WHEN YOU COME TO A FORK IN THE ROAD, TAKE IT:
NEGOTIATING CRISIS AND TRANSITION IN A NORTHERN VILLAGE

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This historical retrospective study used a case study methodology to examine a northwest coastal village's response to the downsizing of its primary employer. Using an integrated community development model advanced by Ife, the community’s transition process was examined and analyzed.

Using direct observation, semi-structured interviews and secondary analysis of documents, newspapers and public meetings, the findings of this study indicated that the affected village faced a myriad of difficulties in mediating this transition. These difficulties included the formation of an effective ad hoc group to negotiate with government bureaucracies, and government’s residual approach to communities in crisis. Social work services were seen as critical components in any transition, both to assist those negatively affected and to help develop community consensus and encourage broad participation in the re-creation of community.
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FOREWARD

As an eight year resident of Masset, I was as alarmed and confused as anyone when the downsize of CFS Masset was announced in the February 1994 Liberal budget. The social and economic repercussions could only be guessed at, but coupled with anxiety about the fishing industry and forestry cutbacks on the Island, the future looked sombre for many. Despite these odds, the citizens organized in a dignified way to salvage what they could out of a difficult situation.

As towns and villages throughout the country are sacrificed to expediency, centralization and an urban narcissism, the diversity that germinates within them is slowly eliminated from the culture of the nation.

As such, this research is dedicated to those on the margins who choose to engage in the struggle to retain community and a sense of place.
Chapter 1

Case Description

The enormous expanse of land that constitutes Canada’s north is dotted with hundreds of small settlements. Many of these settlements are First Nations’ villages that have housed multiple generations over hundreds and, in some cases, thousands of years. Others are the tragic result of expropriation and the displacement of First Nations from traditional lands by governments eager for the wealth growing on them, flowing through them, or lying beneath them.

As a result of this expropriation, an entirely different genre of settlement has been created to support the extraction of resources in the north. Still other settlements have been created to process resources extracted in the vicinity, to service these industries, or to function as extensions of government ministries as, for example, an army or naval base under the purview of the Minister of Defence. For so many of us, our familiarity with these northern settlements and their realities are based on CBC serials written and shot entirely in southern Canada, or popular reminiscences by Mowat and Berton and other “pure laine” spokesmen for the Canadian culture and its history.

Northern settlements dependent on the forestry or mining sectors, directly or indirectly, are familiar with the periods of boom and bust caused by vacillations in price and demand – international markets and the vagaries of the business cycle. Neil and Tykkylainen (1992, p.3), discussing the growth of transnational mining companies and their increasing diversification in types of commodities and siting of operations, state: “To maximize their profits, like other corporations, they must continually participate in
the restructuring of many of the industries in which they are involved. Transnational corporations can react quickly when metal prices rise by opening new “boom” mines, and transferring the ores to existing processing facilities. Equally however, closure may be ordered as part of a parent company’s restructuring of its constituent parts in order to enhance their overall profitability.”

Under internal and external pressures due to ever-expanding debt and deficit concerns, governments since the early 1980’s in Canada - federal, provincial and municipal - have adopted the restraint, balanced budgets and downsizing ethos of the prevailing neo-conservative paradigm. In so doing, thousands of government employees have been declared redundant and dismissed from their jobs, cultural and social program funding has been slashed or eliminated, and government ministries at every level downsized and redesigned.

For northern communities dependent on either government-generated jobs or private sector-generated jobs, decisions made by distant management for political reasons or to enhance the bottom line can prove to be catastrophic. In some instances, such as Pine Point in the Northwest Territories, both government and mining company will work in unison to close a town and sell off its assets (Kendall, 1989). Both capital and government move self-interestedly to maximize profits or minimize loss. However, other communities experiencing downsize or closure stresses may, because of a different cultural mix or an allegiance to a locality or way of life, make vastly different decisions. These decisions often result in a majority of the residents remaining to participate in the maintenance of the town, the exploration of alternative economic possibilities, and the construction of a new identity and vision.

Masset, a village of 1,400 at the north end of the Queen Charlotte Islands/Haida Gwaii has had a Canadian military presence since 1942 when radio communication
specialists were sent there to monitor marine communications. Departing in 1949, they returned again in 1962 to monitor military radio communications in light of increased concerns of Russian first strike capabilities and the vulnerability of Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles - all centres of the emerging American aerospace and telecommunications mega-industries - to submarine-based thermonuclear attack down the west coast.

As Canada's only open base, devoid of fences and sentries, the military population was soon enmeshed in the life of the village. By 1991, two hundred and thirty-nine military personnel plus their 133 spouses and 237 children - 60% of them of primary or secondary school age - were resident in Masset (Underwood, McLeod and Associates (UMA), 1995). In 1994, the downsize of CFS Masset was announced in the Liberal budget speech. The Department of National Defence's initial releases suggested the downsize would begin in March 1997 and would reduce the station workforce to approximately 50 employees (Greater Masset Development Corporation (GMDC) Administrator's personal communication, September 7, 1997).

