evident. Preliminary analysis revealed that responses were similar in both community settings so the chapter is organized around the responses as opposed to individual community settings. The same rationale and format are applied to the remaining section of the chapter where modes of reflexivity and structural and cultural factors are examined to understand the factors constraining/enabling participants' courses of action.

Individually-oriented Responses to Crisis

Faced with a range of impacts discussed in Chapter 1 and the threat of community decline due to the string of mill closures, the crisis forced individuals to undergo a reflexive process to decide on a course of action. Before the reflexive process can begin, people often experience a reaction to the crisis, as this marks a stage that occurs before people conduct the internal conversations needed to choose a course of action.

Reactions

For many people, there was an initial stage of shock and disbelief that the mills were closing, especially the rate at which the closures unfolded. This shock was also related to people's realizations that the lifestyles they were leading were not going to last forever:

> It was total shock. There was no forewarning, nothing. My husband went to work and he called me. He went back for his shift and it was just before Christmas, which is normally a very busy time for logging here, and we were done. Just like that. Within three days of him being up there, the Abitibi had shut everything down. There was no warning. There was no nothing. Merry Christmas. [Mackenzie #20]

> With all the mill closures, you know, because it didn't all happen overnight. They all happened in – I can't remember, but they all staggered. So it was like, "Oh another one?" And, "Oh my God, did you hear," you know you'd come into work in the morning and say, "Did you hear the news?" "What?" "Well Canfor said that they're closing." "Oh God." "Did you hear the news? Abitibi site's down." And, "Did you hear the news today?" "Yes, they're shutting down." "What?" You know, so we just were sitting here like, "Holy crap," you know. [Mackenzie #10]

> Everybody had everything, everybody maxed out, everybody [had] all their toys and never worried too much where the next paycheque was coming from because it was down the road here it was going to happen. All of the sudden they did not have that. Everybody just felt this was going to be here forever for them. [Mackenzie #1]

> Lots of times I think they [some of the younger people] were never faced with something like this…some of the younger people and all of a sudden this was something totally, totally new. [Mackenzie #5]

Others expected to work at the mill until the day they retired so news of the closure left them shocked.

> At first I didn't know how to take it because I didn't think it was going to last. Once we…there was probably a dozen of us that stayed working for…on and off throughout the year…the first year anyway. But I saw my neighbours losing their houses, I saw my friends leaving town. So it was hard. That part of it was hard. I mean, you figure you're going to

> work with these guys for the next 20 years until you retire and then, all of a sudden, they're all leaving town. [Mackenzie #15]

The following account, albeit lengthy, provides a good example of the process this particular person went through while learning that his/her job was suddenly gone:

> Basically, like I said, 48 hours we came back and we heard the paper mill is shutting down. "What do you mean the paper mill is shutting down?" He said, "Well we just heard the paper mill is shutting down." I said, "But what about us? We've got to keep running. What are we doing with our chips?" because they were taking our chips all the time. Basically they said, "Nothing with us right now, everything's fine." Then my wife phones me up within a couple of hours after that and said, "Did you know that you guys are shutting down and the paper mill is shutting down?" She found out before I did and I said, "What are you talking about?" She said, "It sounds like you're shutting the whole operation. Abitibi is shutting it down. They're going bankrupt."
>
> Then, not more than an hour after that, they had a staff meeting for all of us. They brought us into the lunch room and just said, "We want to let you know, the complications within the company, basically I just had orders a little while ago that this company will be shut down and everybody will be off the premises within an hour or two hours, to grab the materials" and we were all basically shocked. "What do you mean? Empty your lockers and get the fuck out? Is that what you're saying?" "That's what we're trying to say" and basically by tomorrow, in 24 hours, the roads will be blocked off so we suggest you take everything out. We knew then that we were one of the [first closures] within the province and then we started hearing of these other mill closures. [Mackenzie #16]

The following excerpts also capture the disbelief at the number and rate of mill closures:

> It was really something that was really quite surreal...And then it was just, with the economy throughout the world, because we're a single industry town, we were hit very, very hard and I always remember driving out to Canfor just after the announcements and there were no vehicles on the road anywhere, coming or going. I was the only vehicle and when I drove out into the industrial site, which is always a hub of activity, it was like somebody pulled a switch and we stopped. It was eerie, actually. I got out of my vehicle and I was taking a photo. There was no one around. There was no sound and there was nothing. It was like a movie where you see the aliens come and get you and take you

> someplace else and I'll never forget that. That was just unbelievable, really, truthfully. [Mackenzie #5]

> Really when I look back on it – and I've thought about this long and hard in February 2008 – I should have closed doors and said that's it, done, goodbye, because it only got worse from that point forward. And you keep thinking that it's only one operation that went down. We'll be able to survive. Then the next one went down. And then the next one went down. Well there you are saying, holy god, what's happening? Is it ever going to come back? But by then it was kind of too late. [Mackenzie #4]

The disbelief that their mill closed was linked to indicators of investment in the mill structures, recent investments that had been made to upgrade production systems:

> It came [as] more of a shock. I couldn't see that the mills with the millions and millions of dollars invested in those things, that they would just shut them all down. I thought they would do something to try to generate some income out of them. I never dreamt they'd shut them down completely like that. [Mackenzie #21a]

Along with shock and disbelief was a sense of uncertainty as to how long the crisis would last. For this participant, the crisis was realized in terms of loss in business revenues due to lower consumer demand:

> I had no idea where it was going to end. Before, when all the mills were open, everything was great in town. The rooms were all rented and you're making lots of money and it's great. Then one mill shut down and then it kind of snowballed. Everyone was supplying chips for the other one and the other one didn't get trim blocks and it just kind of snowballed after a while and everything ended up shutting down. Then there were no loggers in town, no logging truck drivers; there was no jobs really at all. Our occupancy went from just about full down to just about 25% occupied. You're losing so much money every month. [Mackenzie #21]

The following individual also speaks about the consequences of feeling betrayed, and that one of those consequences was an inability to trust future employers. Here we also see that for some, upgrading work skills became a priority, so they

could empower themselves and thus avoid depending on the uncertainty of corporate ownership:

> Well years ago, you get a job at a pulp mill. Then you figure you can retire in that mill. That's not the case anymore, so you just don't know what to expect. Even with the company like Sinar Mas or Paper Excellence, you don't know are they going to hang around? You've always got that doubt now. You've been burned so you always…in the back of your mind you're thinking and a lot of guys I know out there are thinking the same thing, am I going to get my steam tickets or a trade or something. [Mackenzie #15]

However, while many individuals found themselves unemployed and dealing with the corresponding psychological and financial impacts, the following individual expressed a sense of guilt for remaining employed during the crisis:

> I think for me, there was almost a sense of guilt because we all shop at the same grocery store. You all go to the same post office and I think for me personally, it was just hard because I still had a job. And I knew that I didn't have to worry about my security, my job security was fine…So it was hard because I felt very sorry for a lot of the families that were completely uprooted...You almost feel guilty walking in the grocery store and buying what you need, knowing that you have an ability to do that. So that was really hard. [Mackenzie #6]

> Because of my position, I made it through fine. And the kids are gone through university, so I made sure that happened -- or were already in university when this happened. From a personal point of view, it didn't -- I keep using [the word] insulated. I guess I was insulated from a lot of what happened because of the management level I was at. So I was one of the fortunate ones. And some days [I] felt a little bit bad that I was working and some people weren't. But [I] also put in the time and effort to get to the position I'm in. Sometimes you deserve the benefits of that too. [Mackenzie #17]

The experience of losing a job and the threat of losing a community leaves people feeling shock, disbelief, uncertainty and, for some, guilt during uncertain times. Interestingly, a number of people I spoke with during interviews and while doing fieldwork likened their reactions to a grieving process. While analyzing people's experiences from this perspective would produce interesting information, the

primary focus of the following discussion is the way in which people interacted with social structures and cultural factors as they deliberated over how to move forward.

Responses

There were a number of responses to the crisis as listed in Figure 8 below. An important point to note is that responses varied over time and are expected to continue after the time period of this study. As such, and because of the study's design constraints, what is not included in this analysis is the full processual aspect in terms of the specific timing of the responses. The following discussion is presented within this research design limitation. For instance, the following individual explains how the community setting of McBride is far from recovering from the recent crisis:

> You've got to remember, we're still not even close to being out of recovery. I mean, a lot of people see these little blips right now, but if you look at the U.S. down there, or if you've travelled down there – I haven't travelled down there, but I've talked to a lot of people – I mean, you go down there and they're much worse off than we are. But you've got to remember, the worst part of the industry that's hitting Canada is the forest industry. It's going to be the last one to recover…So what happens is these areas that are higher risk, higher costs, they're going to be the last one to get the recovery, and it's going to take some time. It's not fair to let's say bitch at the Village and the Community Forest. I think they're probably working on stuff as hard as they know how to do stuff. They're not getting anywhere, I mean, you know, they've not really been able to accomplish anything that anybody can see. [McBride #16]

Given the temporal context of the crisis within the Mackenzie and McBride community settings, the following discussion attempts to capture the general and, where possible, specific forms of response in the community setting. For those whose work was directly linked to the mills, there was a period of shock

and anger over the loss of their livelihoods. For many, the response was to leave the community in search of employment; this is evident from the declining population figures (presented in Chapter 2). For those who chose to remain in the community, a common response was to wait for the mill to restart. Other responses included choosing courses of action to retrain or develop existing skills, pursue other economic activities, manage finances; or sending a man from the household to work outside the community. With a better understanding of the continuum of responses that participants of this study chose to pursue, analysis now turns to understanding the factors constraining/enabling these chosen courses of action.

Table 3: Summary of Impacts and Responses to Mill Closures

Event	Impacts	Responses
• Mill closure(s)	• Job loss • Decline in real estate value • Loss or decline in personal savings/assests • Health impacts e.g., drug and alcohol use and depression. • Strain on personal relationships e.g., family and marriages. • Family structure dismantled • Decline in community services e.g., health, education and retail • School closures • Decline in population	• Psychological reaction: shock, disbelief and uncertainty • Move away • Remain in community • Retrain/skills development • Political activism eg., rally in Mackenzie • Preserve pulp mill in Mackenzie • Personal retreat e.g., alcohol and drug use • Male finds work outside community • Explore community development options • Sustain well being of people through crisis

Socio-cultural Interaction in the Reflexive Process

The following discussion examines structural and cultural factors to help answer the research question of *whether people have the capacity needed to move forward after facing a threat of decline/collapse of their community and what is constraining/enabling their chosen course(s) of action*. Field research focused on those people who chose to stay in the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride. That group included people who had worked directly in the resource sector (i.e., forestry) or were in the service sector (e.g., education and retail). As the shock and disbelief wore off over time, many people were faced with deciding whether to remain in the community and face the given challenges or uproot in search of employment opportunities elsewhere. Responses by those choosing to remain in the community included waiting for the mills to reopen,; sustaining the social fabric of the community; exploring and/or creating work where possible; upgrading skills or retraining for existing or new professions; and for many, the male (father/husband) in the family commuting from or leaving the community to work for extended periods of time in other sectors in other regions of BC or Alberta (e.g., oil and gas). Whereas the structural emergent property of roles proved most prevalent in responses, they were linked to social structures that included community and family, economy, education and gender. The following discussion explores these factors and in particular highlights the structural (e.g., roles) and cultural (e.g., attitudes) emergent properties that individuals interacted with while choosing a course of action.

Social Structural Factors Enabling/Constraining Responses

The discussion of constraining/enabling factors begins by examining social structures evident in people's reflexive processes as they deliberate over a course of action. For Archer (1995), the social structures are formed prior to the crisis in the first stage of the morphogenetic cycle (see Chapter 3 for discussion of T1- Stage 1 of the morphogenetic cycle). The forestry crisis forced people to interact with preexisting structures as they underwent a reflexive process to determine their course of action or response. Given the situation individuals found themselves in, a number of constraining/enabling factors (often perceived in combination) influenced their courses of action. These factors, which are discussed below, are either activated or not and constrain and/or enable people's chosen course of action. In addition to examining these factors, this section also examines responses to the dominant mode of reflexivity in hopes of gaining additional insight and understanding of the variation in responses and the possibility of change in the community settings.

Community and Family

A common enabling factor for some people who chose to remain in the community and move through uncertain times was a commitment to the social networks and relationships they had established in the community. Beyond proclaiming the various benefits of living in Mackenzie and McBride (e.g., clean air and drinking water, low crime, no traffic problems, and the fact that they are great places to raise children), the majority of participants spoke passionately

about their strong relationships with family and friends in the community and the community itself.

Commitments to family and to the broader community reveal how each of these structures are activated by those who perceive them as enabling factors. The structures are seen as enabling factors because participants feel committed to staying and remaining as a resident in the community despite being faced with economic hardship. The following individuals activated the SEP of their role in the family and community structures while their situation was being mediated:

> I talked to my wife and she talked to her sister. We were talking about moving back east. My wife owns some land back there, but my two kids are here and I don't think they would want to go. I said that I was going to retire at 60 and I am 56 now and these two years of not making the money I was making [means that] now I have to retire at 62 maybe instead of 59, so I have to work a few extra years but I am willing to [do] that. I gotta do it. But I think I thought about it for about a month and I decided against it. I like the community; I like the people here and know just about everybody. [Mackenzie #13]

> We just came to the decision that we could make it work, we knew we could make it work, but there was going to be struggle but we could make it work. I was new to the community, but I got tons of family here. I used to come here when I was a kid and visit all the time so it wasn't that new to me, but as a member of the community I was new. X, he has been here…we had employees leave. We got a little bit of a responsibility there too, to try to keep them busy. [McBride #8b]

> Well, as I mentioned earlier, I still had work here and I really had roots planted here. My husband and I really wanted to stay and I was very fortunate to have that work, that we didn't have to go through all the permutations of, what if we do this, what if we do that, and actually decide to stay or go. Because we were going to be together, whether we were going to be here or somewhere else, we were not going to split up to commute back and forth. We decided that; we didn't get married to live apart. So, we didn't want to leave and we didn't have to. [McBride #5]

> No, certainly not. Maybe if I were twenty I would consider it, probably not just because I like it here. I have a house here. I have a farm here. I now have parents here with a farm here. We have that station, we have

> this, even if I sold it I don't believe I would leave. My daughter lives here. [McBride #9]

> A lot of people yeah, especially the young people seem to think that, there's a few around here that aren't like that and they have decided this is where they want to live and they're going to make a living here somehow, but a lot of come out of the school saying they need a job, there's no job here, we've got to go where there's a job and say oh I sure miss the mountains and the community but there's no work there. Then there's others, most of them are self-employed, they say, "this is where I want to live, how do I make a living here?" – [that] kind of thing -- and I don't know what the difference is between those two people. Maybe it's upbringing, maybe it's just general nature, I don't know. Not everybody [who] wants to live here has figured out a way to make a living but some of them have and they have stayed. [McBride #10]

Conversing with others led the above communicative reflexives to choose to stay in their communities and find ways to survive. The following two participants, because of their connection to family and community, leaned into autonomous modes of reflexivity, individually choosing to remain in the community and find ways of surviving:

> Yeah, but like you said, the going get tough, the tough get going and some leave and some just tighten up their belts and you do what you've got to do. You plant gardens, you hunt, you fish, you freeze, you can, you do whatever. Like for me to leave is for me, it wasn't an option. I owned my own house. It was a family house that I had bought from my mom. It was the only home my family had ever owned but my mom is in long-term care in the hospital. My kids were born and raised here. At that point I still had grandkids here, kind of thing. This was home and I have four generations here and so that wasn't a consideration for me because I was luckier than some. I owned my own house outright. It was paid for. So I didn't have that hanging over my head. If I had had to make payments I don't know what I would have done. I wouldn't have had the luxury of being able to say, "I want to stay here." [McBride #19]

> It was a decision that I was willing to make at the time because I have nobody at home. I don't have a woman in my life that needs attention or expenditures to keep her going in the style that she needs to be in or whatever. So my personal cost of living is nothing. One of the main reasons [for staying], of course, is I have a daughter here. And I don't see her moving away. She's very happy here and got a good job herself. And her husband's now got a good job. And their friends are here. I don't see them moving. So as long as they're here, I'm here. I decided over the

> course of last year or so that I'm going to reinvest in my own home and upgrades and so forth, because I plan to stay. I'm a lifer. I love the community. [Mackenzie #4]

The strong social network and connection to other community members played an important enabling factor for the participants quoted above. As most interviewed here employed what appears to be a communicative mode of reflexivity, they activated the SEP of their roles as members of the community setting. Not everyone has decided on his/her final course of action, as evident in the comments by the following communicative reflexives, but their connections to the community remain a powerful enabler:

> And I think it goes back to that question that you asked, too—why is it like that? Why does it feel like that with such a young town, that close-knit, that people [are] wanting to engage and do things. I think it has something to do with that. But there is something about this place—it's not an easy place to leave. Myself included. Like, I mean, we've had a few times where we've thought about leaving but we still haven't left. I think it's the people…It was hard not to, because like I said, emotionally, psychologically, like you just see everyone's gone. Stores are closing and businesses and it's sort of like, you know, activities for the kids and you're sort of like well, what are we doing here? Why are we still here?

> But I just think it goes down to the quality of life. It's still maybe not as great as what we had at one point here. But you still come back to the fact that my neighbours are still there. My kids are still able to get probably the most attentive swimming lessons that they will probably get anywhere or speed skating lessons or cross-country ski lessons or whatever the case, because the way everything works here, it's just very geared for young families and it's not overcrowded. Nothing's overcrowded. There's enough people to help out with those things. [Mackenzie #6]

> [I] did a whole lot of second guessing: what the hell am I doing buying a business in a dying town, you know? That has crossed my mind more than once and it is scary out there. What do you do? But you've got to do something. Sitting down and crying about it isn't going to make it a damn [bit] better, you just sort of carry on hop[ing] that the decisions that you make today are going to be the right ones tomorrow. It is scary. You sit there and you look at all of the empty doors on Main Street and all of the houses for sale and it's like, what do they know that we don't? And then you see all of these people come out of the town and what do they

> know that we haven't figured out yet? But I have been here since I was eleven years old. This is home. This is where my roots are and this is – you know, I've got a mom that is long-term care. I will be here because one of the last things I said to my dad was I will look after Mom and I am here...The roots are here and, like I said, my support system is here. [McBride #19]

The following communicative reflexive explains how he/she chose to remain in the community because there's a social network of friends here and the forest industry was collapsing, which limited options for relocating:

> This was where our friends were and everything. I mean, you moved to a spot. Well, where are you going to move to? You're in the forest industry and the whole thing is collapsing. You're better just to stay where you are at here and deal with it as best you can, so that's what we did. It's taken some pretty terrific hits on like … you know, I am able to get by stuff, but my wife, she has a drinking problem now, and a lot of it comes back to what took place. That's her way of kind of hiding from what's happening. I don't quite do it that way, but when the mill first [closed] down there were just all kinds of rumours and people would say we didn't do this right, that's why [it] went under. They didn't have any idea what was taking place. They just all knew they lost their jobs and they had never had that happen before. About a year after we went down, everybody else started collapsing and stuff and they kind of started to understand, but it was pretty tough to start with. You just plain had to go out and keep your head up and knew that you were doing the best you could and there was nothing else you could do. People that really knew you and stuff, your friends, they knew pretty much what was happening and they understood, and the others, well, to me, the others I don't really care about. [McBride #16]

Another response involved choosing to send the father/husband out of the community for employment opportunities in other resource sector activities (e.g., oil and gas). This meant the male would commute, rent elsewhere, or live in work camps for periods of time. This altered the family structure, leaving women with greater responsibility for managing households and raising children on their own, which strained marriages and relationships with the children. The following communicative reflexive participant and her husband chose to pursue this course

of action because they saw it as a solution to keep the family in the community and survive economically for the time being:

> My husband has just recently…moved to Prince George in July…he was offered a good job down there with a XX firm, and of course I refused to move to Prince George…so we're doing the commute thing now: you know, he comes home on the weekends and leaves Monday morning and comes home Friday night, and it's not a huge burden for me because my children are XX and XX years old, and they're both away working…It does add a different dynamic to a relationship, but you just decide…you know we're just going to make it work, and I think that's the attitude that a lot of people had when their husbands were away working. This is the situation we're going to be in and we're just going to make it work however we have to for the time being. [Mackenzie #12]

The following communicative reflexive considered the option of moving but chose to remain in the community at this time:

> I thought about definitely going up the Tumbler, but then you've got that commuting and then you have to rent a place up there. A person's got to do what you've got to do if it gets to that point where you can't pay the bills anymore, then you've got to do something. I always keep that in the back of my mind. I never think it's never going to happen to me because you don't know. [Mackenzie #18]

An ability to sustain themselves and their families through the crisis, and remain in the community, appears to be linked to the social networks people have in the communities. The communicative mode of reflexivity is evident in the majority of the previous responses, suggesting people activate the SEP of roles in the mediatory process where individuals converse with others (e.g., partner/spouse) during internal conversations that lead to choosing a course of action (e.g., male/husband leaves in search of employment elsewhere).

Economy

An important structural factor that can be perceived as both constraining and enabling is people's interaction with economic conditions in their reflexive mediatory processes. This includes people's experiences with other income sources, financial planning, and declining housing values. An important economic factor in the forest communities involved in this study was the decline in real estate values. For many people, their home was a primary asset and integral part of their retirement strategy. Walking away from a home was not an option and its causal powers were activated to constrain the possibility of relocating elsewhere. Owning a home also enabled people to stay in the community since people expressed a strong commitment to remaining in the community despite the challenges faced:

> So we had a lot of families at the school level who were single-parent families basically, because dad's left town. And a lot of people weren't prepared to move their whole family. Or even if they did want to move their whole family, they found out that when they got some place else that they couldn't afford to move some place else, because there's really not very many places in B.C. or Northern Alberta where people were moving to for work that has any kind of good housing prices like we have. I mean that's even before right now, which is like rock bottom, but before that, even in say the $150,000 range, you step outside the community you're talking $250,000. So if they did have a chance to sell their houses, and a few did sell at the beginning, they couldn't buy anything else. So even if they planned to move they couldn't move. You know, maybe they went and rented for a while, [but] a lot of them came back. [Mackenzie #9]

The following autonomous reflexive person chose to stay in the community despite facing financial loss in doing so:

> I thought about leaving for a while but I like it here and this is my home. I just wanted to hang in for the long haul and that's what I was going to

> do. I lost a lot of money on my house and everything else but I didn't give my house away. I couldn't really give it away. [Mackenzie #16]

The following communicative reflexive participants also illustrate the role assets played in both constraining and enabling their chosen course of action to stay in the community and find ways to survive economically:

> It doesn't really make sense to move. My wife said she wouldn't stay here by herself. She said that if I move she's coming with me and we'd have to board up the place and go. It didn't make any sense. You're not going to sell it. You could sell it, but you're going to have to sell it dirt cheap. A lot of people had to do that in town. They didn't have a choice. They had bills to pay and they have kids to bring up and they just couldn't afford not to move and sell their house dirt-cheap. We had contemplated moving the family but like I said earlier, now that you've had financial problems, your credit goes bad. You're never gonna buy another house. So the decision was there. We keep the family here and I go away to work. Or do we uproot, walk away from the house and never own a house again. And pay $1,800 a month or whatever for rent and never have nothing going into anything. Well, we made a decision as a family and ourselves to keep XX and the kids here and I went outside for work. [Mackenzie #24]

> I just said, like, at this stage of the game when we're getting ready for retirement, I'm not going to sell my home and get nothing for it. So we figured we had enough roots here that we wanted to—plus we were still paying in on it, so we still had a mortgage. Anywhere else in the province, it's just insane. We thought about Kamloops and I thought about going down there, but I felt like if we sell our house at a loss, I mean, we're going to get less for what our house is worth and then to have to go there and pay like four times what we would get for our house at least—we never really even went there hardly at all. We thought about it and once we realized, you know, like the cost and everything, I just said no, it's ridiculous. [Mackenzie #3]

The communicative reflexive participants quoted above show signs of a cost/benefit form of decision-making that resulted in their deciding to stay in the community. Again, we see an internal conversation that entails understanding their circumstances and choosing a course of action based, in this case, on economic factors

Other responses included accessing employment insurance before successfully finding work within the community. People also saw the need to plan, financially, for the future, given the boom/bust cycle in the forest economy. The following individual alludes to others who show signs of communicative and/or autonomous reflexive modes as they choose to live paycheque to paycheque and are reminded of the need to plan for the future:

> It's the feast and famine thing, almost like being on welfare. They get their cheque. They spend it all and then they scrimp until the next one, and then they do it again. Here it's like that...but with the forestry cycles. While you're working you spend, spend, spend. You party, you vacation, you do everything. Break-up comes, you go down, you get laid off for awhile. It's okay. You just sort of curb and cut back during that period. But there's always that foresight that's going to come up again. And then you go right back into the cycle. And we see it -- I see it here with a lot of people. [McBride #2a]

Linked to financial planning, the following communicative reflexive individual recognized the need to diversify income streams due to the cyclical boom/bust nature of the region's economy:

> We also realized that we had to diversify our income streams if we could. It has been – I would say that we've – the diversification that I did under my business which was a forest management company but really, again, we did everything from trails to watershed restoration to environmental monitoring, so I had a diversified income stream there but a lot of that has disappeared too...So there aren't a lot of pressures there and we have had some very good years and of course we haven't spent it all. We have been able to save so that we can ride out these – or at least this low period has been now, pretty much, I guess, going on two years. So we are not forced to leave the valley and go find work somewhere. I think a lot of people are in that situation and, the other thing too that probably sets us apart from many people that live here is, we have put roots down here and we are not going anywhere. We are here. This valley has ridden out lows and highs. It has always been a very cyclical boom-and-bust economy, I think. The forest industry as a whole, I think, even in this province and of course it is largely a result of, I think, how it has been managed, if we want to get philosophical about it. I think our forest industry didn't diversify when they had opportunities and they were pretty much just cranking out dimensional lumber which is highly reliant

> on the housing market and of course highs and lows, [so] that is what you are going to see. [McBride #7]

The term "diversifying incomes" was more often heard in conversations with participants in McBride than in Mackenzie. One potential reason is that McBride already had a more diverse economy with other activities (e.g., tourism, agriculture) that may have been able to absorb employed people in the past. Another reason has to do with the size of the community: people are required to play different roles in the community to ensure, for example, that health and social services needs are met. The following participant summarizes a characteristic of the McBride community setting that was not as apparent in the Mackenzie setting:

> Most people have more than one thing on the go. They might only be working on one thing right now, but when that shuts down, they'll go carpentry for awhile. Then they'll log for awhile. They might farm for awhile. They might do -- they got their basic knowledge enough to be able to diversify in their employment in order to keep bread on the table one way or another. Now there's lots and lots of it. Even if they're a mill worker or a logger, they probably can do more than one job in those specific fields. [McBride #4]

The following individual shows signs of a meta-reflexive process whereby he/she chose to pursue a number of community development activities. Included in these activities are actions designed to challenge the existing economic model in the broader Robson Valley:

> So I guess my response to all the downturn has been twofold. One was to get involved with the Dunster Community Forest because it's trying to do what the McBride Community Forest originally did, but on a smaller scale. Or what the McBride Community Forest was originally supposed to do. They have sort of the same vision…with community-operated forests that produces products for the good of the community, not necessarily profit for the village. Whether or not it succeeds is still to be seen because it's trying to start up in hard times, too. But it's still operating on a community mandate instead of being a corporation in the

> Village of McBride kinda thing. The other thing I've done is become involved in a co-op -- it's called the Three Valleys Development Co-op -- and specifically an offshoot of that which is called the Robson Valley Growers, which is a cooperative group to sell organic vegetables to Jasper mostly, but also within the valley. So two sort of co-ops banding together to see what we can do locally. It's…attracting tourists or other businesses in. We'll see what we can do locally to diversify and create a stronger economy here. [McBride #10]

Pursuing community economic activities that counter or challenge the traditional industrial forestry model was important to this individual, who appears to have taken time during the reflexive process to critically assess ideals and options for achieving those ideals.

Education

Education and/or skill level played a key role in constraining/enabling a chosen course of action. The following comment comes from an autonomous reflexive individual whose experience highlighted the benefit of having a diversified skill set:

> So this hydro company offered me this job and it has been really good. I mean basically I make sure things run. I can do my own hours as long as the plants are running and the maintenance is done on it and it works out very well for trying to keep the farm going somewhat. So it is a good thing I went to school and had a little bit of a trade…I was going to have to go to Alberta and look for a job somewhere. I mean we wouldn't have moved because I had a brand new home here basically. We built this. Which I mean I could always find work having experience like that and training but it's a great lesson to come home to your family every night, I can tell you that. [McBride #22]

Others, such as the following communicative reflexive participant, felt a sense of being constrained in terms of skills, which forced him/her to remain in the community:

> It was just survival. That's all it was, you know. Right at that time, it would been easy to pack'er in. But I don't know anything else. To do anything else, I would have had to leave here. We finally decided, my wife and I, that this is where—we were gonna stay here. That's all. This is what we had to do. But then she works at the school, so she had a job and it's not a great job, but it's got a pension and all that stuff. So she wanted to make sure that she finished that up. Whether we'll leave here when we both sort of retire, I don't know. I can't see it.…If you've ever talked—you probably did in Mackenzie—you get to be an economic captive, you know? I'm sure Mackenzie felt that way. You can't sell what you have, or you can't get enough to go anywhere else…we feel that way a lot. Like the house that we've lived in for pretty much more than 30 years now, hasn't appreciated enough to cover our mortgage. And yet it's paid for. But if we took that now and went somewhere else, it doesn't amount to a hill of beans. We could go somewhere and rent and live. I'm sure we could retire. But as far as going and living somewhere else on a nice house and a lot and everything, we're kinda stuck. I think that that's the bottom line for a whole bunch of people. Especially in small towns and I bet you in Mackenzie, it was really bad because all of a sudden they probably couldn't even sell. There was nothing to do with that. [McBride #12]

Opportunities to retrain to diversify skills and/or work in other sectors enabled the following communicative reflexive individual to realize his/her chosen course of action:

> When I got over the initial shock, my wife and I sat down and wondered what we're going to do. My wife works for the welfare office so she was getting part-time work. She's only part time with the welfare office. Basically we just made our payments. We talked to the bank and just made minimum payments to continue on with everything else like our mortgage and stuff like that. I went on EI and I took advantage of what the government offered us and I went and got educated and got my Class 1 licence driving [a] truck. A lot of other people did the same and there were other opportunities where people can drive equipment so it was good that the government helped us in that. That was huge. That was huge. So I just told the wife, if I have to go find work elsewhere, I will, like a lot of other guys did. Other guys went to the mines. They went to Willow Creek Mine and went to Tumbler Ridge as well. They commuted back and forth. They did their six days in and six days out. For myself, what I did, I got my Class 1 licence and then I applied to the highways and the highways hired me ploughing snow. So I'd been ploughing snow all winter. [Mackenzie #16]

This individual recognized the need to upgrade skills, which in turn resulted in securing employment in another sector. Taking the time to understand his

economic circumstances and options available helped lead him to decide that upgrading skills enabled him to remain in the community and move through the uncertainty of whether the mills would reopen. On the other hand, having a limited set of skills can constrain people's choices of action. The following excerpt provides a sense of the response of people with limited levels of education/skills. It does not offer a clear indication of the mode reflexivity but it is safe to suggest that we would find communicative and/or autonomous modes here as well:

> Well, it was sort of a divided thing. Because some people were those people I was talking about who couldn't face it and didn't -- and really for them there is no other option. Their whole life was that mill. And they just -- there's no possibility of them making anywhere near the income. They've got a 10th grade education. They worked at the mill for 30 years. They've got two years left on their mortgage and they've got two kids in university. And so, no, those kids are not going to be going to university because they can't afford it anymore. Unless they can get loans and manage it themselves. And those people are going to have to find a buyer for their house and move, because they can't service the payments on it. [McBride #1]

The following participants represent an autonomous reflexive process: they recognized their circumstances and chose action that attempted to mitigate the crisis impacts so that they could move through these uncertain times:

> [Since] last year and the year before, I've been taking a lot of courses. I went back to school to upgrade myself in some forestry courses and that, so it's opened up a lot of doors for me, like for fire fighting and that. They pay big money for that. [McBride #13]

> And then I really struggled with this log supply thing because I was workin' with MFI [McBride Forest Industries Ltd.] and it was almost as though I had—what's the relationship that a fungus has to a tree? Symbiotic. I had that kind of relationship goin' and not just with MFI, but a couple other sawmills. And when that just stopped, it took a while to get my head around and then I really had to think about this Community Forest. When I finally came to the realization that that was the only thing left other than a little bit of private wood on farmland and whatnot, then I

> had to really start thinking well, I don't like this but I have to get into [it]. Like I have to understand it or try to get into it. But I haven't been very successful. I have worked more with woodlot operators. There's three of 'em that's close here. I think there's five in the valley. We haven't done a lot of business but I think we're getting more and more aware of each other. [McBride #12]

In the end, one's skill and education level played a role in constraining/enabling people's chosen course of action. Having a diverse set of skills enabled people to pursue actions that those without could not.

Gender

Often alluded to but rarely explicitly discussed was how gender played an enabling/constraining factor. The following individual was one of the few participants who explicitly raised the issue of gender and in particular how it seemed that women were responding differently than men:

> Well just I think a lot of the wives are doing stuff that normally they would not do, just even chamber-maiding or whatever, you see them out and trying to keep food on the table and their husband is not working right now. I don't know. I think that a lot of the times it is the woman that comes up with some of the ideas or is the one that kind of pushes them into, we've got to try something just to make it work and stuff. [McBride #20]

The gendered response differentiation described by this participant suggests that some women chose action that explored other economic activities, which allowed them to move through crisis more proactively than the men. While this factor was not a focal point of this research, it did emerge throughout interviews and fieldwork. It also suggests there may be signs of meta-reflexive and/or autonomous modes at play as women chose courses of action that enabled them to sustain themselves economically through the crisis. More research is needed on

this factor to provide a more conclusive finding. In the end, gender roles are structural factors that, according to this participant, were activated by some community members.

To summarize, examining responses through the mediatory lens of reflexivity, we are able to identify factors constraining/enabling people's chosen course of action as well as the modes of reflexivity. Based on the narrative excerpts examined above, participants activated the structural emergent property of roles within the social structures of community and family, economy, education and gender. Enabling factors included roles in relation to family and community, and, for women in particular, gender. Constraining factors included low and narrow skill levels of workers and, with males in particular, gender. Throughout the discussion that differentiated factors enabling and constraining people's chosen course of action, we found a dominant representation of the communicative mode of reflexivity. These participants underwent internal conversations that required input from others before choosing their action based on the available structural and cultural conditions with which they were faced. This suggests there was limited critical reflexivity within people's internal conversations as they chose their courses of action. This is an important finding when we examine the possibility of collective action in Chapter 6 and whether we can expect to see elaboration or reproduction of structural and cultural factors in the morphogenetic process.

Cultural Factors Enabling/Constraining Responses

Social structures are activated as individuals (or agents) interact with social structures such as social networks and family, economy, education, and gender, which in turn reveal SEPs (roles) that constrain or enable their chosen courses of action. However, it is important to note that cultural attributes also play a significant role. Analytically speaking, this means that individuals interacted with cultural attributes, such as attitudes, in either complimentary or contradictory terms. The following discussion seeks to understand the variation, if any, in the mode of reflexivity as people interacted with cultural factors. However, unlike the analysis in the previous section that was successful in linking modes of reflexivity with individual responses, showing the link in the cultural domain proved more challenging. This is due to the nature of content in the narratives; the content offers less personal experiences and more references to other people's experiences in general. Despite this limitation in the data, effort is made to identify the mode(s) of reflexivity within the discussion on cultural factors.

Cultural factors mainly consisted of attitudes related to a "bubble" mentality, materialism, attitudes about change, belief in an abundant supply of timber, sense of entitlement, and ideas associated with religion. The following discussion explores these factors and in particular highlights the cultural emergent properties with which individuals interacted while choosing their chosen courses of action.

Isolation "Bubble"

Heard more in Mackenzie was the attitude characterized as a "bubble" mentality, where people felt they were sheltered from anything negative that affected the world outside of their community. For some, this was the result of geographic isolation and having everything they needed within the community:

> It's very pretty here. We're plunked right in the middle at the start of a big lake, in the middle of the forest. There's nothing else around us. Again, that would go for your bubble thing also because you're there, so it's all contained there. [Mackenzie #1]

> I think just because we are isolated, Mackenzie is in some ways a bit of a mono-culture. Everybody worked in the forest industry and everybody fished and hunted and stuff. I remember the first time I went to Nelson, BC with my kids, and they were like 10 and 12 years old and there were things they weren't used to seeing…walking down the street one day and this guy walks by with a huge beard and he's wearing a full-length skirt and carrying a purse, and my kids' eyes are just about bugging out of their heads, but they weren't used to that, everybody living in Mackenzie. Everybody's dad worked at one of the mills and you know he played hockey and he went snowmobiling…We all sort of lived in this different little world up here where things didn't really influence us, but now it's proven that things do influence us lots. The price of the Canadian dollar…it's huge [Mackenzie #12]

This attitude is also said to originate from people having not experienced a crisis like the one they were currently facing:

> It originates from "you've got it all." We had it all. We never saw – like my parents went through the dirty 30s, we've never seen any of that and certainly our younger kids, like my kids are 30 and 35, but they've never seen any of that…It's a whole new world that nobody ever had seen… And for the most part, most people lived here as if it was going to go on forever, too. Like most families were equipped with one -- mostly two vehicles. They all had Skidoos, and four-wheelers, and some fifth wheels, and some campers, and things like that. But boy, a lot of that stuff went away. It's fine as long as you've got that tick, tick, tick, tick paycheque. But when all of a sudden there's a hiccup, and it's not there, the boogieman doesn't wait forever to be paid…people as a rule have short memories. [Mackenzie #4]

> I found it intriguing when I moved here that I would have kids in my classes in this school who had never been further than the junction. Never had left Mackenzie, so we're talking 14, 15, 17 years old and never been past the junction. At first I was astounded, but then it wasn't uncommon; there was quite a few kids at that point in time who had never been past the junction. To me I'm thinking, this is it, this is their life. It was almost like going back in time, where what you had really was what it was.
>
> They weren't tied into, and I mean the Internet was around at that time but it wasn't like it is today, kids weren't texting all the time, kids weren't on Facebook and MSN…so they just weren't plugged in at all to what was happening outside I think…Their whole life was right here in this town and they weren't looking beyond that. They were getting a good paycheque, they were able to live just how they wanted to live and the car dealerships came here, there was a sled shop and they didn't need to go outside of Mackenzie for anything. Everything they needed was right here and that's just the way it was. [Mackenzie #11]

The "bubble" mentality left some people with an artificial sense of security, that they were protected against anything bad that happened in the world outside their communities and, for participant Mackenzie #12, contributed to what they describe as a homogenized local culture. The crisis forced some people to face this long-standing attitude in their mediatory process and realize that their sense of insulation was false. It forced people to account for the degree of vulnerability they had in relation to external forces, as well as to appreciate what they did have, "You're not sheltered from the rest of the world…we'd been so sheltered and spoiled" [Mackenzie #24]. This interaction with the "bubble" mentality has been challenged according to the above-quoted individuals and could potentially change as a result of this crisis. The preceding interview excerpts allude to the possibility of individuals undergoing a meta-reflexive mode of critically examining their own circumstances and/or communicate reflexive mode as they deliberated over this issue. It also suggests a cultural individual factor that needs

to change for some individuals to ensure that they can remain in the community. Additional research is needed to explore whether this attitude will, in fact, change for community members over time. The crisis forced some people to think differently about their community's vulnerability as well as about long-standing attitudes associated with their own financial and consumer behaviours.

Materialism

A factor that was raised in both community contexts but more so within Mackenzie was how the crisis forced some people that chose to remain in the community to rethink their relationship with and desire for material wealth. Where people were driven by the desire and financial ability to purchase various material objectives for pleasure or status, the crisis forced some, including the following communicative/meta-reflexive individual, to reevaluate his/her consumer behaviour now that he/she faced a lack of income:

> Sometimes I think we're all chasing the almighty buck. Is that really what we need? Maybe it's just my age. Maybe you kind of figure out you don't need the almighty buck anymore. We used to chase it. My husband worked a month of 16-hour shifts without a day off when he was 40 for the same thing. So maybe we, within ourselves, also have to take a look at what do we value? I think a lot of people here have taken a look at what they value. They value their home life and their families more then they do chasing the buck. We don't all think that well, "Here's what's happened. I've got to regroup myself" because we weren't used to regrouping. Now, if you ask people, they look at things a little differently and they're looking at more then just one scenario when they do something. [Mackenzie #1]

The following individual links spending with a lack of foresight for many people, which could be linked to the perspective of "having it all" discussed above in the context of the "bubble" mentality:

> Unfortunately a number of individuals and families in this community didn't have that foresight and they were making big money and spending big money, so that when the bottom fell out of things, it was very, very difficult on a lot of people, and a lot of people were in situations that they never dreamed they'd find themselves in. Like having to come and apply for social assistance, because they didn't…you still have to eat, if there's no paycheque, or pay your mortgage or whatever. [Mackenzie #12]

The following participant recognizes and makes a distinction between needs and wants:

> It was an eye opener for people, too, for those that do live beyond their means. I think the other thing that people looked at as well, [was] the difference between want and need. What do you want and what do you need and I've heard that from a lot of families and they've said to me, "I never realized the difference and this was a wakeup call" and how important family was. [Mackenzie #1]

This participant describes a communicative reflexive process as he/she communicated with his/her partner about what he/she valued in their lives– a process that was not the norm prior to the crisis. This also suggests a meta-reflexive mode, as this person critically reflects on what he/she valued, and considered changing his/her own consumer behaviour as a result of recognizing this factor during the crisis. This sudden shock of losing income created a circumstance that enabled him/her to deliberate, in an internal conversation, about what he/she valued, and to subsequently consider a change in attitude and behavior.

The following potential meta-reflexive broadened his/her internal conversation to compare his/her situation in the community to that of other people's circumstances in the world. The result is an internal conversation that put his/her circumstances into perspective and enabled him/her to remain in the community:

> And I think in the back of everybody's mind [is a realization] that, you know, there's such a bigger issue, such a bigger global issue within equities between rich and poor. And that we are incredibly rich here and that we complain about losing a little thing, which is a big thing to us, but it's such a little thing in the scheme of things, you know, in comparing cultures.

> And just that, I know especially for myself, it was like we used to have lots of conversations about, you know I talked about losing your job and staying home and doing whatever it is that you can do. We had lots of conversations about how fortunate we are, regardless of what situation we're in, just how fortunate we are compared to so many other people in the world. And I think maybe that's what it did to a lot of people is made them step back and say, "Hang on a minute here, am I really that bad off?" you know. "Is this that bad in relationship to what I'm hearing about around the world?" [Mackenzie #10]

Focusing on attitudes related to materialism and the "bubble" mentality are signs of enabling cultural emergent properties (CEPs) that are no longer complimentary and could change over time. This in turn could help to enable people to remain in the community and move through this crisis as they rethink what is more important to them and potentially change their consumer behaviour. While we find signs of meta-reflexive modes in the previous excerpts, the interest remains focused on the personal need to change rather than a need for the community as a whole.

Attitudes of Change

To this point in the chapter, we have heard a number of different responses to and factors for enabling/constraining people's chosen courses of action. Associated with all of those factors and responses is a perception of change. How people perceived change and their attitude towards it proved to be a very important factor in whether they chose to remain in the community, as well as enabling or constraining them through the crisis. In this section, perception of

change is explored from the point of view of how people did or did not embrace change, and the type of attitude associated with change (i.e., positive or negative).

The following communicative reflexive describes an attitude of resistance to change and progress held by many in the community. This differed from those who saw change as an opportunity. Resisting change appears to be constraining people's responses to pursue certain actions like retraining or other activities to move through the crisis:

> Some people did career changes, so basically a lot of people went from forestry workers to mining: coal mining up in the Tumbler Ridge area and oil sands in Alberta, natural gas -- all of those things are…they were fairly wrapped up and people were able to take that opportunity to do a jump…I found that where some people see things chang[ing] as an opportunity…other people seem to sort of do the opposite and think this shouldn't happen to them. It is kind of amazing sometimes how everybody else is to blame for our difficulties. [Mackenzie #19]

> I think there is resistance to change. There always is, especially when it's forced on you. I think it's lack of vision…Like the way I do business has changed so much in the last 15 years that it's hard to keep track of every new thing that comes along to how you market stuff. People haven't really caught up with that world because it's so far away from here. And I think that's part of it, too. I mean, tourism people have started to market themselves on the Internet but the idea that you could have like a, say, a video graphics production company here that marketed itself solely digitally on the Internet just seemed too weird to a lot of people. Yeah. It's something—I mean, like most people expect the way to earn a living is to get a job from some employer. That paradigm is swiftly changing; maybe it already has changed. But people still think that way, thinking that they have to go out and earn-their-own-living-by-their-wits kinda thing. They want a job with an employer that will pay 'em the paycheque Just go to work and get their paycheque instead of being small business or whatever, you know, independent—a person that's making money somehow as a craftsman or artist or whatever. [Mackenzie #10]

> Some people, they simply don't want any progress, so, you know, they moved here and they like it the way it is – or it was when they moved in – so they don't want to see any change. They don't have a vision that change can be beneficial to their lifestyle. They only see the negative stuff. [McBride #6]

> In this town [McBride] you are always going to have a group of people that are not on board with any change. You have to just forge on. Change for change itself is not good. You have to have your change – it has to be well thought out. You will always have a naysayer. If you can't listen to that, that is – I think one of our problems and one of our challenges is so much of the population base has always been like mill workers. And mill workers, there is nothing wrong with them, but they have a certain mindset, a risk set that they will do. I am used to going to work from 8-5 and going home and not worrying about a thing and that is what they like, that is what they do. That type of person is not as likely to jump in and start a business of any sort. So the challenge is to get those people interested in looking at the other options but we also need to recognize that there are people out there that are worker types and they aren't interested, they don't have the skills sets, they don't have the interest, they don't have the personality to start their own business, yet they are a great worker. There is certainly nothing wrong with them on any front...It is just that is what they like to do and that is what they are comfortable doing and probably should remain doing. [McBride #9]

> [I]t's hard. That's reality, because people don't want to change. They don't want to have to not have their toys or not have this or that. They want to be able to do things. [McBride #4]

The previous excerpts suggest again the prevalence of a communicative mode of reflexivity as people depend on others to provide employment. This interaction between the individual and source of employment suggests that people resist changing circumstances and wait until a new opportunity is presented as opposed to pursuing their own employment options. For the following individual, the expectation of someone else providing employment is actually normalized in us and linked to a broader issue in society:

> We've actually been normalized into thinking that the norm is to just let somebody else guide your life, both your employer, and the state, and the teachers, and the education system, and the health system, and all these things are guiding your life, rather than you guiding your life and these things working for you. Now there's always a variety of opinions and stuff, but I think [it] is awesome. Bring it on. I know democracy's messy. But wouldn't you rather a messy democracy than totalitarianism? No matter how benign[ly] it presented itself. It's way more functional. And it's way better for all of us. And that's maybe a simplistic answer. But I do think it's been normalized into us. [McBride #3]

The following individual links a resistance to change to the idea of adaptation where people will adapt when forced to:

> We as humans don't think we can adapt. I think that we do quite well when forced to, but it's not something that we look to do. This was a dinner-pail town. Go to work, job that's mindless, which [it is] in sawmills, although it is becoming more technical, but way back when it was what? you flip a board and whatever. You get paid every two weeks and you can go have your beer and you can go fishing and whatever and the kids go to school. That's a lifestyle you could get into. You're comfortable in it. We all get comfortable as we grow older. My life has never been that way because I think I've been in a flux of change for 30 years, based on my job and the stuff I've been doing publicly. But, for most people, they don't like change. [Mackenzie #1]

The individual quoted above believes that the attitude of resistance contributed to some people not adapting to the changing circumstances easily because they were not used to change. The previous excerpts suggest more of an autonomous mode of reflexivity where people pursue their own self interests despite the degree of change around them.

Meanwhile, other people's attitudes towards change were accepting; they saw it as an opportunity for something new:

> As we have discussed, we have been more proactive. We have been thinking about this for a long time. Diversity is good. So really, and again, embracing change, it is opportunity. One door closes, another one opens. So I am sure – and we have actually tried to instil that in our children as well that because you get a no or something happens or a door slams, don't – well it's not don't take no for an answer but it is "hey, there is a reason for that happening and there will be another opportunity." [McBride #7]

> In fact, I think that's one of the skills of life that we all need to cultivate—accepting change, working with change and using it and harnessing it and maybe avoiding it if it's harmful, if we deem it to be harmful and then guiding it away from us. That may mean moving, that may mean protesting. I don't know. It's a wide range. But just the non-acceptance…of change is a problem for people. [McBride #21]

Another way of understanding attitudes of change that played a key role is whether one adopted a positive or negative perspective of the given crisis. For some, holding a positive attitude about change played a key role in enabling them to move through uncertain times. Those who had a positive attitude were more likely than those with a negative attitude to practice a more autonomous mode of reflexivity:

> Change is inevitable, particularly when you're getting to the global picture because you don't have any control so what you need to do is, you need to kind of keep an eyeball on it and is it going to have an effect on me, and we as a community, is it going to have an effect on our community? What do we do, how do we get ahead of it? Instead of being reactive, how do we be proactive? [Mackenzie #1]

> People just have got to stay positive and you've got to be creative and if you are dependent on government to save your ass, it ain't going to happen because the government, the only time they are in there is maybe their smiley face and picture and [they] say, "well look at us. We did this in the community" and then the media gets a hold of it and it's all blown out of proportion. [McBride #8a]

> I've always said that the ones that stick it out—and a lot of people have said it better—we've been here our whole lives, now we're adults here raising kids, that you know what? We just gotta stick it out and we're gonna benefit. And it's gonna come back and we're all gonna benefit from it. 'Cause we're gonna have the lower mortgages, the prices of houses are gonna go up, we're gonna have more equity in our homes. Just a lot of different things are gonna add up and pay off…I believe that it will. [Mackenzie #23a]

> We did receive help from the government and we did receive some definite support, and…there will be a core group of positive people that are going to say, "No, let's make this work. Let's make this a better place," definitely. And … just stay positive, you know, look for the silver lining. Opportunities will arise out of it. [It's] pretty easy to say because that's happened to us. [Mackenzie #10]

> You have to believe in yourself and I'll tell you there are times when I kind of went into a corner and beat myself up and then came back out again because it's tough to stay positive when you are trying to lead through something like this. [Mackenzie #1]

The following individual describes the need to turn a negative into a positive. If this doesn't occur, he suggests, people become almost inert. His/her description of their behavior fits the definition of a fractured mode of reflexivity, in which people are unable to move forward. People instead remain in the community and wait for something to happen:

> I guess turning a negative into a positive, if we could use that expression, there were opportunities here for people to do something if they felt they needed to. It is amazing how some people don't; they just sit there and are kind of lost and…choose not to make that decision and maybe a year later, they do. [Mackenzie #19]

For some autonomous reflexives, adopting a positive attitude was linked to creating change for yourself as opposed to waiting for others to create the change. This included forward thinking, maintaining a strong work ethic, and creating opportunities that formed enabling factors that helped move people through their given crisis:

> But we really had to put our nose to the grind[stone] and had it not been for a community forest who[se developers] saw the trouble with everybody [losing jobs] and they tried to keep everybody working -- we probably would have went broke if that hadn't happened...we worked for the Community Forest and it wasn't no gravy patches. I tell you we worked hard, we worked hard and we just put our nose to the grindstone and said "look, we can either sit here cornered and give up or put our work boots on and get in shit," and we could be positive and then in turn we have always been really positive people in our community. We believe that people get caught in this rut everyday and sometimes stuff happens and you've got to change and not everybody is like that, but we were the guys that were kind of like that. We thought, well we can make this work. There are ways of doing things. We love it here. We love the valley, families and everything. But that part was tough, it was really tough. [McBride #8b]

> Like I said, it just depends what you want to do. And if you want to get in a rut, that's fine. I'm not going to hang around with people that get in a rut, because I do enjoy having a few things in life, like everybody. But as the old saying goes, you get nothing from nothing. [McBride #13]

They (MFI) went out of business. I mean, where do you go? I still had to make payments here and, you know, you're kind of…you either make it work or you, you know, you foreclose it, you know, kind of thing. So, I decided, no I'm going…I'm not looking behind me, I'm going forward. … and that's when I bought my little planer and things like that, and, you know, maybe some new products just to keep a little bit diverse. [McBride #17]

It hurt a lot of people, but I'm not sure that a whole lot has really changed, you know, with the town itself...People had to change what they do. It's a reminder that we have to continually reinvent ourselves. And if that's not happening then you're going to work yourself into a corner anyway. But I…I worked at the steel mills in Hamilton, one mill had 18,000 men working there, the other had 12,000 men. And I think the total between them now is 5,000. And it's just like everybody's taken a large hit. I think that being in a small town probably the proportion is probably similar, but [we took] a big hit. [McBride #18]

There's just too many people here who are here for reasons other than employment. I think that might be a fundamental reason why people are still here and why those sorts of economic changes of wind direction may not create a huge problem. It will for other people, for some people. But I think a lot of us are just here because we want to be here and we'll all do what we need to do to remain. Just be resourceful. Not everyone will be successful at that. I think maybe you've gotten a good sense of how many people have left. [McBride #21]

You just hope for the best. I can see at this point in time things are starting to pick up a bit. It could go either way and it could go either way so fast and so easily just – it's a house of cards and just one wrong move and the whole thing could come tumbling down. You just sort of hold your breath and hope for the best and pray. …It may not be exactly what I envisioned for myself but it just sort of came and this is what we've got. Human resilience is amazing and just pick up the pieces and go okay, well now what…And like I said, when the going get tough, the tough get going. Some run out the nearest door and some of them just bunker down and find something that will get done. [McBride #19]

We have always been very resilient. We have changed quite a few times what we were doing...Oh yes, it was just kind of like okay, now what? And commonly we have had the resources that we could do it. When we kind of knew this was coming down we had a piece of property that we sold and paid our outstanding debts so we were debt free until we bought this, and now we are right back in debt…Well we, what did we do first? Oh, I can't remember when I sold my – because I used to have the XX store. That was sold in April before that happened and then I bought a grader, which didn't turn out to be the best financial decision in 2010. Even my son said "I agree,"…because we had a hose before and logging equipment but whatever and then last winter he went and logged for

> somebody. I cooked at the restaurant across the street but I didn't really like working for other people. When you get used to working for yourself it is kind of…but anyway. It was something to do. [McBride #20]

The belief that the solution was in the community was also evident in terms of the community having people with imaginations and ideas. What could be termed a latent source of change is described by the following communicative reflexive:

> Well, there's always those noises, but I'm not going anywhere…So, it won't be quite be a ghost town...Yeah, we're staying here. You know, I don't know what's going to happen next week, but, yeah, the plan is to stay here. I think that the way to build a community is to build… to build the community, not worry about employment. I think there's lots of people with good ideas and if they find a nice place to live, some place where they can feel safe and safe to be able to use their imaginations and do things, I don't think this place will have any trouble at all. [McBride #18]

While one's attitude towards change played an important enabling and constraining factor in how people responded to crisis, a belief in an abundant timber supply played a role as well.

Belief in an Abundant Timber Supply

An interesting factor that enabled people to move through the given crisis, particularly in the Mackenzie setting, was the belief that the timber supply in the region was abundant and of high quality. People clung to this belief, telling themselves that of course the mills would eventually reopen; it only made sense, because there was so much timber. The mountain pine beetle impacted surrounding timber supplies in the northern region of the province but the timber supply feeding Mackenzie was not impacted to the same degree because it had a lower percentage of pine trees. As a result, the majority of the forest remains intact, healthy and yet to be harvested. A belief in an abundant supply of timber

led the following communicative reflexive to believe that local mills would restart eventually because a demand would exist for that timber. How long this belief existed prior to the crisis is unclear but it enabled these people to choose to remain in the community:

> Mackenzie is in a range where we are less impacted by the pine beetle. Certainly our mills going down was impacted by pine beetle devastation but we are one of the communities that in the long term is going to be one that will survive the pine beetle because most of what we have—Mackenzie and north of us—our timber force licenced area is spruce. So people that were familiar, very knowledgeable of the forest industry said, Yeah, Mackenzie is going to take a huge hit. The big issue will be, can Mackenzie hang on as a community until the forest industry recovers?" Because if it can, we are strategically placed geographically to the stand to keep operating, where it is places like Quesnel, Burns Lake, William's Lake, they are far more vulnerable because of the stands that the timber licence area is in is mostly pine beetle wood. Once it is gone, there is not going to be much there. So I think the people that were positive knew that Mackenzie likely could recover, that our forest industry would come back. I think everybody recognized that we will never be what maybe we were but there were also big hopes with the Mt Milligan mining project. I think people were thinking that if Mackenzie could recover some of its forest industry and diversify with the Mt Milligan Mining Project that maybe we could survive as a community. [Mackenzie #2]

> We got hit first out of anybody, you know, and there was a group of us and it just got worse from there on. For the next few years my husband had to live away so we had to find accommodations for him. We had to find extra money for him. There was no work for me at that time here. The town pretty much closed down. It was just one thing right after another and then the mills went and once the mills went, six months later another mill was going and we got hit first. And that is something that my parents as growing up here [they assured us], oh, we'll never shut down Mackenzie. We have such a large timber supply. We have, you know, areas that nobody else has. And I do realize we have the largest timber supply in BC. Ours is about the size of Ireland, the little mass of Ireland. But [the] corporate world came to Mackenzie and we never experienced that here ever before. And it was quite a shock. It was something that we had never experienced as a community here even as I was growing up to as an adult and watching my kids go through it. [Mackenzie 20]

> But at the end of the day, Mackenzie's never gone through anything like this. They've gone through strikes. But they've generally worked [i.e., remained employed]. When other places were shut down, they worked. And I think we're all, probably, myself included, just surprised [at] the

> magnitude of what happened here. And that it took so long to get it back like this Conifex, that sale, just dragged on and on and on. Because to me from the outsider point of view, if we had had the money, we would have bought it. But it was just -- with this wood basket, we thought there'd be people tripping over themselves to buy that Abitibi operation. And geez, it took over a year. And I think everybody else thought that too. That this isn't -- someone will buy that and we'll get back to work. And that just says how bad it really was, and how good a deal Conifex got. [Mackenzie #17]

While it is not certain how long this belief in an abundant timber supply existed before the crisis, it did play a role in enabling people through the crisis. The previous excerpts reveal how the biophysical world played a role in enabling the individuals to move through the crisis and choose to remain in the community. The belief in an abundant source of timber provided people with a sense of hope that the mills would eventually reopen because the timber supply was the largest intact forest area that was not significantly impacted by the mountain pine beetle. This suggests a communicative mode of reflexivity as people interacted with others in some way that contributed to this belief, which people embraced to stay in the community.

The following factors – entitlement and ideas of religion – did not come up often in interviews but were factors that I heard often during conversations off the record. Some people also alluded to them in interviews but rarely addressed them directly. However, these factors are, in my opinion, worth including in this study because they are important and appear to be playing out during this crisis. If anything, these two cultural dimensions require further attention because they appear to be important cultural dimensions of communities.

Entitlement

A cultural factor that emerged in a few interviews and during informal conversations while living in the community contexts was the attitude of entitlement. The following interview excerpt links entitlement to people whose wage expectations led them to choose to remain in the community and wait for the mills to reopen: "Some of those pulp mill guys out there, oh, my goodness, they were…They were above us and they're not gonna work for nothing less than $26 an hour. And there was people like that" (Mackenzie #20). The following individual associates the sense of entitlement with people taking life for granted and believing the mill or company owed them a certain level of income or job security:

> I guess the pulp and paper business is, kind of, famous for being notoriously culture problematic, okay? A lot of people in the pulp and paper business take life for granted; their parents grew up there or they grew up there in the union environment. The company owes me more than I owe them, kind of thing or the company – I'm hard done by. You know, they're making twice as much money as anybody else in the world, do you know what I mean? Like, so it's an artificial situation, right? [Mackenzie #25]

The sense-of-entitlement attitude is linked to a union-based labour force. For the following individual, a union mentality exists that constrains people from thinking beyond their local community:

> The other side from an economic point of view that I see that has been a real hindrance in this community: it's a very pro union town. And that is evident obviously with the plants, with our services, with the mentality. I'm not above and beyond any union worker, but what happens is when you have the plants, three or four of them, and 99% of them are wage earners and the union, that doesn't leave too much out there for any creative thought in maybe a global aspect of why we produce the product they produce and where does it go. And if you have pride in that and ownership in that, then I think the mentality would be different. Their

> mentality has also changed though in the last few years, and I go to these plants, I was there today, I go to these plants weekly, and I can just tell on the floor with the tradespeople that old work-to-rule or rule-to-work has kind of changed now. They're, you know what, we like our job in the small town, we like our little bubble, we didn't like going up to Fort Nelson or Fort McMurray to work when the mill shut down, but we had to. Now we have a better appreciation for what maybe the rest of the people already know. [Mackenzie #23]

Those who have a sense of entitlement are likely the same people who are waiting for the mills to reopen instead of seeking other work; they have come to expect a certain income level, and know they won't be able to earn that much anywhere else but at the mills. This also suggests a communicative mode of reflexivity as people turn to others (e.g., other workers, union) to decide their course of action.

Religion

Religion and, in particular, beliefs related to faith and forgiveness, also played an enabling factor for some individuals, according to the following participant:

> People who are very religious -- and some of those people have done very well having a certain amount of faith…faith as a community, for some people has meant they have a greater level of acceptance. And so that buffers them a little bit even though they're worried about losing the house and all that stuff, they kind of are in a group. And that group is insular and protective in some emotional ways. And that's good. But other people, [they are] no[t] so well. They didn't handle it so well, and maybe started drinking a bit too much. And then maybe getting a DUI or getting into a little tussle in the bar. And [these are people]who normally wouldn't. But they're stressed and they're drinking. And somebody says something that's thoughtless or it's just misconstrued. And now the cops are involved and now you're in court and that's another stress. So it compounds. These things are like dominoes or waves coming out from a pebble hitting the pool. But adaptability and sort of an ability to forgive in a lot of ways, to forgive larger society for not taking us into consideration, to forgive our neighbours for not acting always in an applicable way or polite or friendly way, and understand how stressed out everybody is. [McBride #1]

This participant discusses how believing in forgiveness and having faith provided people with an attitude of acceptance, which helped enable them through the crisis. This suggests people again underwent a communicative mode of reflexivity as they interacted with others before choosing a course of action. The interaction with others in the religious community, and the ideas themselves, likely supported this belief, which the crisis appeared to have challenged. The people with communicative modes of reflexivity seemed to undergo a process of recognizing that these beliefs enabled them to move through uncertain times and therefore ensured they were reproduced.

To summarize, participants activated cultural factors linked to the "bubble" mentality, materialism, attitudes about change, sense of entitlement, a belief in an abundant timber supply, and beliefs in religion. Factors that could be considered constraining include a resistance and negative attitude towards change. Enabling factors included upholding a strong work ethic, having a positive attitude, and creating change for one's self. We find meta-reflexive modes playing out in regards to the "bubble" mentality and materialism and, at times, in regards to attitudes of change. Autonomous and/or communicative modes appear evident in the remaining factors.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the interaction between participants, social structures and cultural dimensions as people deliberated on the social and economic crises in the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride. Two objectives were accomplished to better understand the variation in responses: 1)

we examined responses through the lens of reflexivity to identify dominant modes and 2) we identified structural and cultural factors constraining/enabling responses. The prevalence of the communicative reflexive mode within the structural factors suggests that social and cultural conditions do not foster meta-reflexive or autonomous modes. Based on this finding we find that a social system that supports communicative reflexivity will lead to overall morphostasis of structural factors. Cultural factors, on the other hand, show signs of more meta-reflexive modes of deliberation, suggesting that factors such as the "bubble" mentality and materialism may change in the future while attitudes of change and entitlement may not.

Exploring structural and cultural factors began with examining the structural emergent properties of roles (i.e., the relationship between forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident – community; citizen – political system; family member – family). Participants interacted with the structural emergent property of roles and in so doing activated the social structures of community, family, economy, education and gender. Factors found to constrain some people's responses included issues related to levels of education. Factors enabling responses related to issues including people's strong commitments to relationships with others in the community and family as well as their levels of education. In terms of the cultural dimension, participants activated cultural factors that constrained and enabled responses. These cultural factors included their attitudes about change, sense of entitlement, belief in abundant timber supply, and religious beliefs. Overall, the analysis of people's reflexive process provides insight into

the structural and cultural emergent properties activated by individuals, which in turn provides us with the first stage of insight into whether this research finds structural and cultural elaboration or reproduction (i.e., morphogenesis or morphostasis respectively).

Chapter 6: Collective Action and Response to Crisis

Faced with a range of impacts and the threat of community decline in both community settings, individuals were forced to undergo a reflexive process to decide on a course of action. In this chapter, I continue to examine responses from individuals in the two community settings, but now turn my analytical attention to collectively oriented responses. This means I will examine the variation in responses oriented towards sustaining the community (as opposed to the individual or immediate family) through the crisis. A key premise in this study is that since people are faced with insurmountable challenges (e.g., job loss and threat of community decline) we would expect to see them pursue modes of collective action to sustain the community. This could include addressing social (e.g., sustain the social fabric of the community), political (e.g., engage in activities like protests or rallies) and/or economic (e.g., pursue different economic activities to create jobs) outcomes. This study's premise also echoes in Archer's morphogenetic framework where a shift is needed from primary agent to corporate agent to produce a morphogenetic outcome. In other words, individuals need to come together collectively to challenge the structural and/or cultural conditions in order for change to occur.

The previous chapter explored individually oriented responses to understand whether people have the capacity to move through a crisis. It found a number of key structural and cultural factors constraining/enabling a person's course of action. While individual responses played a role creating an

understanding of how people move through a crisis, an examination of narratives also revealed the role that collective action played. Interestingly, individuals interviewed revealed that the dominant mode of collective action that did occur was oriented towards preserving the well-being of community members, while there were limited examples of action oriented towards political and/or economic outcomes. This raises interesting questions around why one form of collective action emerged over the other, which is what we will explore in this chapter.

The chapter begins with presenting collectively oriented responses heard from participants, with attention given to dominant modes of reflexivity. Similar to Chapter 5, analysis is carried out through the mediatory process of reflexivity (see Table 2 for summary of modes of reflexivity in Chapter 5) to identify the dominant modes (e.g., communicative or meta-reflexive) and the emergent causal properties within the interaction between agency, social structure and culture as illustrated in the second cycle of the morphogenetic approach. Through analyzing people's modes of reflexivity we will gain insight into factors that are constraining/enabling their choices to pursue collective action or not. The chapter is also organized around the variation in responses as opposed to comparing the two community settings, because the factors influencing responses were again similar in both settings.

Collectively-oriented Responses to Crisis

Based on the premise that there is an expectation that people would respond collectively given their circumstances – i.e., a threat of community decline -- the following discussion explores the form(s) of collective action evident at the time

of this study. It is important to note that additional and/or continued modes of collective action may have unfolded or are still in the process of unfolding in the community settings. In exploring collective responses, I return to the definition presented in Chapter 2 as a guide to determine the degree to which the responses can be labeled collective or not.

The definition of collective action adopted for this study states that it "requires the *involvement of a group of people*, it requires a *shared interest* within the group and it involves some kind of *common action* which works in pursuit of that shared interest" (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2004: p. 4, original italics). In addition, the "action" in collective action is characterized as *voluntary* as opposed to hired labour and can include forms such as collective decision-making, setting rules of conduct for a group and designing management rules and implementing decisions (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2004). The action can be carried out directly by members of a group or representatives of that group and through formal or informal organization as well through more spontaneous action (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2004).

Forms of Collective Action

Fieldwork in both community settings overall revealed limited examples of people pursuing collective action as a response to enable them to move through the crisis. At the time of the fieldwork for this study, the Mackenzie setting offered more examples than the McBride setting. Forms of collective action discussed below include the mobilization of various agencies (institutional response), a small group that preserved the pulp mill in Mackenzie, a rally in

Mackenzie, and collective action around sustaining what was described as the social fabric in both communities.

Institutional Response

A number of responses reveal forms of collective action in the community settings during the crisis. The first one is the institutional (e.g., health services, police, municipal government) response where a number of different agencies came together with the purpose of sustaining the community through the crisis. This mode links to the discussion later in this section that discusses collective action oriented towards sustaining the social fabric of the community. I am highlighting institutional actions here because they played an important role in supporting people through crisis even though they do not necessary constitute collective action as defined in this study.

Institutional responses in Mackenzie included the municipal government holding Community Awareness meetings that included the local MLA, Mackenzie Counselling, the Federal Government Employment representative, the RCMP, and representatives from the schools, health units, hospital, local businesses operators, the rec centre, arts council and churches. The purpose was to provide information about services and support available to the community:

> It took everybody doing their part, and that included the companies and it includes the unions, it includes the banks, but it took us along with help from the Feds and the province, the leadership to pull that together because when our first meeting, if you read the municipal toolkit, that came out of a first meeting that we had that Gregg [Halseth] helped us pull together where we had a representative from everything from the Regional District to the First Nations to EI, to the College at that table saying because there were the biggest fears, particularly around Northern

> Health and schools, that they would close everything down. [Mackenzie #1]

The local schools developed a drop-in breakfast (and later a lunch) program to help ensure all the children received adequate food. Local churches developed programs offering free clothing (Loving Joy Church) and a local food pantry (St. Peters) as well as events to raise funds for the pantry and provide free food for children at events (e.g., children's carnival at the Baptist Church). In addition to the food programs, food banks and clothing programs offered by the schools and churches, a number of community events were organized (or existing events continued) to help foster the social interconnectedness and well-being of the community members during the crisis. Activities included programs at the local museum, the Morfee Mountain Music Festival, community fair, Show & Shine; rec-centre services, and baby crawling races. Food was always made available during these events to help ensure that people in need had another source available.

Institutional forms of collective action in McBride included various social services mobilizing to help support people. Other activities included the McBride Community Forest and activities in nearby communities such as the Dunster Community Forest and the Robson Valley Growers cooperative:

> The Robson Valley Growers is a conscious decision not to do this individually but to do it as a group. The Dunster Community Forest is a conscious decision to do it as a group. The McBride Community Forest, the proposal started out that way but somehow it got morphed into what it is today, which it does help the community and it is a potential log supply for me. But it's not what you would really call a community operation. [McBride #10]

These activities were not directly linked to the mill closure in 2006 but appeared to be linked more to the broader systemic issues in the forest sector. This included the need for local communities wanting greater access to and decision-making authority over how their surrounding forests would be managed and harvested (e.g., McBride Community Forest).

Forms of collective responses had existed within both community settings in the past. Examples include people in McBride mobilizing in 2003 when the community faced an extended period of time without power due to forest fires; and again in 2006 for the more upbeat challenge of bidding to become Hockeyville Canada. The community came together for both of these events and, according to those interviewed, centered on mobilizing for social and economic purposes in the latter and sustaining the well-being of the community in the former. References were often made to previous examples of events in Mackenzie when the community came together, such as when it hosted the Northern BC Winter Games in 2009.

Preserving Sinar Mas Pulp Mill in Mackenzie

An additional example of a collectively oriented response occurred with a small group of people and the pulp mill in Mackenzie. For a small group of mill workers, and a forestry company from the nearby Macleod Lake Indian Band, the permanent closure of the pulp mill was seen as the likely end for the community of Mackenzie. In addition, it was believed that there was no reason the mill should be closed given the availability of timber in the region and its ability to produce a high quality product and produce a profit:

> And I still think, at the time, back in May of '08, that it was just going to be short-lived. I mean, out of all the mills, we figured ours would be the first to go [close] because it was probably the best producing one. We had better quality pulp, but you could hear that from anybody. [Mackenzie #15]

As a response to the closure, the mill workers gathered with the purpose of preserving the mill. Their plan was to force external parties to get involved (i.e., government purchase or invest in operating the mill) to restart the mill and get people back to work. It was also a unique situation given that it brought together both unionized and non-unionized labour to achieve the shared interest in getting people back to work and help sustain the community. The purpose and rationale for choosing this course of action is articulated by the following meta-reflexive: "We're all working together for a common goal. Make that pulp mill run and get people back to work in this town and benefit everybody" [Mackenzie #17]. Preserving the pulp mill involved ensuring that the chemicals (namely Chlorine Dioxide) used in the pulping process were kept at a certain temperature, particularly throughout the winter months. If the chemical was not preserved at the proper temperature, there was a risk that the tanks holding the chemical would leak and cause an environmental disaster. In the end, the objective was to preserve the mill in its most economic state to ensure it was ready for operation when a new owner was found.

The following meta-reflexive provides insight into the strategy taken to preserve the mill:

> I'm a power engineer…I kind of worked off and on throughout until…we pulled, if you want to call it, we pulled the environment card and we used whatever we could to keep the place warm to try and preserve it. Some people think we went too far but, I mean, I think that

> had we not done what we did, that plant probably wouldn't be running today. And that is, we used the Chlorine Dioxide [ClO_2] tanks to scare the people, if you will, to force the government to come in and stop a potential disaster from happening, which, I mean, I'm not saying that couldn't happen. And we played it as hard as we could to force them in and it worked. [Mackenzie 15]

The following narrative from the same individual reveals how having a second source of income enabled the group to continue with the goal of preserving the mill, especially after the chemicals were dealt with and their last day of work was announced:

> Until the government actually had taken all the chemicals offsite and said your last day is on such and such a date, that's when it really hit home that maybe this place isn't going to run again. And then…and I'm fortunate. I hung in here because my wife's a teacher and she was working and I could afford to keep fighting the fight. So had it not been for her, I'd have been gone. But even the time after the government kicked us out, then I started to apply elsewhere. Interviews in the gas and oil industry, that kind of stuff. So at that time, I thought, "Okay, it's done. Move on." Thinking my house isn't going to be worth anything so start again. [Mackenzie #15]

While financial resources played a role in enabling the previous individual to pursue his course of action, the following meta-reflexive describes the difficulty in keeping the group motivated and hopeful that their efforts would result in achieving their goal:

> So I had to motivate people that really didn't have any belief whatsoever that anything was ever going to come out of this. That was my biggest challenge, motivating them. I believe that almost everybody in this mill decided that this mill was never going to run again.

> I think what happened was Abitibi went down and a year later everybody was convinced that it was never going to restart again. Maybe when this mill went down they saw the same picture being painted. I never felt that way. I spent a huge amount of time trying to spread positive energy around trying to develop hope or – well, not even hope, realism, that this is a viable mill, that we can make it work.

> They were disgruntled because they believed that the company owed them money and that the company did them a disservice by ending their job and their life as they knew it. They were very disgruntled. So we had to take a person that was actually quite negative and motivate them into doing something positive.
>
> And so we had ten of us. We brainstormed all of our ideas how we can economically preserve this mill and we had to be extra resourceful. And basically we built the plan and we executed it and then by the time the mill was in its cold resting state, about December, we started planning the start-up of the mill. For the next three months we planned the start-up of the mill. SinarMas took a look at it, came and looked at our start-up plan, looked at what we did to preserve the mill. They were very impressed and they decided to go ahead with it. So we executed our start-up plan almost exactly as planned. [Mackenzie #25]

The small group was successful in preserving the mill, which in 2010 was purchased by Sinar Mas and returned to production soon after, with pulp destined for markets in China. While the story of preserving the mill also involves government intervention and a controversial (and ultimately false) investment commitment by an Edmonton-based investor, the form of collective response and effort achieved in preserving the mill is an example of how collective action worked in Mackenzie. While people involved were paid and therefore don't fit the definition of collective action used in this study, this is still an example of a small number of people coming together to help mitigate the threat of community decline. By ensuring that the mill was operationally ready for production once forestry activities restarted in the region, they helped to sustain the community over time.

Public Rally in Mackenzie

An additional form of collective response occurred in terms of a rally that brought together a wide range of people from the community. On May 23, 2008,

more than 1000 residents gathered to express their voices in the political landscape, as well as to socialize as a means to facilitate the social sustainability of the community during the crisis:

> There was a rally. I did attend it and I was standing beside Pat Bell [Provincial Forest Minister at time of mill closures] at that rally but unfortunately I had appointments at Prince George so I couldn't stay for the whole thing. But on that note, it was [a] really good experience for this community to see who cared and who was here to care. Yes, you know, some people made it a political agenda for themselves but we had a full parking lot full of people and [a] rally and it was wonderful to see that we were still gonna stay here…It showed people maybe in Vancouver and bigger centers that, you know what, you're getting your wood and your wood products from up here. We have to be counted in the North and we're not just [the] bush workers or loggers or millworkers area. And the size of this community and the wood lots that are out there and the TSAs are phenomenal. And it really showed outside people just [how] big we really are and how much we do mean to this province. So that was all positive. [Mackenzie #20]

The rally corresponded with one of a series of Forestry Roundtable meetings held in the province that included one in Mackenzie on May 23, 2008. The purpose of this meeting series was "to develop a forward looking plan to overcome challenges and seize new opportunities to ensure the forest industry remains viable and vibrant in the long-term" (Ministry of Forests, 2012). Stakeholders from the public, forest companies, government and organizations attended the meeting to discuss issues and opportunities related specifically to Mackenzie. Issues discussed in the meeting included: improving conditions for investing in industrial facilities; improving access to fibre for value-added companies; reviewing and reforming tenure, pricing, harvesting and beetle-killed

wood; and addressing negative impacts of foreign ownership and market diversification[20].

Meanwhile, outside the Roundtable, a list of 20 speakers including political representatives (BC Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) Pat Bell, BC New Democratic Party (NDP) Leader Carole James, NDP Forest Critic Bob Simpson) and union representatives (Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada (CEP) National President Dave Coles; Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers of Canada (PPWC) President Jim King; United Steelworkers (USW) Local 1-424 executive board members Alf Wilkins and Local 1-424 forest worker transition representative Terry Tate) addressed the crowd. The rally participants walked down the main street in Mackenzie (Mackenzie Boulevard) before arriving at the local mall parking lot where the speeches took place. The following excerpts provide an account of the rally from various communicative reflexives who attended:

> We had a rally here in May, 2008 and we had over 1,500 people attend which was pretty big. There were people from all over BC that came—from out in the islands, all of the union presidents. Carol James was here. We asked the premier but he never came up. Pat Bell was there. [Mackenzie #13]

> That's the first time I've seen it or been involved with anything quite like that. Even for the Winter Games, when we had the Northern Winter Games, the whole town pulled together…That's what Mackenzie's about. That's what the people are about. They all pull together. I'd never been to a rally like that before. [Mackenzie #21]

---

[20] For more information, see Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations. Summary of Issues discussed at Community Meetings. http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/mof/forestry_roundtable/meeting_summaries.htm#Mackenzie_May_23 (accessed 4 May 2012).

> I was surprised to see how many people came out for that rally and they tried to make us not walk on the street but we were going…Some people had just given up hope and then there were others saying, “no.” We’re going to fight for this. We want the mills open. Don’t do this. Don’t send our logs out of town. We want to have the jobs to harvest and the log. [Mackenzie #21]

> So I only stayed for maybe an hour, hour and a little bit. Then I had to leave. It was an awesome turnout. It was incredible, it got media attention. But it wasn't enough…we did have the media up here and everything else but a lot of the stories weren't complete stories about what really was going on here. But it was good to see it. It was a positive rally there. There was some really good things that were brought out about it. [Mackenzie #24]

> There were moms and dads and kids and dogs. This whole parking lot was absolutely full and the march from the PPWC hall was awesome. We need to be heard, you need to stand up and you need to say, "We have a voice.” [Mackenzie #5]

The following meta-reflexive played a role in making the rally a success by getting various union agencies involved:

> I pushed from my side. I got our national union involved which got the…well actually I got the regional…we’re broken up into sectors. So the west…I got the…our regional office involved and then I got the national involved and we were, not only this was going on, the mill closure and whatnot, we were fighting PricewaterhouseCoopers for monies that were owed to the guys. They just closed the doors and guys had their money that they were owed for their holidays and their earned time off, all that kind of stuff. So we had a huge fight. It was probably $300,000 plus that we paid out in lawyer fees and everything. And had we not had support from the national CEP, we’d have been tits up. And I have absolute no respect for PricewaterhouseCoopers. They’re just a bunch of demon bastards in my mind. [Mackenzie #15]

In providing further details on the origins of the rally, the following meta - reflexive highlights a key objective in using the opportunity to give the community a chance for its voice to be heard throughout the province:

> I went to the original meeting and I met with a couple of the guys from the union after and basically someone said Mackenzie won’t do anything, there's nobody that’s willing to step up to the plate to do anything and I said to one of the fellows at the union, "Why don’t we hold a rally? Why

> don’t we get a hold of people and we have to make some noise. We can't just sit back and say nothing because, if you do, you just get passed by. We need to be heard. So basically they got things together and the rally was unbelievable. It was quite incredible and very moving and I can't believe the people that came from different communities and I can't believe our community, there again, how it pulled together. We needed to be a united voice and I think we were, definitely. [Mackenzie #5]

Some individuals explained the rally in terms of it being the first time they had seen the community come together for a political purpose such as this. While the rally provides an example of a collective response in which individuals came together with a shared interest in giving voice to their community, it was a one-time event. There also appeared to be differences in perspective over the rally’s intended goals and purpose. For some, it raised awareness and offered an opportunity for bringing people together as an act of solidarity and a social activity. Others saw it as a way to express their voices in an otherwise exclusionary political process in which Mackenzie residents felt they weren’t being represented or heard in the processes deciding the fate of their community.

In the end, in their own way, the institutional activities, the group that preserved the pulp mill, and the rally each contributed to sustaining the communities through the crisis. Each also played a role in its own way to help those involved to move through crisis. A mode of collective action that occurred over a longer period of time and included a broader range of participants from both community settings was the shared interest in sustaining the well-being of community members through crisis.

Sustaining Social Fabric

A mode of collection action that was more widespread throughout the community and that occurred over time was the response by people to sustain what was described as the social fabric of the community. This translated into actions oriented towards ensuring the well-being of people so that they could move through the crisis. This included ensuring people had adequate food, clothing, and opportunities for socializing. In a range of interviews, what was described was what some referred to as the social fabric that bound together and sustained the community during this crisis, a shared interest in preserving the community. The following communicative reflexives describe what this mode of action entailed and why this was important:

> People tend to sort of, you know, when you hear about a family that is having a tough time or whatever and you tend to respond individually to a group effort or something. Somebody will say "hey, we are doing a spaghetti dinner," and you throw either some money in a pot or some meat at them or volunteer some labour or whatever...If there is something in the community that they need …[then] somebody – this other organizer or whatever — will contact me or whatever and then they will either ask you for a donation of either supplies or money or volunteer labour or whatever. We just donated picker trucks and fuel and hauling for a load of firewood for somebody with a medical emergency. Our driver donated his time, kind of thing. One of the church groups provided guys to buck and split firewood. Community Forest donated the firewood which means somebody out there fell it, hauled it, skidded it, whatever and it is in the dry land [inaudible]. It just goes from there. [McBride #19a&b]

> People would come and say, "how do I help people?" Churches would come and say, "How can we help?" and I'd tell them to go out there and help people wherever you see and whatever. The core group of people that had been here for long – not even been for a long time, those that have moved in and who consider it their community, stepped up to the plate and said, "How are we going to do this?" [Mackenzie #1]

> My husband and I and other people as well, we looked at different things that we could do. When they did the toy run, that year I did extra stuff

because there are kids out there that need things. So you sort of did some behind the scenes things to help other people. People did pull together. [Mackenzie #5]

Even with us coming together as church communities to pray for our community was something. I felt that it was very touching when we were there and I think people saw that positively for sure. I mean, not that we had a lot of people going there, but quite often there was enough people there that you could feel the presence and just knowing that we were together and praying for each other and whatever. It was pretty good. So it's great support. Mackenzie as a community, there's a lot of good people here, very good people. [Mackenzie #3]

We still lived everyday, we learned to help our neighbours, we learned to contribute to our community and every weekend within those past two years, when things were down and out, there was always something going on. People could gather, there was food, there was entertainment and I think that was really, really important and the district played a very active role in that as well. [Mackenzie #5]

I personally just helped some families in need. I mean, I gave to the food bank, prayed for families and the community. I don't really remember there being any community meetings. Well, maybe there were; I have the sense…what I remember is meetings for the employees and contractors to figure out what was going to happen, you know, what steps to go through if they were going to get paid out, that kind of thing. So I never did go to any meeting. Maybe there were some community meetings, I just don't recall them. It seemed more like it was a company thing; the company was going broke. There wasn't a whole lot that we could do. [McBride #5]

And we noticed that just in the neighbourhood. You just tend to help your neighbours more. The guy on the next street is older than me and needs his roof shovelled. Well, I'll go help him shovel his roof. On the other hand, if he can afford it, I might suggest that he hire some guy that I know is out of work to shovel his roof, but if I know he can't, well, I'll go shovel it. But that's just the way people are. And I think what happened is as the town shrinks with this, people have to move away and that, the core that's remaining just does that more. Maybe they were the people who always would have done that, I don't know, but I think people's character changes somewhat too and it becomes more community minded. You realize that, okay, I'm not getting a big paycheque anymore so after a little time well, maybe that's the most important thing in life...it's just that sort of informal change in most people's attitudes towards their neighbours in the community. And I find there's a lot more just sort of general community pride. People that just like to say that they're from Mackenzie. [Mackenzie #14]

> We didn't want to turn into a Tumbler Ridge where everybody left. We wanted to keep our people here and to have our community grow. Because there is gonna be a light at the end of the tunnel. We just don't know when. [Mackenzie #20]

While many individuals throughout the community contributed to this action of sustaining the social fabric, so too did local businesses and municipal government:

> My husband had to leave town right away and was gone for a very long time. He was gone for three years, in and out of the community, just to try and find work. We would have dinners together. We would have barbeques in the back yard together. We found other avenues to keep us busy and to keep us social. Like, even if it was a walk down to Morfee Lake, we found the easy stuff to do again when our parents first came to develop Mackenzie. The simple stuff and the district and the leisure centre, they were phenomenal. They would give the kids free skating days. They would open up their building to keep us as a family. And that was very important to keep morale up. So there were things like that and even with other business in town, if they could give you a deal, they would just to keep you here and keep our money, what money we had here to have us grow as a community. [Mackenzie #20]

For the following individual, the collective response during crisis to care for each other is an inherent characteristic of the community, regardless of the closure of the mill:

> This community is really good for [coming together in a crisis]. Not so much on a regular basis thing, but in any kind of a crisis. Somebody has a crisis in their lives that somebody passes away in their family -- if somebody passes away in the family a lot of times before that day is done, they've got baking brought to their house, meals brought to the house, all that sort of thing. But even if it's an accident or whatever it might be, somebody will organize a work bee to get their firewood. And a work bee, I know there's one organized for this coming Saturday for a fellow whose wife is in the hospital in Prince George -- been there for awhile, will be there for awhile. There'll probably be 20 people there. Not just a couple of people…The community has done that whether the mill was running or not running. The community pulls together when there's a crisis. And it's good. That's part of the reason I like to live here. Just that community atmosphere that I don't think you find in the city. [McBride #3]

Overall, the most dominant form of collective action that played out in both community settings was focused on sustaining the social well-being of the community during the crisis. With limited examples of broad-based collective action evident at the time of this study, this raises interesting questions in regards to the assumption this research project held before undertaking fieldwork. That is, it was assumed that since people faced a threat of community decline and loss of employment, we would find more concerted collective efforts directed at enabling people to move through the community. What we did find was a definite response by a number of people that chose to pursue collective action for the purpose of helping others and the community overall through the crisis. This manifested into actions directed at sustaining the social fabric of the community as opposed to actions concentrating on political and/or economic activities (e.g., pursue other economic activities, lead or organize additional rallies/protests/campaign). This form and purpose of collective action in the community played an important role in sustaining individuals and the overall community through the crisis.

In light of these findings, interesting questions emerge with regards to understanding why collective action didn't play a greater role and in particular why there wasn't action directed at political or economic interests. Recalling Archer's analytical approach to collective action, it is meta-reflexives that are needed to lead and/or initiate structural and/or cultural changes in community settings. What we have found so far are limited examples of collective action beyond addressing the social well-being of community members and a limited number of meta-reflexives initiating and/or leading broad-based support or

involvement in political and/or economic outcomes. To provide greater insight into understanding these findings, we focus again on examining both the dominant modes of reflexivity and the factors constraining/enabling people's responses. Analysis is again broken down into social structural and cultural factors. Social structural factors identified are organized around three structures: globalization, politics and economics. Cultural factors include ideas and attitudes associated with individualism, sense of complacency, and the potential for collective action.

Social Structural Factors Enabling/Constraining Responses

The exploration of collection action in the previous section provided us with a sense of the modes evident in the two communities as well as initial insights into factors (e.g., SEPs and CEPs) that constrained/enabled people's courses of action to participate in these forms. The following discussion provides deeper analysis of these factors and the degree to which individuals activated social structures and cultural attributes during their mediatory process of reflexivity. Due to the limited forms of collective action evident in the two community settings, the following discussion includes analysis of factors linked to collective action *and* inaction. While some of the following excerpts reveal overlapping issues, I have attempted to organize the discussion under three social structures: globalization, politics, and economy. We again find that the structural emergent property of roles is activated in each of these structural components, similar to what we found in the analysis of individually oriented responses in Chapter 5.

Globalization

A constraining factor that bridges both economic and political structures is globalization and the degree to which foreign mill ownership influences a person's choice to purse collective action or not. As a constraining factor, people's perspective on the degree of foreign ownership of mills left some participants feeling powerless in or disenfranchised from the decision-making process as it concerned the fate of their livelihoods and community. While participants linked this sense of powerlessness to forest companies whose headquarters are outside the community, participants in McBride linked it to the broader forest industry structure in general. This makes sense because people in the region owned the mill in McBride, whereas mills in Mackenzie are owned by larger forest companies outside the region and/or province. In the end, both settings reveal that a structural factor of powerlessness is systemic in the forest industry in BC and a possible reason for collective inaction:

> The companies, when they're global, they don't worry about the peripherals; they protect the home fires wherever the home fires may be and, in our case, they certainly weren't in Mackenzie because none of the big outfits had their main offices here. They were either in Montreal and down in the States or wherever. [Mackenzie #1]

> Yes, I think it is beyond everybody's control. I think we are lucky to be probably as well off as we are at this point compared to other places. [McBride #20]

> Even if more people are cognizant of all of those contributing factors it still doesn't necessarily mean that they are going to change what they are doing. You know, whether they are logging or involved in logging, is it going to change what they do? Because the power is out of their hands but it is in the hands of a few, whether it is multinationals outside of the province, outside of the country. I remember years ago, I don't know what the percentages are now, but something like it must have been 70 or 80% of the control of the forest resource in our province was outside of

> Canada and also outside of the province. So what do you do when you are dealing with that? They are going to log with or without you. So you either participate if you are a logger, if you are a logging contractor because you can be cognisant of the fact that we are over harvesting and that we are not doing the right thing, but what do you do? Do you just – and you can't fight it. I think people in a lot of ways, they are reactionary as you mentioned. They are here to seek out an existence [and] make a living. If they or their parents or whatever were involved in the logging industry they continue to do so. They work while the going is good and they either move to follow the work or they get out and do something totally different. [McBride #7]

> Yeah things changed. They sort of looked at us as a place out in BC and said, "Out in BC, that is where our Mackenzie operation is" but everything was controlled by people in Montreal. We had no control of anything that happened here in our community and then Canfor went down before we did, in November and that was a shock. We thought we would never shut down. Then Pope and Talbot went bankrupt, of course, and then they shut down...So [in] this span of six or seven months, everything was shut down. Nothing was operating. [Mackenzie #13]

Associated with a loss of control is the sense of alienation that left the following communicative reflexive feeling undervalued as an employee:

> But I did see that I did not want to be a number where they didn't value employees. That had already started, 'cause when FFI [Finley Forest Industries] was there, it was a very family-oriented company and as all of these changes have come with the mills buying out each other and merging with bigger international companies and stuff, the concept of people has, you know, to me the employee is the most valuable asset in the company. To these people, they aren't. They're numbers now. [Mackenzie #8]

When the companies were locally based, workers had camaraderie. Associated with a loss of control is the erosion of that camaraderie:

> There are the people, too, that make your business grow. If you take these big businesses before -- we'll go back to BCFP [British Columbia Forest Products] -- when they first started up the pulp mill and the saw mills here, there was camaraderie amongst the people, both management and the unionised employees, that went right through the town. It wasn't just the town, it was at the work and it was whatever. But when you get into the bigger global companies [they] don't have that because they're only interested in the bottom line. BCFP was interested in the bottom line, but they were also interested in keeping their employees, rehiring their families, so they would keep it all together. When you get into the

> bigger communities and you get into the bigger companies, that doesn't happen anymore and that gets lost and that is a shame, as far as I am concerned. That's really what keeps you alive. When you're forest-dependent or when you're mine-dependent or whatever, you only have one economic [activity] to support you so you have to be able to work around that. [Mackenzie #1]

The participant quoted above emphasizes the importance camaraderie plays in maintaining social cohesion within communities dependent on a single economic activity. When social cohesion is gone, it appears to constrain people's ability to move through crisis and bind together:

> I don't know what a town can do. I mean, I think we're unfortunately tied to the forestry [industry] but we're also tied to these big companies that we have no say over. And they can say they're going to do this today and then tomorrow turn around and do something different. What do we got? [sic] We got nothing. So other than looking after number one, there's not much we can do. [Mackenzie #15]

> It was managed locally, and…that's the other thing that's really changed is they aren't managed locally anymore. Their directors and board of directors are sitting in a tower somewhere and that's how it works…And the bigger they got…when Abitibi and Bowater got together it was like ooh, is this going to be good? They've already got how many newsprint mills? They're the second largest in North America if not the world. Geez, you know how…oh, it's nice to think that you're the world's largest and they're here, but yeah, as soon as they sneeze and someone's got a spread sheet and who are the bottom 10 producers? In this case, who are the bottom 32 producers and they just drew a line and every 32 of those mills, [they] shut them. [Mackenzie #23]

While these communicative reflexives describe how the companies lacked interest in the fate of the community settings, the following individual describes how apathy was reciprocated by members of the community:

> Abitibi bought the other company out and didn't even realize that it included this operation in Mackenzie. And then basically their idea was well, those idiots out west don't know how to do anything right anyway, so let's send some people out there and educate them. That doesn't go over well with workers; it doesn't go over well with government representatives. Their foresters knew better and BC foresters didn't know what they were talking about, on and on. But that's, from my perspective,

> that's the attitude that that company always had. Bowater again was one step farther removed. This is nothing to them, some little backwater in the middle of nowhere. So they don't care about us and, as far as I could see, neither me personally nor most of the people in this town really give a hoot for them either. So I think that attitude was much more prevalent when that big crash occurred than it is now. People have sort of mellowed a little bit about that…[now they are] trying to entice somebody else to come in here and do the same thing all over again. [Mackenzie #14]

The increasing globalization of the forestry industry can leave workers feeling powerless. It also leads them to lose confidence in the provincial government's ability to address these concerns:

> These are resource-based communities. When resources are replenishable—this is a renewable resource [for example] wood -- it should perpetuate itself forever. We should never, this town should never close down. Maybe a place that's a little bit further away from the fibre source might close down. But when you've got this much fibre so close to your door, there should be no reason that your town should go defunct. We have to have a little more diversity. When you're shippin' whole logs to Japan, that's wrong. If you can't scrape off a few jobs instead of buying everything back from countries like that—I mean, that's our government. That's not us. This is that whole international market where they control so many things that you don't have a say in it any more. [Mackenzie #8]

> And it didn't matter what government was in power at the time or what kind of policies were in place: you weren't immune to it. Nobody was immune to the downturn, because nobody would have expected it. And no government in the world would have planned to have some kind of reserve; it's just when your tax base drops out – you know in our community here, when every industry that's paying taxes to communities…is not paying taxes, something's got to change. I think everybody was understanding of that. [Mackenzie #10]

> The thing about it is it's a global thing and this always used to tick me off. We didn't have control over our education, we didn't have control over our healthcare, we didn't have control over big business because they were all from outside this community. So, for everything that we had, we've had to fight for…[Mackenzie #1]

These communicative reflexives acknowledge a lack of confidence in the government's ability to address these issues and frustration at how the community has had to fight for what it has in terms of education and healthcare.

In addition, there is a spatial effect of globalization that further constrained people from pursuing collective action. For some participants, the source of the problem is located in the global sphere, which made it difficult to identify a reference to mobilize action against:

> I think because nobody, as far as I know – you know, in the past something would happen, you know the Fast Ferry Scandal or something, and you could point the finger and say, "What the heck's going on?" all those kinds of things that we've seen, gun registry or whatever. But with this you couldn't say, "What's the matter with our government?" you know. We couldn't say, point the finger at anybody. So I don't think – the reason it wasn't political, as far as I saw, was because everybody saw it as global. Everybody saw it as a worldwide problem, a worldwide issue. [Mackenzie #10]

> I don't know what a town can do. I mean, I think we're unfortunately tied to the forestry but we're also tied to these big companies that we have no say over. And they can say they're going to do this today and then tomorrow turn around and do something different. What do we got? We got nothing. So other than looking after number one, there's not much we can do. [Mackenzie #15]

> It's the global economy. What are you going to do? It's happening everywhere. Ford and GM and everybody was going bankrupt. The whole economy was flushed, going down the toilets so are we going into another great depression, is this what the economy is going to? We hope to hell not because, from what I know in that time from my history, it's something that will be devastating, but that's where it seems like it was going. Right now I don't think it we are better off but we're far from being recovered. We're still highly dependant on the American housing and they're still in the toilets. Us selling or relating to the States, basically, all we have is the China market right now and, if anything happens to China, where are we? In the same boat again? Sometimes I figure I should change careers but it's not just me, it's a lot of other people too. [Mackenzie #16]

The sense of powerlessness and exclusion from political and economic decisions directly affecting the community left people focused on themselves and what they did have control over, namely, as we heard earlier in this chapter, their personal and the community's well-being during difficult times.

People's roles in the globalized forest industry bring up a number of interesting factors that seem to constrain their ability and choice to pursue collection action. A strong sense of powerlessness and lack of control over their community's fate left a number of participants losing faith in their ability to influence changes in current political economic conditions. This was further exacerbated by some people losing confidence in the provincial government's ability to adequately address these issues because of the global nature of the industry today. This lack of legitimacy seems to increase the likelihood that people will not pursue collective action. Interestingly, the issues explored above could also form reasons or possible triggers for motivating collective action, but the sense of powerlessness appears to override any sense of empowerment.

Political

Linked to globalization is the political social structure that can play a role in constraining and/or enabling collectively oriented responses. We have heard already how people expressed a lack of confidence in the provincial government being able to effectively manage community issues/interests within a global context. We turn our attention now to the political sphere and the degree to which communicative reflexives feel marginalized from the centers of power in the provincial capital of Victoria:

> I think we always think [that] the government that controls this sector is the government for Prince George. I have never once thought about going to Victoria or talking to anybody in Victoria. I mean, yeah, why would you talk to them? They don't care. I know a lot of people talk to people in Prince George, kind of the local government. [McBride #22]

> I don't think they listen unless there is a huge big issue that is going to end up affecting the whole province or the Lower Mainland, and I don't think that's anything new. [McBride #11]

> Not just Mackenzie but I mean rural BC or rural places -- I think for a lot of politics, they forget that. All they care about is their population in Vancouver. That bothers me somewhat because I think that's short-sighted too, because if you allow the communities to fall apart in rural places then you're going to undermine your whole economy in a sense, because you need these places to support the businesses that are here…maybe there will be business anyways…regardless of communities probably. The way our society is working, people don't live where they work and I get that, and I'm worried for rural communities in general. I am worried about their education, of course sitting in this desk now - how we fund rural education and what that means for families. [Mackenzie #11]

> Well I think the government is happy as long as you are happy. Do you know what I mean? They don't give a shit about McBride. Nobody does. It is McBride that gives a shit about McBride. [McBride #8a]

> There are solutions out here. But we've become so Lower Mainland-focused that we don't -- we're not using what we have to solve those problems. And the solution -- I don't think -- I think it's going to be a long time until we get back to pre-Wall-Street-collapse-prosperity in our province. But we could be making life easier for the majority of our people by being proactive. [McBride #1]

The sense of marginalization in the political sphere in BC is associated with the fact that the communities have small populations as compared to urban centers like Victoria or the Lower Mainland. A smaller population level was perceived by the following communicative reflexive as another factor limiting people's voices in the political system because this means their voting impact on the political landscape is limited in BC:

> [We have] pretty small numbers here. When it comes down to the big crunch, it don't really matter that much. I don't think our votes out here were [counting]. I mean what is this outlying area? …I know at one time they said there was about 2,000 people here total. [McBride #22]

We are again given insight into the political conditions of these community settings that could be seen as triggers or reasons for motivating people to choose collectively oriented action. Instead, participants chose to reproduce these structural conditions as opposed to pursuing action that would change them. In an attempt to understand why reproducing previous structural conditions was the outcome at the time of this study, we turn to other factors such as the quality of leadership in the community settings.

Shifting the level of analysis to the municipal level, we find that some people describe the issue of leadership as a factor that constrains collectively oriented action. Whereas people in the Mackenzie setting often spoke positively about the quality of leadership in their community during their uncertain times, people in McBride expressed a different perspective:

> There are a lot of people that think the same way I do. You can put people also on a committee that can think about these things and do stuff, and they have to be people that can go into meetings and present their ideas. They have to be strong enough people where they can go in and make the right decisions. We don't have any of that right now at the top. It's the community's fault. It's not the mayor or anything; the mayor didn't even want to run last time. Nobody ran against him. He didn't put his name in until the last hour. He didn't really want to do it. So anybody that slams the mayor right now, they better be pretty careful about that. He's doing the best job he knows how to do in a very difficult situation, and nobody else would step forward. [McBride #16]

> It's all us individuals wanderin' around here and not sittin' down together. Every time I sit down with a group of people, I'm just constantly amazed at all the ideas. But one of us can't do it. I just feel that we really need—well, leadership. The biggest single thing. Maybe that's not like a big-stick leader, but the person that draws people together and say[s] hey, you know, you've got a good idea and you've got a good idea. Now what can we do with this? [McBride #12]

While the municipal government in McBride is said to lack the leadership needed to enable a broader based response, the following individual also recognizes that there aren't enough individuals in the community with the resources (e.g., time) to incite action:

> I think that's pretty well the way things are and I blame the politicians for that. I'm not sure what could be done. But I think if there was some leadership, there might be some, at least some more positive feeling amongst people. And maybe we wouldn't feel so much like we're fighting this all alone. We've had some funny politics lately around here. Maybe that's part of the problem. Or maybe that's part of the—that's an illustration of the problem the community has, this is that politics get a little bit funny. Desperation settin' in. But I don't know, I'm not a psychologist. [McBride #12]

What the communicative reflexives above describe is how the lack of leadership within the municipal government and throughout the community in the McBride setting played a role in constraining people's choices to pursue collective action. In the community setting of Mackenzie there was one meta-reflexive interviewed that ran for mayor to challenge the existing leadership:

> I didn't win but I ran for mayor. I didn't think she [mayor at the time] was doing a proper job. I can't just sit here and be the one that blab[s], bitch[es], and complain[s] if I don't put myself out there, and I did. I said to my wife, "I can sit around like everybody else [or else I can] try to change things." [Mackenzie #13]

This individual saw the issues of leadership as an enabling factor for pursing a course of action to move through the crisis, and lead the community as well. As such, the social structure of politics reveals a number of important factors constraining people's choices to pursue collective action. We also find the communicative mode of reflexivity dominating again in the participant's deliberation over the chosen course(s) of action.

Economic

In exploring factors that constrain/enable collective action, we find that factors related to the social structure of the economy play a role in constraining choices. Some participants were interested in purchasing mills in the community settings. The following meta-reflexive in Mackenzie led a small group committed to purchasing one of the mills but faced lack of support and resistance by the provincial government which, according to the participant, appeared more focused on maintaining the existing industrial economic structure in BC where large firms own forest mills.

> I think some of the union organizations, particularly the pulp mill union, initially tried to do that [political action] but they didn't get much except confrontation and it just didn't work. So everybody started to focus more of their energy on just helping their neighbour rather than trying to deal with those bigger issues, because [the issues] just seemed so much beyond what we could do locally. And it seemed, to me anyway, fairly obvious that there was nothing I could do personally other than vote, and even that didn't seem to be much use, to change anything there. I mean, I had the opportunity to talk to Pat Bell personally a few times and participate in some of the rallies and things. Oh, he's a nice guy to talk to, but philosophically we were so far apart that it wasn't doing any good anyway. And I don't know if my reaction is similar to anyone else's in town, but this whole…the last couple of years here has just turned me off of the entire political process. There is nobody out there in any of those parties that seems relevant to my community or my life. So you just kind of try to ignore them and work around them. [Mackenzie #14]

That lack of support left this individual constrained in his ability to pursue this form of collective action, which in turn led him to focus on what he could control– his own well-being and that of others in the community. An additional meta-reflexive describes the constraint to pursue this form of collective action in terms of finances.

> Well, XX offered up money to help us investigate into it or whatnot. I mean, we didn't take it because we didn't go there, but a lot of the comments around town were [focused on how workers purchased a mill in the community of Harmac]…Harmac [pulp mill located in coastal British Columbia], I think they paid...the guys put down $10,000 and whatever they committed to. Well, when you lose your job and you don't get severance and they owe you the holiday pay and they're telling you there's no fibre because Canfor just screwed you and cut the fibre deal, I mean, my wife basically told me no. You're not going to take $10,000 of our money, sink it into the mill that may never go again. So that was…that's where that ended basically. Guys were just too leery to…a lot of guys didn't have any money. I mean, how do you get 10 grand when you just lost your house? Guys lost their…I mean, you name it, they lost it. [Mackenzie #15]

The following individual suggests that in McBride, people did pressure the local community forest project and the municipal government to buy the mill. According to this individual, the municipal government did anything it could to sell the mill or have it reopened:

> I mean the village wanted to do anything they could. They were good about it all. And they wanted to do anything they could to either sell, have it sold or reopened or...if there was something -- if there's something we can do, let us know, you might say. [McBride #4]

Collective action requires community buy-in, which isn't easy. The need for income often constrains people's willingness to participate in collective action:

> The only way you would ever get anything collective to work is if every single logging truck driver said, "we refuse to work for that," or every single faller or you know, but you are never going to get that…Because they need the money. [McBride #22]

Beyond economic means, the following autonomous reflexive chose not to pursue the idea of purchasing the McBride mill because he didn't feel people could come together to operate it:

> I don't think it will ever be…it is too hard to get everybody on the same [side]…like the community buying the mill and carrying on with it? I don't know if that would ever fly. There would be too many guys

> wanting to be the boss. I don't know…how that would work. I mean, you've got your community forest here now and…what I hear, I mean I am not involved in it but there are issues there, continually, with everybody figuring they are being unfairly dealt with or you always hear stuff. Like I said, I personally haven't had anything to do with them. …There is conflict, BS, so I don't [get involved]. So as far as coming together and running the mill, I don't know if it would ever, could work. [McBride #22]

A number of factors played a role in people's collective inaction. This includes factors of powerlessness and lack of legitimacy associated with globalization, marginalization and disenfranchisement in politics, and a lack of economic resources. With the identification of a small number of meta-reflexives in the social structural domain we find that there are not only a limited number of people choosing to initiate or lead collective action but that the conditions for collective action to emerge are constrained.

Cultural Factors Enabling/Constraining Collective Responses

Cultural factors also played a role in constraining/enabling people's choices of whether or not to engage in collective action. The following discussion continues our analysis of people's modes of reflexivity, in hopes of providing insight into understanding why we find limited action towards political or economic objectives. As we will see, cultural factors identified include attitudes related to individualism, complacency and a belief in the potential for future collective action.

While this study is not a comparative analysis between the two community settings, there is a significant difference worth noting at this stage of the analysis. Based on observations made during formal and informal conversations in both community settings, I became aware of the difference in the degree of cultural

diversity between the communities. For instance, Mackenzie was described by a participant earlier in this dissertation as a mono-culture characterized by a community linked to forestry with the bulk of its population directly or indirectly linked to forest activities. It has a strong union presence and collective identity associated with forestry. McBride, on the other hand, can be described as a more diverse or heterogeneous setting because it is an older community and has had a greater range of economic activities (i.e., forestry and agriculture and, more recently, tourism) throughout its history. Also revealed during my observations in McBride is that it has a stronger sense of individualism, self-reliance and self-sufficiency than Mackenzie. A number of McBride residents expressed their preference for a government that would play a limited role in their lives, freeing them to pursue their ideal lifestyles and maintain their desired quality of life. Given this insight into the cultural context of the two settings, the following discussion looks to identity cultural factors that are constraining/enabling people's course of action.

Individualism

Individualism, and a focus on preserving one's self through crisis, appears to play a role in enabling people through crisis but also constrains people's choices to pursue collective action. The following discussion highlights this point and presents the experience of autonomous reflexives who chose to remain in the community and not engage in collective action:

> Because people here seem to look to themselves, be more self-reliant, I don't think leadership—I mean, they look in the mirror and that's where they see the leadership or not…Yeah, I don't think it will ever be…it is

> too hard to get everybody on the same [page]…what do you mean, like the community buying the mill and carrying on with it? [McBride #22]

> I pretty much keep to myself because I can…my mouth gets me in trouble sometimes…I mean, if there was a need for anything, you know, being a corporate person, you know, I don't mind helping out. Like the libraries, they were going through tough times and they wanted a fence. I mean, I just donate[d] the fence. Even though I couldn't really afford it, but, I mean, that's just one of the things you've got to do. You know, with all these budget cutbacks…I worry about [the] town to a point. Then, after that…like if it doesn't worry about me, then, you know, I mean, I don't…I do my own thing, you know? There's only so much you can do. [McBride #17]

> Like I said, I stay to myself a lot…I want to get involved, but I don't to a certain degree, because I don't need everybody having poop on me [information about me]. [McBride #13]

Focusing on oneself during crisis appears to be a response based out of necessity, but it could also be linked to a longstanding cultural belief among McBride residents that individuals are responsible for themselves. This would also suggest we should expect to find more autonomous reflexives as opposed to meta-reflexives in this setting:

> There are really no movers and shakers around…Because I am so focused on my business and whatever and it is a 12-hour day here for me and stuff, I don't have a whole lot of energy for going to the meetings and stuff like that. So I tend to sort of keep my ear out in here and stuff like that, throw my two cents out where they will do the most good but I tend to sort of let the movers and shakers do that. I just sort of quietly go along with the flow in the background. Once in awhile I will go "hey, what if?" or "what about" or that kind of thing but that is partly because it is [a] new business venture and I am still really focused on keeping it viable…Because it is a 12-hour day, I don't have the energy. It is twelve hours here but then I go to the grocery store and go home and have to deal with that too. It gets a little crazy. [McBride #19]

> I just don't see that kind of collective thing working well. But I don't want to be too pessimistic about that, but…[McBride #18]

The lack of "movers and shakers" and the skepticism that collective behaviour would even work in this community setting are additional constraining factors.

The following communicative reflexives highlight the importance of ensuring that they focus on themselves and/or immediate family/friends first before engaging in political outcomes:

> Everybody tries to work together, and you have to. I mean, it's inevitable. That's why it's called a community. But, you know, a lot of times…I don't try and get too involved with that because I've got to stay focused on this; otherwise that's a deviation. And next [thing] you know, you get caught in this and, oh why don't you help us with this, and… No, no, no I just came to, you know, I've got to go and make money, you know, my bank doesn't want me to sit there...No, I'm not a philosopher, I don't get paid for this, and it's taken time. I'm sort of focused that way, this is costing me money. I could be out in the mill making money kind of thing, you know. But, you know, for the most part everybody pulls… like since [Hockeyville], that was a good one for the community, that was huge. [McBride #17]

> I don't think there was a general sense in the town of…but I do think there was this banding together of people. I do. I just don't know if they would have had a direction or an outlet and I think the few outlets that were accessed were based on those few key people that, unlike me, were more politically aware and…yeah…I guess I was selfish, more in a sense that I was thinking more about my family and us being stable and not so much thinking about, how do I get that mill rerunning? More about, let's take care of the needs of the kids and the families and the people and let somebody else worry about how do we get this happening again. [Mackenzie #11]

> I have to say that I'm not a very political person so I don't think about if this is a political connection…I think about kid[s] so I am not highly political and I probably didn't pay attention to [the] more political aspects of what was going on. I do think that there were some key leaders in the unions that kept that voice going, and I think that was remarkable, that they had that stamina and fight and resilience and hope and passion and all of those things, that they kept it going, and I think without those few key leaders, that wouldn't have happened. I don't think there was a general sense in the town of…but I do think there was this banding together of people. I just don't know if they would have had a direction or an outlet and I think the few outlets that were accessed were based on those [Mackenzie #11]

The focus on one's well-being during the crisis is a common theme. However, the following participant stressed the need for people to limit their involvement in

different kinds of responses to save some energy for what is really important in their lives:

> I do see it as a bit of a shortfall in myself. At the same time I also think if you're spread too thin you can't do good anywhere. So choose what your strengths are, and that's…probably without really think[ing] about it, that's what we did; that's what I did. Those were the choices I made. I focussed on what I knew about and I kind of tried to help…Why weren't people getting involved? Probably because it was more than they could take on emotionally, physically…they probably couldn't even get to that place of thinking. It was my guess and certainly for us, at the very beginning it was more about, what are we going to do? Look at what our first reaction was: should we move? Let's think about our options outside of Mackenzie, not let's get a mill back running. It was…let's look after our own family and make sure that we can feed our kids. [Mackenzie #11]

In the end, the cultural feature of individualism enables people through crisis while constraining their choices to pursue collective action to address political and/or economic outcomes.

Complacency

Beyond a focus on preserving oneself is the attitude of complacency expressed by some participants in the community settings. For some individuals, a lack of interest in engaging in political action played a role in their collective inaction:

> When I first got laid off, lots of people again were very optimistic the place would start back up again; everybody figured it was going to get going before the wintertime and stuff like this. So of course you go, okay, well, geez I could take the summer off. So I never…rallies, they had a couple of rallies to bring the issue forward and I never…I can't remember if I went over there. Anyway, [I was] not involved in it at all and stuff like that, [I] just enjoyed the summer off. [Mackenzie #22]

> So I think what happens in small communities or one-horse town communities, is that people get really complacent with what they have. I mean everybody in this town has been able to make big bucks for a long time, and you never had to think about anything else. And you've never

> had anybody in the political scene that's been future seeing. [Mackenzie #9]

The cultural domain speaks to potential factors constraining collective inaction following the closure of the mills. While this section leans more toward speculation, it does raise important factors worth acknowledging for this study and for future studies on this subject.

Belief in Latent Collective Action

While attitudes associated with individualism and complacency played a constraining role in some participants' choices not to pursue collective action, the following communicate reflexive believes collective action could still emerge in McBride:

> There are lots of resourceful people here but most of those ones are ones that are just creating their own, like us, kind of [saying] okay, what might work? ...Collectively, I don't know what more we could do. There hasn't really been any town hall meetings…At the beginning it was not a good time [to take action] because there was just so much anger and like I say, you know, blaming that people had…I think it is fading, the anger. So perhaps now is a good time to do something like that. [McBride #20]

When asked whether he thinks there are signs of that kind of collective response to the crisis, the following individual stated: "If necessary...yes, it's there if needed, kind of thing" [McBride #20], which suggests the latent potential for collective action is always there. However, what the community setting has experienced to date is collective action oriented towards sustaining the well-being of community members as opposed to political and economic activities. The conditions need to be suitable for people to choose collective action. The

conditions at the time of this study also revealed how the community was in a state of fragmentation with strong attitudinal divisions between different groups:

> It's been kind of interesting because I really haven't seen this town come together in a group. What I've seen is probably just the opposite, the town kind of breaking apart. The mayor that we have now – [this is] the first time I've ever seen the community fight the mayor. Usually the mayor was a big supporter and if you needed stuff done, that was the guy making sure it was done. The problem that they have with the Community Forest is you've got a whole part of the community absolutely up in arms with the mill in McBride. And again, you wouldn't have seen that if times weren't difficult. So in a lot of ways, you have people pulling together, like let's say they're in the Elks or some of those organizations, some of the churches kind of things, you see those type of groups pulling together. You see the bigger groups, like the Village [community of McBride] and stuff, people fighting at every level, and I think that's where the problems are…When the situation gets as bad as it's been, that doesn't necessarily pull people together, it can also pull them apart. And I've never seen the community pulled apart like what we see now, but I think it's a sign of the times. [McBride #16]

Through a belief in the potential for collective action, the previous individual offers this cultural factor as an enabling force to move through crisis but also as a window into the conditions needed for collective action. Although McBride appears to be a fragmented community of competing discourses over how to move forward, it could also be seen as in the early stages of development for a collective action movement, provided that the right leaders come forward.

A number of factors appear to have played a role in the move to limit collective action to sustaining the social fabric of the community settings. While individualism enabled some participants to move through crisis, it also constrained their choices in pursuing collective action. This suggests that these participants chose to reproduce this cultural characteristic through the crisis. A sense of complacency also appeared to be reproduced through the crisis, further limiting collective action. While not directly related to people's current responses

per se, the belief in the potential for collective action exists if or when the right conditions develop. In reflecting on the cultural factors that played a part in this study, an important finding is that there is a limited number of meta-reflexives and the cultural conditions do not encourage or cultivate collective action.

Conclusion

In this chapter I continued to analyze the interaction between participants, social structures and cultural dimensions within the social and economic crisis in the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride. Unlike Chapter 5, which focused on individual responses, this chapter examined collective responses, under the assumption that people would mobilize in response to their given crisis conditions. The chapter began by mapping out collective actions (e.g., the rally, preserving the pulp mill and institutional activities) that had been identified at the time of the study. Particular attention was given to actions oriented towards ensuring that the well-being of community members was sustained during crisis. While this marked an important mode of collective action that contributed to sustaining the overall community, our attention turned to examining why there were limited examples of collective responses oriented towards political and/or economic outcomes.

To help answer this question we analyzed responses through the lens of reflexivity to again identify the types of modes at play and to identify structural and cultural factors constraining/enabling responses. In this chapter, we found a low number of meta-reflexives linked to political and/or economic activities while the majority of responses revealed a communicative reflexive mode. This offers

an important insight into understanding whether we should expect to see structural and/or cultural change, since we are not finding a shift from primary to corporate agents. As a result, we should expect to find that a social system that supports communicative reflexivity will likely lead to overall morphostasis of structural and cultural factors enabling and/or constraining collective action.

Exploring structural and cultural factors began with an examination of the structural emergent properties of roles (i.e., the relationship between forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident – community; citizen – political system; and family member – family). Participants interacted with the structural emergent property of roles and in so doing activated the social structures of globalization, politics and economy. Constraining factors associated with roles included issues of powerlessness, alienation, not having a referent point to mobilize around, a lack of legitimacy in the government's ability to solve the challenges, and not having a voice in political decision-making processes. In terms of the cultural dimension, participants activated constraining factors of individualism and complacency and activated the enabling factor of the potential for collective action to occur in the future. Overall, these factors provide the analytical means to examine which emergent properties were activated by individuals, which in turn provides us with insight into whether this research finds structural and cultural elaboration or reproduction (i.e., morphogenesis or morphostasis respectively).

A key finding is that people are able to sustain the well-being of the community and its residents through crisis. In terms of the collective action taken to sustain the well-being of the community, structural enabling factors included

one's role as a community resident. This is evident in people's commitment to sustaining the well-being of the community during economic hardship. With respect to the collective inaction towards political and economic interests, structural constraining factors again included roles -- forest/mill-worker, citizen-political system -- that limited people's ability to pursue political and economic interests. This is evident in the sense that people felt powerless in relation to their community's vulnerability to global forces as well as in the face of political decision-making made outside the community. Cultural constraining factors included attitudes of individualism and complacency in pursuing action beyond taking care of themselves and others in the community. This all suggests that the conditions are not suitable for meta-reflexives (or potential meta-reflexives) to be successful at mobilizing people around political and/or economic interests.

Chapter 7: Reproducing a Limited Capacity: Discussion and Conclusion

"I think that the general community members who were here were more interested in making sure that the town worked well together and that people were able to deal with that part of their life outside of the work section." [Mackenzie #7]

Moving Through Crisis

This study reveals the importance of understanding how people deliberate over their choice of actions and the structural and cultural conditions they face in moving forward through crisis, in this case a social and economic crisis brought on by mill closures in rural BC. Given job loss and the threat of decline in communities economically dependent on the forest industry, people were forced to undergo a process of deliberation as they sorted out their response(s) to lost livelihoods and an uncertain forest economy.

The crisis resulted in a number of impacts that challenged the resilience of individuals and the community overall. Direct impacts of job loss included decline in real estate values, loss or decline in personal savings, outmigration, the dismantling of families, strain on personal relationships, decline in community services, and various health impacts (e.g., depression and alcohol and drug use). Furthermore, there were similar indirect or "ripple" effects for those fortunate enough to maintain employment, in addition to a sense of "guilt" about being better off than their neighbors. Navigating through these uncertain times proved to be a significant challenge for those who chose to remain in the community. Summarized and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 are the responses that I organized according to those who were individually oriented vs. collectively oriented.

Individually oriented responses included people moving out of the community settings, remaining in the community settings, undertaking retraining/skills development, waiting for the mill to restart, personal retreat (e.g., alcohol and drug use), and males seeking work outside the community. Collectively oriented responses included carrying out activities to maintain the well-being of the community, participating in a rally, and preserving a pulp mill. In this study I have attempted to gain insight into this messy domain of how people move through uncertain times. My goal is to build understanding of the human experience that resulted from economic crisis in the two forest community settings.

I employed the morphogenetic approach as the analytical framework through which to explore the human dimension in this study: its unique mode of analysis fit my objectives well. By temporarily suspending the inherently convoluted interplay between agency, social structure and the cultural domain within participants' mediatory process of reflexivity, the emergent causal properties were identified and examined. Through this framework, and as explored in Chapters 5 and 6, we were able to gain insight into structural and cultural factors that were activated (or not) and that either constrained and/or enabled people's chosen course of action.

The analytical process in this dissertation was organized around three stages of the morphogenetic approach. Chapter 4 is the first stage of analysis (and first stage of the morphogenetic cycle), where I explored the structural and cultural conditions that predated the crisis and that people interacted with as they

deliberated over their situations. Chapter 5 moved the analysis into the second stage of the morphogenetic cycle by examining interview narratives for individually oriented responses. Chapter 6 turned our focus towards collectively oriented responses with particular attention given to understanding why I found collective action directed at sustaining the well-being of individuals and limited accounts directed towards political and/or economic objectives. Both stages of analysis are carried out in the same manner by identifying the dominant mode of reflexivity (e.g., communicative or meta-reflexive) and the structural and cultural factors constraining/enabling people's responses. The purpose of this analytical approach is to better understand the variation in responses in hopes of gaining insight into answering whether people have the capacity to move through crisis and what it reveals in terms of explaining the dynamic process of social change. As we will see, what this study finds is some degree of variation in individual expressions (i.e., mode of reflexivity) and limited variation between structural and/or cultural themes in the two community settings.

Moving Individually Through Crisis

As I examined the interaction between agents (participants), social structure and cultural dimensions in people's reflexive process, I began to gain insight into how people moved through the crisis in the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride. If we begin with considering the modes of reflexivity evident within individually oriented responses, we find communicative modes associated with social structural conditions and meta-reflexives associated with cultural factors (e.g., "bubble" mentality and materialism). This suggests that for

issues related to social structures (e.g., economy and education) those people interviewed undertook a reflexive process that involves the need for communication and confirmation with others before pursuing their chosen course of action. The "other" in the case of this study included their spouse, members of their family as well as employers (e.g., forest companies) or government. The reference to employers was particularly interesting when people described their dependence on others to create employment opportunities such as the government or forest companies. We would expect to see autonomous reflexives pursue actions such as creating work opportunities for themselves, but I did not find many such types among the study participants. Similarly, there was a very small number of meta-reflexives, which are of particular interest in the study because they are people that could initiate and/or lead action to challenge existing structural and cultural conditions (see the next section for more discussion on this point). Therefore, and based on this stage of the analysis, I find that a social system that supports communicative reflexivity will lead to overall reproduction or morphostasis of structural and cultural conditions whereas a system that supports meta-reflexives will lead to elaboration or morphogenesis of structural and cultural conditions.

Exploring structural and cultural factors began with an examination of the structural emergent properties of roles (i.e., the relationship between forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident – community; citizen – political system; family member – family). By examining roles I was able to identify the social structures that individuals activated, which included structures of community, family,

economy, education and gender. A strong commitment or attachment to relationships and networks in the community was an enabling factor despite the economic hardship faced. This type of attachment also reflects what Beckley (2003) describes as an anchor for people to stay in the community despite economic hardship faced.

Economic factors played a role in constraining and enabling people's choices as they moved through the crisis. However, how one perceives the factor will determine whether it has an enabling or constraining effect. For instance, having a second income enabled people to survive economically through the crisis while people whose personal savings were tied to their homes were constrained when it came to choosing to leave the community. They were not willing to walk away from their houses because it would result in a significant financial loss. As a result, remaining in the community and hoping for an upturn in the forest sector enabled them to move through the crisis.

Linked to the social structure of the economy is the issue of financial planning. The crisis forced a number of people to reflect on the sustainability of their financial circumstances. While this does not necessarily link directly to an enabling or constraining factor per se, it does offer the possibility of people changing how they plan for future economic downturns or crisis in their community settings. In doing so this offers an enabling effect for those who chose to remain in the community; it allowed them to prepare for possible economic downturns in the future. Whether people will actually change their financial

circumstances in light of what this crisis revealed in terms of lessons learned for those that did not plan for the future remains to be seen.

Another factor that played a role is the education level of participants in the community settings. This study found that low skills and education levels constrained people's employment opportunities while higher skill sets and education enabled people to pursue options that included opportunities available in other sectors (e.g., oil and gas). It is not uncommon to find people with low skills and education levels in the forest sector because the industrial forest model has relied on narrowly skilled labour for production. However, a more diversified set of skills enables people to better cope with a crisis resulting from job loss. This understanding was evident in government-led initiatives that offered retraining at the time of the mill closures in the community settings.

While the last social structure, that of gender, did not surface in many interviews, it was a factor that emerged in a number of informal conversations during my time in the community settings. It is worth mentioning in this discussion because it is a factor that provided a glimpse into a possible response differential between men and women that warrants additional research. Generally speaking, men often chose to wait for the mills to reopen while women took a more proactive role in moving through crisis. This is worth looking at more closely, particularly given the male dominance in labour in both the forest and mill sectors. It also raises questions regarding the mode of reflexivity evident, given the possibility of finding more autonomous and/or meta-reflexives among

women and whether that could link to potential sources of change in forest community settings.

In terms of the cultural dimension, participants activated cultural factors that constrained and enabled responses that included a “bubble” mentality, attitudes towards change, sense of entitlement, belief in an abundant timber supply, and beliefs related to religion. More specific to the Mackenzie setting is the idea of a “bubble” mentality or a sense of living in a community that was protected from the outside world. The crisis enabled people to rethink the sense of insulation from external sources during crisis as they experienced first-hand their vulnerability to forces beyond community control. This was particularly the case because while the community had faced work stoppages or mill closures in the past, they had not experienced a crisis on this scale.

Another interesting insight from the research relates to materialism and people’s corresponding values. The crisis forced people to reevaluate what they valued and prioritized in terms of family, careers and material wealth. A number of people had adopted lifestyles that entailed consuming various objects (e.g., boats, ski-doos, and ATVs) and enjoyed a certain standard of living that matched their income levels. However, as mentioned earlier, financial planning may not have been given the level of attention needed to sustain this standard of living in the even of a crisis. As a result, people’s perception of what they valued was challenged during the crisis, which offers the potential for this type of consumer behavior to change in the future should people desire to make such a change.

What emerged as a significant cultural factor was the attitude people held towards change, especially given that the crisis created an immediate impact on people's lived experiences. Here I found participants describing how having certain attitudes can enable or constrain how they move through crisis. For example, those that resisted change waited for mills to reopen rather than undertaking retraining or pursuing other economic activities to sustain them through the crisis. The perception of change also played a role in terms of whether people had a positive or negative perspective of their life circumstances. Positive attitudes were linked to enabling people to move through crisis and, for some, to pursue retraining or other economic activities. Negative attitudes were associated with constraining people in dealing with crisis as they waited for mills to reopen and for others to provide employment opportunities.

The belief in an abundant supply of timber in the Mackenzie setting also played a role in enabling people to remain in the community and wait until the mills reopened. How long this belief existed prior to the crisis is not certain but this was a belief that helped some people to move through the crisis. Participants in McBride expressed a similar perspective, saying that they knew there was timber in the Robson Valley and a veneer mill in their community; they observed a number of logging trucks passing through the community full of logs to be processed in mills elsewhere.

While a sense of entitlement and ideas related to religion did not surface in many interviews, these factors often came up during informal conversations. As such, I am including them in this study because they offer what appear to be

important insights, but insights that require additional research. Sense of entitlement (e.g., people are entitled to a job at a wage they are accustomed to), appeared to have constrained some people to pursue activities beyond waiting for the mill to reopen. The sense of entitlement links to one study that found entitlement evident in a forest community in Hinton, Alberta. While that research focused on understanding substance abuse, the study found entitlement to exist in the community due to high levels of income and unionized mill work (Parkins and Angell 2010), as is the case for participants in this dissertation. Entitlement in the case of this dissertation links to how some people held expectations about the type of jobs they would do and level of income as they waited for the mills to reopen. However, this attitude did not surface directly in many interviews, and further research is required to explore it in the two community settings. This caveat also applies to the role played by ideas associated with religion, such as faith and forgiveness. While faith enabled people to move through uncertain and difficult times, forgiveness appeared to help bring a sense of peace or acceptance of challenges that originated beyond their control.

In exploring the modes of reflexivity and the factors people interacted with as they deliberated over their courses of action, I found that structural and cultural conditions played a significant role in framing people's experiences and the possibility for change in the two community settings. While recognizing how social structure and/or culture play a role in shaping human behaviour is typical within a sociological approach, what is unique about this study is that it makes it possible to understand what these conditions tell us about the dynamic process of

change. Chapter 5 offered insight through the lens of individually oriented responses. It appears people have the capacity to carry themselves, and others, through crisis but remain bound within existing structural and cultural conditions that limit political and economic actions. There were few examples of people challenging the pre-existing conditions in the forest settings. Instead, I found people focusing on sustaining themselves and letting existing conditions prevail, with the exception of some conditions that may change (e.g., materialism and "bubble" mentality). This was apparent because the majority of people held a communicative mode of reflexivity and focused on factors that helped sustain them through crisis. As such, given the communicative reflexives and structural and cultural factors limiting elaboration of conditions, this stage of analysis suggests that we should expect a reproduction of existing structural and cultural dimensions identified in this study.

This stage provides valuable insight into the reflexive modes and factors constraining/enabling responses to the crisis. Our attention now turns to the role that collective action played in enabling people to move through crisis because it was expected that collective action would have occurred given the conditions people faced during the crisis.

Moving Collectively Through Crisis

The following section provides a discussion about the results of examining the mediatory process, with particular analytical attention given to collective action. A key assumption I held going into this research was that I would find people in the community settings mobilizing in response to their crisis.

Mobilizing around social and economic issues is not unusual (e.g., the recent Idle No More movement in Canada, Occupy movement, anti-globalization and/or anti neoliberalism movements such as the Zapatistas in Mexico). While these examples represent much larger movements of people, the premise is the same: people mobilize with the purpose of changing systemic issues in a given social system. The premise is applied to circumstances in the two community settings, whereby people faced significant social and economic hardship. I expected to find people mobilizing in some form to seek ways to improve their circumstances.

Chapter 6 focuses specifically on the collective response to crisis in the two community settings. I found limited examples of collective action at the time of fieldwork (i.e., institutional responses, preserving the pulp mill and rally in Mackenzie). What was found to be a dominant collective response evident in both settings was the interest that many people had in sustaining their well-being, along with that of their families and others in the community. What was not found were many examples of people pursuing political and/or economic interests beyond sustaining the well-being of community members. The analysis then moved to understanding why there was a limited account of people pursuing political and economic outcomes, which I did by examining modes of reflexivity and the structural and cultural factors people encountered. What I found is that the two community settings represent a social system that does not support the conditions for meta-reflexives to succeed in transforming people from Primary Agents into Corporate Agents to pursue economic and/or political outcomes.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Archer describes agents as Primary and Corporate, with the premise that for morphogenesis or social change to occur, Primary Agents must transform into Corporate Agents. Primary Agents lack a say in the morphogenetic process because they are people who do not express their interest(s) or organize for their strategic pursuit either in society or in a given institutional context (Archer 1995). This does not mean they cannot have an effect "but the effects are unarticulated in both senses of the word – uncoordinated in action and unstated in aim" (Archer 1995, p. 259). Archer's theoretical framework for explaining how and why Primary Agents transform into Corporate Agents (or not) focuses on discursive and organizational realms, and in particular the *emergent properties* of individuals as opposed to empirical observations (e.g., individuals and degree of resources available determine whether collective action occurs). That is, the transformation occurs when a group of people articulate their concerns and organize in some fashion to have a say in changing or stabilizing structural and cultural models in society. While the framework offers utility for this dissertation, I also explored literature on collective action in general to ensure there are no additional details or perspectives that could be used to enrich Archer's approach to collection action. Collective action literature offers empirical level analysis while Archer's work attempts to delve into a stratified framework of reality that seeks deeper insight into the emergent causal properties.

Collective response findings reveal structural emergent properties of roles (i.e., the relationship between forest/mill worker – mill owner; resident – community; citizen – globalization). In other words, the roles of people reveal

insight into the factors constraining/enabling people's choices to mobilize collectively to move through the crisis. However, through the analysis to understand how people interacted with social structure and cultural dimensions, it became clear that what people mobilized around (i.e., interests) was limited in terms of scope.

In Chapter 6 the results of people's responses in the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride revealed that people did move through crisis using their ability to mobilize collectively towards interests that include a strong commitment and ability to preserve the well-being of community members. This finding is evident in how participants described the structural enabling factor of having a role within the community and corresponding social networks or as being a member of a family structure. While the role factor played a part in enabling people's choices to engage in collection action to sustain the well-being of the community, other factors played a part in constraining collection action for political and/or economic outcomes.

People's roles within a globalized forest industry raise a number of interesting issues that appeared to constrain their abilities to pursue collective action. A strong sense of powerlessness and lack of control over their community's fate left a number of participants believing they did not have an ability to influence or change the current political or economic conditions. This sense of powerlessness was also found in a number of participants' narratives that described how the shift in mill ownership from local to multinational companies impacted their sense of identity and value as employees of the company. One

participant described this as a sense of alienation in terms of becoming a number as opposed to a member of the "family" in the mill. The attitude held by companies located outside the region or province was said to be one that perceives communities as numbers where the bottom line determines whether mills remain open or not. In this light, a commitment to the well-being of the community or the people who live in the community does not factor into the decision-making processes of companies located outside the region. The result was described as leaving employees feeling isolated, alienated and not valued as people.

The sense of powerlessness led people to feel they had a limited voice in the provincial political system because of their location in northern, rural BC. There is a perception that decisions are made in the province's capital, in southern BC, and few issues related to northern communities are on the political agenda. This sense of alienation is further exacerbated because some people have no confidence in the provincial government's ability to adequately address forest community issues given the global nature of the industry. In addition, political leadership at the municipal level surfaced for some as an issue that limited collective action, particularly in McBride. The interconnected nature of the global forestry industry also made it difficult for some participants to identify a referent to mobilize against, since it is difficult to point blame at any one actor in the industry. This was evident in the sense of powerlessness that residents had regarding their community's vulnerability to global forces and political decision-making processes occurring outside the community.

While the globalized nature of the forest industry and the sense that they have a limited voice in the provincial political structure appeared to constrain people's choices to pursue collective action, these elements could also act as potential triggers for motivating collective action. The rally in Mackenzie was organized in part because residents felt that they were not being heard on a political level. However, I found that action continued after the rally or in addition to the rally. What was interesting was that the sense of powerlessness appeared to override any sense of empowerment people might have had that would have allowed them to create change. Instead, they focused on what they felt they had control over – namely their well-being and that of other community members.

When we revisit the dominant mode of reflexivity we find a possible link to understanding how it is that the residents' sense of empowerment was constrained. As discussed in the earlier section, the communicative mode was found most often in the narratives of participants. Relying on the confirmation of others before acting could be playing into people's decisions to not pursue political activities. For example, people may have an expectation that the government or forest companies will resolve the issues in the communities. If there is some truth to this within the community settings, then we should not expect to see an elaboration of the sense of powerlessness unless we see the emergence and leadership of meta-reflexives.

Based on the findings described above, it appears that Primary Agents could not mobilize and transition into Corporate Agents. This is due (but not exclusively), to the structural emergent property of roles as a forest/mill worker

and citizen in relation to decisions made by forest companies and political leaders located outside the community. The resulting sense of powerlessness also coincides with previous research in similar community contexts (Beckley 1996; Marchak 1983), which suggests that these long-standing structural conditions are not showing signs of change or elaboration.

When I examined cultural factors in hopes of also gaining insight into why there were limited examples of collective action, and in particular action towards political and/or economic outcomes, I found that the focus to preserve oneself and other community members is reinforced through the idea of individualism. The idea of individualism led some participants to focus on preserving themselves through crisis because they only had so much time and energy. The attitude of individualism was more prominent in the community of McBride, where it was described as a general characteristic of some people in the community prior to the crisis. Complacency also emerged as a factor that kept some people from taking interest in political action in general. A final factor identified, particularly in McBride, was the belief in a potential for collective action to emerge. For collective action to occur, timing is important. It is worth revisiting this concept, should this line of research continue into the future.

While factors provide valuable insight into understanding why I found limited examples of collective action, returning to the mode of reflexivity also offers important information. Here again we see the importance of understanding the significance, with there being a majority of communicative reflexives who seek confirmation by “others” to pursue their course of action. This too was the

case in examining collectively oriented responses. The meta-reflexives that were identified offer valuable insight into the factors that constrained their ability to pursue certain activities. For example, there were limited financial resources available to pursue the idea of purchasing the pulp mill. Also, there was not enough support for another meta-reflexive who chose to run for Mayor in Mackenzie. In the end, while other meta-reflexives may have existed in the community, this research did not find them. Those I did interview found themselves facing constraints in pursuing political and/or economic outcomes. These findings suggest that the social systems in the community settings of Mackenzie and McBride do not provide the necessary conditions for meta-reflexives to be successful. Also, the nature of people in the community settings is to expect "others" (e.g., government and/or industry) to address the political and/or economic outcomes.

In reflecting on these findings, the sense of powerlessness in relation to their community's vulnerability to global forces as well as how political decision-making is made outside the community elicits further attention considering that these issues have been raised by previous research. This study finds no indication that this has changed. This suggests that people in the communities will likely continue to face and activate these structural factors into the future. This is further exacerbated given the tension that exists between what has been described as a heightened sense of permanency associated with a key shift in perception: historically, a resource community was a "company town." Since World War II, it has been a "independent rural municipality" (Provincial and Territorial

Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee 2005). While McBride does not find its origins in the same "instant town" model rolled out in the 1960/70s as Mackenzie does, the same sense of permanency is definitely evident. As such, participants of both community settings hold strong convictions and expectations that they are members of communities here to stay for the long-term, but these communities may not have the reflexive and/or structural conditions needed to actually sustain themselves while moving forward.

In Chapter 4 I examined the industrial forest model in BC from the analytical perspective of Fordism and neoliberalism. The neoliberal approach offers an interesting framework through which to explore this tension in terms of whether I should expect to see individuals capable of overcoming this challenge of sustaining their communities into the future. As I discussed in Chapter 4, Young and Matthews (2007) and Young (2008) argue there is evidence of a neoliberal experiment underway in rural BC. They point to current resource sector reforms[21] affecting communities in terms of policies that promote entrepreneurial forms of development. Under these policies, the State and industry play a significantly smaller role in fostering community sustainability. The reforms are intended to transfer decision-making authority from the public domain (e.g., provincial government ministries) to private domains (e.g., corporate or individual actors). Conceptualized as a "roll back" and "roll out" process in terms of the role

[21] Young (2008) provide examples of resource sector reforms. They include the Forestry Revitalization Plan, Working Forest Initiative, Two-Zone land use system, Forest and Range Practices Act.

of the State (Peck and Tickell 2002), there is a rolling back of Keynesian-welfare institutions and a rolling out of "self-help"-type initiatives (e.g., funding resources) for local communities (Young 2008). This is characterized as a situation that translates into a breaking of the social contract between government and communities, as the government is no longer responsible for its previous role of providing jobs and services for communities. However, another way to look at these outcomes of change in policy is as an opportunity for communities to develop endogenous strategies for moving forward.

When turning to a policy perspective, we have seen a shift away from policies aimed at ensuring relatively stable livelihoods and community viability in the past to a policy context where there is increased community vulnerability. This increased vulnerability is said to be linked to the removal of the appurtenancy clause, utilization requirements, minimum annual harvest levels, and to the creation of a market-based timber pricing system, as opposed to the previous stumpage system whereby the government sets the price (Young 2008). As discussed in Chapter 4, the removal of the appurtenancy clause in particular translates into significant consequences whereby the resource companies and government are no longer directly involved in the development or maintenance of communities. With industry relinquishing its role in contributing to community sustainability, Young (2008) describes government's role as one of providing more "self-help"-type-funding programs (e.g., Community Futures Program) for local entrepreneurialism, infrastructure development and transitional support for

workers. Consequently, residents and municipal community leaders are left with greater responsibility for the sustainability of their communities.

The fallout of this neoliberal transformation suggests that greater responsibility is placed in the hands of individuals and/or the community to find solutions to sustain themselves through crisis. However, while this devolution of responsibility onto individuals can be perceived as a positive opportunity for people who have been subject to external decision-making processes, this research shows that conditions do not support the necessary mode of reflexivity (i.e., meta-reflexive) for this to be effective. This suggests that participants uphold a dependency on others to carry out action related to political and/or economic outcomes. As such, if the neoliberal perspective holds some truth in terms of observing the withering of the social contract between the communities and the provincial government, a lack of resources or the availability of alternative economic activities is not the only issue that requires attention in discussions pertaining to community sustainability. How people move through crisis illustrates the need to understand the degree to which people hold modes of reflexivity that can enable them to pursue the change needed to sustain their community settings. It is through this analytical process where the conditions that constrain and/or enable their ability to create change can be identified as well. For instance, the expectation or dependency on "others" to address the political and economic aspect of their community settings and structural factors, coupled with a sense of powerlessness, leaves people reproducing key structural and cultural factors that limit the possibility of meaningful change in this social system.

Even if we do not employ a neoliberal lens we are still left with conditions that continue to place people and their communities in a vulnerable and precarious position in a globalized forest industry. In other words, if this is not due to neoliberal ideas and forces, why has there been a dismantling of policies designed to support community sustainability? What does this mean for the province's or federal government's commitment to sustainable communities in the forest sector? What does this mean for the future of forest communities in rural BC?

Utility of the Morphogenetic Approach

In Chapter 1 I pointed out that there is a limited number of empirically based studies utilizing the morphogenetic approach, and that this study offers the opportunity to further employ and gauge the utility of this theoretical framework for examining social change in natural resourced-based contexts. The morphogenetic approach offers a unique framework for examining factors constraining/enabling people's response(s) over time and space that accounts for the dynamic process of social change. It also offers optimism about the possibility of change, given that the theory is based on the idea that society is not a closed system and can evolve or change because it is peopled. As such, the approach offers the possibility of change depending on how people interact with society. This dissertation contributes to the operationalization of this theory in hopes of further demonstrating its utility in the fields of resource/environmental sociology.

Despite the number of studies on community development, community resiliency or sustainability available in BC and Canada, we rarely hear from the very people affected the most during downturns or challenging times – individuals

or residents of the communities. Instead, what is more common are studies providing statistical accounts of their lived reality and/or with objectives in identifying technical descriptors of, for example, community sustainability and resiliency (e.g., social capital, political capital). These studies provide valuable sources of information for alleviating the vulnerability of communities and for offering potential solutions/strategies for people during crisis. However, this dissertation reveals how insight gained through qualitatively examining people's experiences also provides valuable information for communities and government agencies whose mandates include developing effective strategies and policies for community sustainability.

In Chapter 3 it was argued that although the different fields of research in community sustainability (and in some cases resilience) offer assessments of social processes required to overcome challenges such as social capital, they continue to represent static models of sustainability research at the community level with a heavy emphasis on indicator development and variable analysis. These models would benefit from a more theoretical and dynamic sense of social change in general, but more specifically by attention given to individuals and the dynamic interplay between agency, social structure, and culture. As such, rather than assessing a community's potential or capacity for change we also need a better sense of how individuals actually undertake a process of change and their capacity to do so. Therefore, more attention to these social dynamics and to individuals' experience is warranted. We need to examine the interaction between

agency, social structure, and cultural forces that affect people's capacity to respond.

The morphogenetic approach is operationalized in this study to advance the mode of analysis beyond the identification of social indicators, variable analysis and static models of sustainability. A three-part explanatory format for examining the interplay between agency, social structure and culture, it is used because it provides the analytical means to examine the inherently convoluted interplay between the three components over time and space, whereby none of the three are conflated into each other. Analytical attention is instead given to the conditional and generative mechanisms operating between agency and structure. The interplay is characterized as a *mediatory* process whereby people interact with social structures and culture and negotiate constraining/enabling factors as they choose one course of action over another. It then looks to identify causal powers within each component, which constitute the potential triggers for change to occur in a given system, since for Archer (1995; 1996; 2003; 2007) change in society is significantly shaped by the activation of causal powers located in the emergent properties of social structures, culture and agency. In other words, a key feature of the morphogenetic approach is its ability to navigate into lower levels of reality to isolate the causal emergent properties that agents in turn activate or not. This translates into advancing a mode of analysis for examining how people move through crisis and in turn an ability to account for the dynamic nature of social change. The morphogenetic approach accomplishes this by its three-stage analytical framework that accounts for past, present, and future timeframes.

In Chapter 4 the first stage of the cycle was presented by identifying the structural and cultural conditions that existed prior to the people in the community contexts facing their social and economic crisis. Structural conditions are created by prior distribution of resources, life chances, vested interests and bargaining power, all of which influence past mediation of agents. Cultural conditions are created by prior outcomes of contradictory or complimentary relations between "parts" of the Cultural System and relationships between "people" in the Socio-Cultural level. People found themselves in a number of structural and cultural conditions, which they interacted with while choosing their courses of action through their given crisis. These conditions form the situational logics, which people faced within their mediatory process during the second stage of the cycle. It is at this stage that the morphogenetic approach also offers an understanding of systemic issues in the forestry sector in BC, issues that existed long before this crisis.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I carried out stage 2 of the morphogenetic approach by using interview narratives of participants in the study to examine the interaction between agency, social structure and culture with the purpose of identifying modes of reflexivity and the factors that constrain and/or enable people's chosen courses of action in response to their crises. The examination of causal emergent properties (e.g., personal emergent properties (PEPs), structural emergent properties (SEPs), and cultural emergent properties (CEPs)) of each of the three fields (i.e., agency – structure – culture) is of specific interest in the morphogenetic approach. In this chapter I used the narratives of participants to

examine the interaction between agency, structure and cultural domains. The interaction consists of a process of mediation whereby structure and culture are mediated through agency. This means that as people exercise the personal emergent property of reflexivity to choose a particular course of action (or not) in response to a crisis, they enter a mediatory process whereby they mentally interact with SEPs and CEPs, respectively. Agents activate (or not) the causal powers through the process of conceiving or pursuing a course of action, which at some point could put them up against structural or cultural emergent properties. When activated, the SEPs/CEPs either constrain or enable social action. If agents do not activate them, they remain unexercised. Therefore, the outcome of the mediatory process reveals the structural and cultural factors (i.e., SEPs and CEPs) that are constraining and/or enabling people's chosen course of action.

The morphogenetic approach provides an opportunity for employing the forward thinking feature available in its framework. As discussed in Chapter 3, the outcome of the morphogenetic cycle is either social change (i.e., morphogenesis) or social stability of existing structural and cultural domains (i.e., morphostasis). Based on the findings from stage two of the morphogenetic cycle presented in Chapters 5 and 6, it is concluded that the outcome we can expect to see is structural reproduction related to political and economic outcomes. In other words, there is no structural evidence in either community setting that indicates social change is likely to occur in the near future. And as discussed earlier, this suggests people and these communities will remain vulnerable and dependent upon external forces in determining their political and economic fates. There

were, however, moments when it seemed that there was a possibility for certain cultural factors to change, like the "bubble" mentality and materialism in Mackenzie.

In mapping out the temporal dimension of the social phenomenon being examined in this study, the morphogenetic approach effectively illustrates the past, present and future conditions. In so doing, it also provides the analytical means for identifying the constraining and enabling factors that people interacted with when choosing their course(s) of action through the crisis. This historical trajectory provides a broader lens through which to understand whether people have the capacity to move through a crisis in their community contexts.

The morphogenetic framework also questions the degree to which social structure, culture and/or agency shape human behaviour, and speaks to central dilemmas in sociology pertaining to the degree to which human action is voluntary or determined. How independent each concept is or how much interplay exists between them has shaped a long tradition in social theory. The morphogenetic approach provides the analytical means for the researcher to separate each component (agency, social structure, and culture) in a way that avoids conflation and illustrates how each impinges on the other. In particular, it shows how human agency is influenced by structures and culture, and vice versa.

The morphogenetic approach also provides the analytical means for deeper levels of analysis because of its ontological underpinnings of a stratified social reality and the idea of emergence. The ability to explore causal emergent properties located in layers of reality underneath empirical accounts of reality

offers interesting insights into forces influencing human behaviour and action. This also means that the analytical approach offers an effective way to move beyond linear explanations of human behaviour and, in particular, social change. What it helps realize and effectively examine is the complex interrelationship between the various layers of reality flowing between people, social structure and culture.

However, the analytical scope should not end with these three domains and needs to include the environmental dimension. This lack of accounting for the role the biophysical world plays in human behaviour is a shortcoming or challenge for this approach. For example, work in the area of Political Ecology (e.g., Robbins 2004) and/or Critical Realism (e.g., Carolan 2005) offers potential avenues for bridging the biophysical world into the morphogenetic approach.

Due to the temporal scope of this analytical framework, one can be constrained by gaps in the types of literature needed to do carry out the full morphogenetic cycle (e.g., cultural analysis of forest-dependent communities was found to be limited in Chapter 4). On the other hand, this analytical approach also offers the ability to identify literature gaps and opportunities for future research.

Deciding whether a structural and/or cultural factor is constraining or enabling can be a challenge at times because some factors may, in fact, be both. Therefore, researchers are left to their own discretion to decide what they deem as constraining or enabling factors. An appropriate solution for addressing this potential discrepancy is to employ a longitudinal study whereby the researcher returns to the field to review the decisions made with the participants in the study.

This was not feasible in this research project, but is a recommendation for future research that involves operationalizing the morphogenetic approach where pre-existing data may be limited.

Analyzing the convoluted interplay of agency, social structure and cultural domains does present a challenge because it means working with a large amount of information. A fully realized morphogenetic approach maps out all three domains and examines the interactions between each component throughout the various stratified realities. This creates an extensive and complex analytical landscape. The researcher needs to decide how much of this web will be included in the analysis. For this study, the analytical scope was narrowed during the literature review stage (e.g., limited cultural information available) and the data analysis, which revealed the importance of the SEPs of roles. However, and despite narrowing the analytical scope, navigating and working within a morphogenetic landscape can be an exercise in managing complexity. In taking the time to carry out this research carefully and methodically, the process produces a unique and valuable analysis for understanding human behaviour during uncertain times.

The broader objective of this research is not only to present a more dynamic account of social change, but also to determine whether the results indicate signs of social change in the two community contexts. According to findings, the morphogenetic cycle suggests that we should not expect to find meaningful change in the social system of this study. While people have the capacity to move through crisis by preserving the social fabric of the community, the capacity for

addressing political and economic conditions remains limited. This suggests that corresponding impacts of boom/bust cycles and dependence on global economic conditions will likely continue to leave communities vulnerable and dependent on external forces. The two community contexts and the people that have chosen to remain in the community will likely continue to depend on external forces (e.g., government or industry) to address political and economic conditions. We already see this playing out in the Mackenzie community context, for instance, with recent mill restarts due to foreign investment and markets with a demand for BC lumber (namely from China). What this means for the sustainability of these communities supports long-standing assertions that there is a need to implement effective action (e.g., development of policy) to mitigate this reality. It also supports the long-standing assertions that the fate of these communities will continue to be significantly influenced by external forces (e.g., global commodity prices, decision-making authority, etc.). This translates into the need for developing policy that accounts for local level issues that people face in the context of external forces beyond their control. Self-help-type programs offer valuable temporary solutions during downturns, but policy that addresses this long-standing systemic issue are needed to ensure that communities are less vulnerable to global forces beyond their control.

Ultimately, while the story of people faced with insurmountable political and economic challenges is not new in the literature on the topic of this dissertation, what I offer is a unique and innovative approach for gaining insight into the temporal and dynamic process of social change. Crisis offers the possibility for

change because it triggers the need to reflect on the issues at play. Whether we choose to act on our insights gained through crisis is another story. This dissertation offers a story that ends in realizing that while some things change, others remain the same.

Conclusion

I attempted to gain insight into the human experience of moving through crisis and the possibility of social change within two forest community settings in rural BC, Canada. Drawing on theories of political economy, collective action and the social change theory of Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach, this study answers whether people have the capacity to move forward after facing a threat of decline/collapse of their community and what factors constrained/enabled their chosen courses of action (i.e., individual and/or collective action). Particular attention was given to the expectation that people would engage in collective action as a means for moving through the crisis. I argue that people appear to have the capacity, through a crisis, to sustain their well-being and that of other community members, but appear limited in their capacity to pursue political and/or economic outcomes (e.g., activities to pressure government to create change and/or local initiatives to create employment opportunities). As such, and from the lens of the morphogenetic approach, findings suggest there is a reproduction or morphostasis of structural and cultural conditions enabling the well-being of the community members, and the reproduction of factors constraining political and/or economic activities.

To argue this position, and after presenting the research methodology and settings, I structured the dissertation around the three stages of the morphogenetic cycle. Chapter 4 explores the structural and cultural conditions that formed the circumstances of "situational logics" people encountered during the crisis. The second stage is realized in Chapters 5 and 6 where I analyzed responses through the lens of reflexivity to understand the variation in modes (e.g., communicative and meta-reflexive) and to identify structural and cultural factors constraining/enabling responses. Examination of the modes of reflexivity revealed that with the exception of a small number of meta-reflexives identified, the majority of research participants appear to be communicative reflexives. This offers an important insight into understanding whether we should expect to see reproduction or elaboration of structural and/or cultural factors given that I did not find a shift from Primary to Corporate Agents. As a result, we should expect to find that a social system that supports communicative reflexivity will likely lead to overall reproduction (morphostasis) of structural and cultural factors that constrain collective action.

References

Adger, W.N., N.W. Arnell, and E.L. Tompkins. 2005. Successful adaptation to climate change across scales. *Global Environmental Change* 15: 77-86.

Adorno, T. W. 1991. *The cultural industry*. London: Routledge.

Ahn, T.K. and E. Ostrom. 2002. Social capital and the second-generation theories of collective action: An analytical approach to the forms of social capital. *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, Boston, MA.

Alexander, J. 1990. Analytic debates: Understanding the relative autonomy of culture. In *Culture and society: Contemporary debates*, eds. J. Alexander and S. Seidma, pp. 1-27. Cambridge: University Press, Cambridge.

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of modernity*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Archer, M.S. 1979. *Social origins of educational systems*. London: Sage.

Archer, M.S. 1982. Morphogenesis versus structuration: On combining structure and action. *The British Journal of Sociology* 33(4): 455-483.

Archer, M.S. 1995. *Realist social theory: The morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. 1996. *Culture and agency: The place of culture in social theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. 2000. *Being human: The problem of agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. 2003. *Structure, agency and the internal conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M.S. 2007. *Making our Way through the world: Human reflexivity and social mobility.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Babbie, E. 2001. *The practice of social research*. 9th Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thomson.

Basit, T.N. 2003. Manual or electronic? The role of coding in qualitative data analysis. *Educational Research* 45(2): 143-54.

BC Stats 2012. Population Estimates. http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/Demography/PopulationEstimates.aspx (accessed 4 June 2012).

Beck, U. 1992. *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

Beck, U., A. Giddens, and S. Lash. 1994. *Reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Beckley, T.M. 1996. Pluralism by default: Community power in a paper mill town. *Forest Science* 42(1): 35-45.

Beckley, T.M. 2003. The relative importance of sociocultural and ecological factors in attachment to place. In *Understanding community-forest relations*, ed. L. Kruger, pp. 105 – 126. USDA Forest Service General Technical Report PNW-GTR-566. Portland, OR: Pacific Northwest Research Station.

Beckley, T.M. and N.T. Krogman. 2002. Social consequences of employee/management buyouts: Two Canadian examples from the forest sector. *Rural Sociology* 67(2): 183-207.

Beckley, T.M., D. Martz, S. Nadeau, E. Wall, and B. Reimer. 2008. Multiple capacities, multiple outcomes: Delving deeper into the meaning of community capacity. *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 3,3: 56–75.

Benford, R.D. and D. Snow. 2000. Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-639.

Berg, B. 2001. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bhaskar, R. 1975. *A realist theory of science*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester.

Bhaskar, R. 1979. *The possibility of naturalism: A philosophical critique of the contemporary human sciences*. Brighton: Harvester Press.

Bhaskar, R. 1993. *Dialectic: The pulse of freedom*. London: Verso.

Bhaskar, R. and T. Lawson. 1998. General introduction. In *Critical realism: Essential readings*, eds. M.S. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson, and A. Norrie, pp. ix-xxiv. London: Routledge.

Blee, K. and V. Taylor. 2002. Semi-structured interviewing in social movement research. In *Methods of social movement research*, eds. B. Klandermans and S. Staggenborg, pp. 92-117. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

British Columbia. 2003. The forest revitalization plan. Victoria: Ministry of Forests. http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/mof/plan/frp/frp_Ir.pdf (accessed 10 April 2010).

Brooks, N., W.N. Adger, and P.M. Kelly. 2005. The determinants of vulnerability and adaptive capacity at the national level and the implications for adaptation. *Global Environmental Change* 15: 151-163.

Brownsey, K. and M. Howlett. 2008. *Canada's resource economy in transition: the past, present, and future of Canadian staples industries*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications.

Bryant, C. 2013. The social transformation of agriculture: The case of Quebec. In *Social transformation in rural Canada: Community, cultures, and collective Action*, eds. J.R. Parkins and M.G. Reed, pp. 291-306. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Buckley, W. 1967. *Sociology and modern systems theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Bullock, R. 2013. Mill town identity crisis: Reframing the culture of forest resource dependence in single-industry towns. In *Social transformation in rural Canada: Community, cultures, and collective Action*, eds. J.R. Parkins and M.G. Reed, pp. 269-290. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Bullock, R. and K.S. Hanna. 2008. Community forests: Mitigating or creating conflict in British Columbia forest management. *Society and Natural Resources* 21: 77-85.

Burdge, R.J. 2004. *The concepts, process and methods of social impact assessment.* Middleton, Wisconsin: Social Ecology Press.

Canadian Forest Service. 2010. Mill closures and curtailments in the Canadian forest industry since January 2003. Unpublished document. *Forest Industry and Trade Division*, Ottawa, CA.

Carolan, M.S. 2005. Society, biology and ecology: Bringing nature back into sociology's disciplinary narrative through criticism realism. *Organization and Environment* 18(4): 393-421.

Carroll, W.K. 1997. Social movements and counterhegemony: Canadian contexts and social theories. In *Organizing dissent: Contemporary social movements in theory and practice*, ed. W.K. Carroll, pp. 3-38, (2nd Ed.). Toronto: Garamond.

Charmaz, K. 2006. *Constructing grounded theory:A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.

Clapp, R. A. 1998. The resource cycle of forestry and fishing. *Canadian Geographer* 42:129-44.

Clement, W. and G.Williams (eds.). 1989. *The new Canadian political economy.* Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Clogg, J. 1999. Tenure Background Paper. Publications. Vancouver: West coast Environmental Law. http://wcel.org/ (accessed 23 January 2011).

Clogg, J. 2007. Tenure reform. Publications. West Coast Environmental Law. http://www.wcel.org/resources/publications/default.cfm (accessed 26 March 2009).

Collier, A. 1994. *Critical realism: An introduction to Roy Bhaskar's philosophy*. London: Verso.

Connor, S. 2011. Structure and agency: a debate for community development? *Community Development Journal* 46(2): 97-110.

Cress, D. and D. Snow. 1996. Mobilization at the margins: Resources, benefactors, and the viability of homeless social movement organizations. *American Sociological Review* 61: 1089-1109.

Cuellar, M. J. 2010. Using Realist Social Theory to Explain Project Outcomes. *International Journal of Information Technology Project Management*, 1(4), 38-52, October – December.

Dale, A. and J. Sparks. 2010. The 'agency' of sustainable community development. *Community Development Journal*. 46(4): 476-492.

Danermark, B., M. Ekström, L. Jakobsen and J. Ch. Karlsson. 2002. *Explaining Society: Critical Realism in the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge.

Davis, E.J. and M. G. Reed. 2013. Governing transformation and resilience: The role of identity in renegotiating roles for forest-based communities in British Columbia's Interior. In *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collective Action*, eds. J.R. Parkins and M.G. Reed, pp. 249-268. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Davidson, D.J. 2010. The applicability of the concept of resilience to social systems: Some sources of optimism and nagging doubts. *Society and Natural Resources* 23:1135-1149.

Davidson, D. J. 2012. Analyzing social responses to climate change through the lens of reflexivity: An in-depth look at 'climate change meta-reflexives.' *British Journal of Sociology* 63(4): 616-640.

Davidson, D.J., T. Williamson and J.R. Parkins. 2003. Understanding climate change risk and vulnerability in northern forest-based communities. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 33: 2252-2261.

Delamont, S. 2004. Ethnography and participant observation. In *Qualitative research practice*, eds. C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium and D. Silverman, pp. 217-229. London: SAGE.

Della Porta, D. and M. Diani. 2006. *Social movements: An introduction*. (2nd Ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwood Publishing.

Diani, M. and R. Eyerman. 1992. The study of collective action: Introductory remarks. In *Studying collective action,* eds. M. Diani and R. Eyerman, pp. 1-21. London: SAGE.

Doyle, A., B. Elliott, and D. Tindall. 2000. Framing the Forests: Corporations, the BC Forest Alliance, and the Media. In *Organizing dissent contemporary social movements in theory and practice,* ed. W. Carroll, pp. 240-268. Toronto, ON: Garamond Press.

Dunk, T. 1991. *It's a Working Man's Town: Male Working-class Culture in Northwestern Ontario*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, QU.

Dunk, T. 1994. Talking about trees: Environment and society in forest workers' culture. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 31(1): 14-34.

Emirbayer, M. and A. Mische. 1998. What is agency? *The American Journal of Sociology* (103)4: 962-1023.

Freudenburg, W. 1986. Social impact assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology* (12): 451-478.

Freudenburg, W.R. 1992. Addictive economies: Extractive industries and vulnerable localities in a changing world economy. *Rural Sociology* 57(3): 305-332.

Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Haley, E. and R. Tunstall. 2005. Environmental health issues related to industrial pollution. In *Consuming sustainability: Critical social analysis of Ecological Change, eds.* D. Davidson and K. Hatt, pp. 181-204. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Halseth, G. 2005. Resource town transition: debates after closure. In *Rural change and sustainability: agriculture, the environment and communities,* eds. S. Essex, A. W. Gilg, R. B. Yarwood, J. Smithers, and R. Wilson, pp. 326-342. Cambridge, MA: CABI Publishing.

Hammersley, M. and P. Atkinson. 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Harré, R. and E. Madden. 1975. *Causal powers: A theory of natural necessity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. 2005. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hays, S. 1994. Structure and agency and the sticky problem of culture. *Sociological Theory* 12(1): 57-72.

Hayter, R. 2000. *Flexible crossroads the restructuring of British Columbia's forest economy*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Hayter, R. 2003. The war in the woods: post Fordist restructuring, globalization, and the contested remapping of British Columbia's forest economy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93: 706-29.

Heynen, N., J. McCarthy, S. Prudham, and P. Robbins, eds. 2007. *Neoliberal environments: False promises and unnatural consequences*. London: Routledge.

Hoel, C. 2010. Morphogenetic approaches to religion: Understanding religion from the perspective of Margaret Archer. Master's Thesis, Department of Religion, Philosophy and History, Faculty of Humanities and Education, University of Adger.

Hutton, T. 1997. Vancouver as a control centre for British Columbia's resource hinterland: Aspects of linkage and divergence in a provincial staple economy. In *Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition,* eds. T. J. Barnes and R. Hayter, pp. 233-262. Victoria, BC: Western Geographic Press.

Innis, H. 1970. *Fur trade in Canada: An introduction to Canadian economic history*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Jary, D. and J. Jary, eds. 2000. *Collins dictionary of Sociology*. Glasgow: HarpersCollins.

Jessop, B. 2002. Liberalism, neoliberalism and urban governance: A state-theoretical perspective. *Antipode* 34(3): 452-472.

Joseph, C. and A. Krishnaswamy. 2010. Factors of resiliency for forest communities in transition in British Columbia. *BC Journal of Ecosystems and Management* 10(3): 127–144.

Kaufman, H.F. and L.C. Kaufman. 1946. Toward the stabilization and enrichment of a forest community. The Montana Study. Missoula, MT. University of Montana. U.S. Forest Service, Region One.

King, A. 2005. Structure and agency. In *Modern social theory: An introduction*, ed. A. Harrington, pp. 215-232. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koopmans, R. 1999. Political opportunity structure: Some splitting to balance the lumping. *Sociological Forum* 14: 93-105.

Krannich, R.S., T. Grieder, and R.L. Little. 1985. Rapid growth and fear of crime: A four-community comparison. *Rural Sociology* 50(2): 193-209.

Krogman, N. and T. Beckley. 2002. Corporate "bail-outs" and local "buyouts": Pathways to community forestry? *Society & Natural Resources* 15: 109-127.

Kusel, J. 2001. Assessing well-being in forest dependent communities. *Journal of Sustainable Forestry 13*(1): 359-384.

Kvale, S. and S. Brinkmann. 2009. *Interviews: learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Larner, W. 2003. "Neoliberalism?" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* (21): 509-512.

Larson, S.C. 2008. Place making, grassroots organizing, and rural protest: A case study of Anahim Lake, British Columbia. *Journal of Rural Studies* 24(2): 172-181.

Lockwood, D. 1964. Social Integration and System Integration. In *Explorations in social change*, eds. G.K. Zollschan and W. Hirsch, pp. 244-257. London: Routledge & Keagan Paul.

Lopez, J. and J. Scott. 2000. *Social structure*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Luckert, M., D. Haley and G. Hoberg. 2011. *Policies for sustainably managing Canada's forests*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Lyon, C. and J.R. Parkins. 2013. Toward a social theory of resilience: Social systems, cultural systems, and collective action in transitioning forest-based communities. *Rural Sociology*. DOI: 10.1111/ruso.12018 (accessed 5 September 2013).

M'Gonigle, M. and P. Parfitt. 1994. *Forestopia*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing.

MacKendrick, N.A. and J.R. Parkins. 2005. Social dimensions of community vulnerability to Mountain Pine Beetle. *Mountain Pine Beetle Initiative Working Paper 2005-26.* Pacific Forestry Centre, Victoria BC.

Magis, K. 2010. Community resilience: An indicator of social sustainability. *Society & Natural Resources* 23(5): 401-416.

Marchak, M.P. 1983. *Green gold: The forest industry in British Columbia*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Marchak, M.P., S.L. Aycock, D.M. Herbert. 1999. *Falldown: Forest policy in British Columbia*. Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation.

Marshall, G., ed. 1998. *Oxford dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCarthy, J., 2005. Devolution in the woods: Community forestry as hybrid neoliberalism. *Environment and Planning* A 37(6): 99–1014.

McCarthy, J. 2006. Neoliberalism and the politics of alternatives: Community forestry in British Columbia and the United States. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96(1): 84-104.

McCarthy, J.D. and M.N. Zald. 1977. Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *The American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241.

Meinzen-Dick, R., M. Di Gregorio and N. McCarthy. 2004. Methods for studying collective action in rural development. *Agricultural Systems* 82: 197-214.

Melucci, A. 1996. *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Merton, R.K. 1968. *Social theory and social structure*. New York: Free Press.

Meyer, D.S. 2004. Protest and political opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:125-145.

Miller, W. and B. Crabtree. 2004. Depth interviewing. In *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice*, eds. S. Nagy Hess-Biber and P. Leavy, pp. 185-202. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development. 2013. From Company to 'Instant' Towns: Building Resilient Local Government in B.C.'s Resource Communities. http://www.cscd.gov.bc.ca/lgd/history/mini_histories/instant_towns.htm (accessed 24 March 2013).

Ministry of Forests and Range. 2009. Budget 2009. http://www.bcbudget.gov.bc.ca/2009/sp/pdf/ministry/for.pdf (accessed 6 April 2009).

Mole K.F. and M.C. Mole. 2010. Entrepreneurship as the structuration of individual and opportunity: A response using a critical realist perspective. *Journal of Business Venturing* 25(2): 230-237.

Mrozowicki, A. 2011. *Coping with social change: Life strategies of workers in Poland's new capitalism.* Belgium: Leuven University Press.

Mutch, A. 2010. Technology, Organization, and Structure – A Morphogenetic Approach. *Organization Science* 21(2): 507-520.

Myers, D. 1997. Racial rioting in the 1960s: An event history of local conditions. *American Sociological Review* 62: 94-112.

Natural Resources Canada. 2012. Reference Maps. British Columbia. http://atlas.gc.ca/site/english/maps/reference/provincesterritories/british_columbia (accessed 21 March 2013).

Nixon, B. 1993. Public participation: Changing the way we make forest decisions. In *Touch Wood: BC forests at a crossroads*, eds. K. Drushka, B. Nixon and R. Travers, pp. 23-66. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing.

Offe, C. 1985. New social movements: Challenging the boundaries of institutional politics. *Social Research* 52(4): 817-68.

Olson, M. 1965. *The logic of collective action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Olzak, S. 1989. Analysis of events in the study of collective action. *Annual Review of Sociology* 15: 119-41.

Ostrom, E. 2000. Collective action and the evolution of social norms. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14(3): 137-158.

Parker, I. 1999.*Critical textwork: An introduction to varieties of discourse and analysis*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Parkins, J.R. and A. C. Angell. 2011. Linking social structure, fragmentation, and substance abuse in a resource-based community. *Community, Work & Family* 14(1): 39-55.

Parkins, J.R. 1999. Enhancing social indicators research in a forest-dependent community. *The Forestry Chronicle* 75(5): 771-780.

Parkins, J.R. 2006. De-centering environmental governance: A short history and analysis of democratic processes in the forest sector of Alberta, Canada. *Policy Sciences* 39: 183-203.

Parkins, J.R., R.C. Stedman, and J. Varghese. 2001. Moving towards local-level indicators of sustainability in forest-based communities: A mixed-method approach. *Social Indicators Research* 56: 43-72.

Peck, J. and A. Tickell. 2002. Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode* 34: 380-404.

Provincial and Territorial Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee. 2005. *Facing the Challenge of Industry Closure: Managing Transition in Rural Communities*. ICURR Press.

Prudham, S. 2008. Tall among the trees: Organizing against globalist forestry in rural British Columbia. *Journal of Rural Studies* 24: 182-196.

Quinn, L. 2006. A social realist account of the emergence of a formal academic staff development programme at a South African university. PhD Dissertation, Rhodes University.

Rapley, T. 2004. Interviews. In *Qualitative Research Practice*, eds. C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman, pp. 15-33. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Reed, M. 2003. *Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

Robbins, P. 2004. *Political ecology: A critical introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Rosaldo, R. 1993.*Culture and truth: The remaking of social analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rudd, M.A. 2000. Live long and prosper: Collective action, social capital and social vision. *Ecological Economics* 34(234): 131-144.

Saldaña, J. 2009. *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. (2nd Edition). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Satterfield, T. 2002. *Anatomy of a conflict: identity, knowledge, and emotion in old-growth forests*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Sayer, A. 1984. *Methods in social science. A realist approach*. London: Hutchinson.

Sayer, A. 2000. *Realism and social science*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Sells, S. P., T.E. Smith, and N. Newfield. 1997. Teaching ethnographic research methods in social work: A course model. *Journal of Social Work Education* 33(19): 167-184.

Sen, A. 1985.Well-being, agency and freedom. *Journal of Philosophy* 82:169-221.

Shaw, K. 2004. The global/local politics of the great bear rainforest. *Environmental Politics* 13(2): 373-392.

Smelser, N.J. 1971. *Theory of collective behaviour*. New York: Free Press.

Smith, M.D. and R.S. Krannich 2000. Culture clash revisited: Newcomer and longer-term residents' attitudes toward land use, development, and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology* 65(3): 396-421.

Spillman, L. 2007. Culture. In *Blackwell encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. G. Ritzer. Blackwell Publishing. Blackwell Reference Online (accessed 29 June 2012).

Statistics Canada. 2006. Community Profiles. http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/details/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=5953012&Geo2=PR&Code2=59&Data=Count&SearchText=McBride&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=59&B1=All&Custom= (accessed 2 July 2010).

Stedman, R.C., J.R. Parkins, and T.M. Beckley. 2004. Resource dependence and community well-being in rural Canada. *Rural Sociology* 69(2): 213-234.

Stoddart, K. 1986. The presentation of everyday life. *Urban Life* 15(1): 103-121.

Stones, R. 2007. Structure and Agency. In *Blackwell encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. G. Ritzer. Blackwell Publishing. Blackwell Reference Online. (accessed 2 September 2012).

Sumner, J. 2007. Sustainability and the civil commons: Rural communities in the age of globalization. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Swidler, A. 1986. Culture in action: symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review (*51): 273–86.

Swidler, A. 2001. *Talk of love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tarrow, S. 1998. *Power in movement: Social movements, collective action and politics*. (2nd Ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, C. 1985. *Human Agency and Language*. Cambridge: University Press.

Teitelbaum, S., T. Beckley and S. Nadeau. 2006. A national portrait of community forestry on public land in Canada. *The Forestry Chronicle* 82(3): 416-428.

Tesch, R. 1990. Qualitative research: Analysis types of software tools. London United Kingdom: Falmer Press.

Touraine, A. 1988. *Return of the actor: social theory in postindustrial society*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Varghese, J., N. T. Krogman, T. M. Beckley and S. Nadeau. 2006. Critical analysis of the relationship between local ownership and community resiliency. *Rural Sociology* (71)3: 505-526.

Wheeler, M. 2008. *The Robson Valley story: A century of dreams*. McBride, BC: Sternwheeler Press.

Williston, E. and B. Keller. 1997. *Forests, power and policy: The legacy of Ray Williston*. Caitlin Press, Prince George.

Wilkes, R. 2004. First Nation politics: Deprivation, resources, and participation in collective action. *Sociological Inquiry* 74(4): 570-589.

Wilson, J. 1998. *Talk and log wilderness politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Yin, R. 2011. *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York: Guilford Press.

Young, N. 2008. Radical neoliberalism in British Columbia: Remaking rural geographies. *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 33(1): 1-36.

Young, N. 2013. Visions of rootedness and flow: Remaking economic identity in post-resource communities. In *Social transformation in rural Canada: Community, cultures, and collective action*, eds. J.R. Parkins and M.G. Reed, pp. 232-248. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Young, N. and R. Matthews. 2007. Resource economies and neoliberal experimentation. *Area* 39(2): 176-185.

Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Rural Economy
Faculty of Agricultural, Life & Environmental Sciences

5-15 General Services Building
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2H1
http://www.re.ualberta.ca
Rural.Economy@ualberta.ca
Tel: 780.492.4225
Fax: 780.492.0268

INFORMATION SHEET

Individuals and social change: How social structures and culture are constraining/enabling collective action in rural BC

Purpose
The purpose of this research broadly explores how individuals in forest dependent communities are responding to current challenges (e.g., mill closures, job loss, mountain pine beetle) faced in rural British Columbia. In particular, this research looks to understand how collective action plays a role in community responses and seeks to identify factors that are constraining and/or enabling collective action to emerge or perpetuate to address challenges faced by individuals in communities.

Use of Information
This interview is part of a research project for fulfillment of my PhD dissertation in Environmental Sociology in the Department of Rural Economy, University of Alberta. Research funding comes from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, which has no vested interest in the outcome of this research. The research team will use the information you provide to understand your community's response to forestry transition. Information could be used in my dissertation, academic publications, presentations and other outlets such as a potential project website. If you want, we can send you a version of these documents when they are completed.

Methods
Face-to-face interviews are the primary method used in this study. The interview uses a semi-structured approach and I estimate that it will take 1-1.5 hours to complete. I will audio record the interview only with your permission. This recording will be transcribed by a hired transciber in Edmonton, Alberta. I might also, with your permission, contact you in the future to request a follow-up interview if necessary. You have the right to opt out of any particular questions during the interview, or withdraw from the study at any time before publication of materials (e.g., dissertation, academic papers) resulting from the study. Opting out after the interview is completed can be done by contacting me (see contact information on back of this sheet).

Confidentiality
All information from this interview will be kept confidential (private and secure), and your identity protected by changing names and other identifying information in any published materials. This begins after the interview where the name of the person in the interview will not be recorded; instead, a number will be given to that interview. This number, or a fake name, will be used on anything that gets written about the interview. Only the research team (myself and my PhD supervisor, Dr. John Parkins) will have access to these files, which will be kept within a password protected electronic archive (e.g., computer) and/or locked cabinet. Audio recordings and transcriptions will be destroyed within five years after the completion of the study; however, I will retain transcriptions if you give permission below to be contacted in future years for any follow-up research. If transcriptions are used with your permission, they will be subject to the same precautions and assurance of confidentiality as noted above.

Benefits and Risks
In better understanding factors that are constraining/enabling collective action in forest communities, I hope to provide greater insight for government policy and concrete examples for communities of the role collective action can play in achieving community sustainability.

It is not expected that this project will have any risks for you. Some questions may, however, be uncomfortable for you to answer. In this case you are free to decline or pass on a question without consequence.

Please see over for contact information

Contacts:

Wayne Crosby
Department of Rural Economy
University of Alberta
Phone Number: 780.660.2471
Email: wcrosby@ualberta.ca

John Parkins
Department of Rural Economy
University of Alberta
Phone Number: 780.492.3610
Email: jparkins@ualberta.ca

If you have any concerns about this project, or the conduct of the instructor and students, please contact the following:

Charmaine Kabatoff, Research Ethics Board Representative for PER-ALES-NS REB (Physical Education & Recreation, Agricultural, Life & Environment, and Native Studies) at the University of Alberta. Phone: (780) 492-0302 or email: charmaine.kabatoff@ualberta.ca

Appendix II: Individual Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Rural Economy
Faculty of Agricultural, Life & Environmental Sciences

5-15 General Services Building
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2H1
http://www.re.ualberta.ca
Rural.Economy@ualberta.ca
Tel: 780.492.4225
Fax: 780.492.0268

INDIVIDUAL CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Individuals and social change: How social structures and culture are constraining/enabling collective action in rural BC

Investigators:

Wayne Crosby
Department of Rural Economy
University of Alberta
Phone Number: 780.660.2471
Email: wcrosby@ualberta.ca

John Parkins
Department of Rural Economy
University of Alberta
Phone Number: 780-492-3610
Email: jparkins@ualberta.ca

Consent:

Have you received and reviewed a copy of the project information sheet?	YES	NO
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the research?	YES	NO
Do you authorize the use of an audio recording device during the interview?	YES	NO
Do you give permission to be contacted for follow-up research?	YES	NO
Do you want to review transcripts?	YES	NO
Do you want a version of any final documents (e.g., dissertation, academic publications) sent to you when completed?	YES	NO

By signing below, I am indicating that I consent to participate in this research project.

_____ Signature of Participant

_____ Name (please print)

_____ Date

Participant contact (email &/or telephone): _____

Appendix III: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

- Would you like to share some history about yourself?
- What is your age? Gender? Single/family? Time in community?
- How would you describe your community to someone who has never been here or may never come here?
- Can you take me back to the period when the mill(s) were closing down? What was it like during this time?
- Do you have an opinion as to why mills closed down – what factors caused the closures?
- Do you see any environmental factors (e.g., mtn. pine beetle, environmental policy, environmental attitudes) playing a role in closing mills?
- How did the mill closure(s) affect you and your family, and the community?
- How did you respond to these events?
- Why did you stay despite all the challenges?
- How did you come to decide on your current course of action? (What events, ideas (e.g., sense of place), factors (e.g., family history in community, job, mortgage on house) lead you to your current course of action?)
- Were you involved in any activities to address mill closures/community decline? If so, why did you get involved? Can you describe your experience? If not, why didn't you get involved in activities?
- Were there any times when the community came together in response to the mill closures e.g., rallies, meetings to discuss events, etc. If so, can you describe these events? Why did they come together? Did they come together as a political response e.g., purchase a mill, pressure government? Why or who not?
- What role do you think individuals like yourself have in responding to the challenges?
- Who is responsible for the sustainability of this community? Why sustain the community?
- What challenges did you (and/or the community) face in overcoming mill closures?
- What lessons did you (and/or the community) learn from the mill closures?
- What does the future of Mackenzie/McBride look like to you? Do you have thoughts on the sustainability of the forests that the Mackenzie/McBride mills depend on?
- Is there anything you would like to add that we have not discussed?
- Can you think of other people in your community who would be helpful to this project?