In this paper, I wish to explore Masset's transition process from Paul Martin's 1994 budget announcement to the Station's official downsize in April 1997. As someone intrigued by transitions, my interests concern the implications of such an event on a small isolated village and the community's response to the situation. As a social worker, my research interests concern a model or approach that might be most effective in empowering the community and resolving the concerns.

The economic and infrastructural deficits facing the community after the downsize of the station were hinted at in a consultant's report when it was suggested: "CFS Masset has been a major influence in the community. The gross annual payroll amounts to $12.5 million, and estimated direct and indirect spending in the community
total about $1.7 million per annum. The station also provides extensive recreation facilities to the community, a hospital facility, and contributes around 38% to Village of Masset tax revenues. Additionally, many community organizations and special events have relied to a significant extent on volunteer labour provided by the military” (UMA, 1995, p.1). The downsize would not only cause the loss of 80 permanent civilian jobs (UMA, 1995, p. 20) but adversely affect numerous small businesses and the service jobs dependent on the military population’s spending. The village’s loss of these 600 citizens would seriously effect not only the business sector, but schools, health care, local government, and the community’s morale.

The transition process the village and its citizens faced was undefined. The grieving at the loss of old friends, of employment, and of a safe and predictable life was only beginning to be experienced, and the pressures and fears concerning decisions that had to be made were acute for many. The displacement of people remained a private matter, and had yet to be translated into a public issue (Hill, N.; QCI Observer February 9, 1995, pp. 20-21).

Local leadership, both at the municipal level and the Masset Community Adjustment Committee (MCAC) struggled with the complexity of the situation facing them. One year after Martin’s announcement, the MCAC sent out its first newsletter defining its mandate and inviting citizen participation (Hill, N.; QCI Observer February 9, 1995, p. 20). The MCAC, formed in May 1994, therefore took nine months to advise the community formally of its mandate and invite its participation in planning for the village’s future.

Life is often understood as change - as a series of transitions, from the synaptic and bio-chemical to the most ethereal. Once, social transitions were formalized by ritual, and guides eased people into this world and out of it. Today for so many, there
is neither community, belief, nor ritual to assist with life’s transitions. In small communities, however, there still exists a social network, a support system of family, friends and neighbors that come together to support those experiencing stress and loss. This natural support network is weakened dramatically when the loss experienced is not individual or familial, but community-wide.

Masset and Old Masset faced tremendous problems as a result of the downsize of CFS Masset. While engaged in attempting to deal with their situation, they were negatively affected by the imposition of the Mifflin Plan (Pacific Salmon Revitalization Plan) announced on May 24, 1996 by the Liberal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, Fred Mifflin. The announcement effectively closed the north and west coast Chinook fishery on the Queen Charlotte Islands for the season, and seriously impacted local fishers (Rowbotham, J.; Daily News, February 4, 1997). Two months later, Petro Canada announced it would close its bulk fuel plant, putting at risk Masset’s marine servicing economy (Lordon, I.; QCI Observer, July 25, 1996).

Perhaps four hundred communities in British Columbia are dependent on economies tied to logging, fishing, mining and their adjuncts. All are vulnerable to downturns in their economies caused by national events and political and social vicissitudes. Few have control over resources and most have little room to maneuver if the markets collapse.

In reviewing literature on community development, community participation, social development and community economic development, I have found Ife’s (1996) work most relevant for understanding the dilemma and choices facing small isolated communities. Many of these communities have been largely abandoned by government, environmentally ravaged and are often dependent on an economy they have no control over. Ife (1996) believes that an integrated community development
approach can help in recreating community by assisting residents in discovering both what is desirable and what is feasible. This approach demands a rigorous analysis of a community's political and economic development. This analysis helps in understanding the social and environmental aspects of the development dynamic. This approach also requires a community to participate in defining their values and their needs and encourages cooperation, alternative economic strategies and the reclaiming of community as the nucleus for human interaction.

Social work, through its community development arm, has a primary role to play in both the alleviation of distress and the democratization, re-visioning and re-creation of community. An understanding of the issues facing villages like Masset, and the variety of attempts to resolve them, are critical components of a northern social worker's knowledge base.

This case study of Masset's transition process is not intended to simply document a community's vulnerability and victimization. Nor is it intended to be a celebration of frontier spirit in the face of adversity, or a Nietzschean paean. Rather, it is an historical account of a community's struggle and renewal that exposes glaring deficits in the welfare state and the realpolitik of residualist governments.

The information to research this case was gathered using conventional research methods – including secondary analysis of documents, newspapers, public meetings, as well as direct observation and semi-structured interviews. As a nine year resident of the village, I was also privy to the casual and understated comments and allusions overheard in public spaces; comments, which are a vital part of the social sonar of village life.

The case study methodology was chosen in this instance because of its acknowledged excellence in the areas of cultural description and historical study and
analysis. In this case study of one village’s response to crisis and transition, of
associated interest was the state’s response. The goal was to reconstruct and analyze
Masset’s transition from a social work perspective in order to better understand how
social work might support and assist a village undergoing similar stresses. Although
Masset is unique in many ways because of its isolation as an island, its cultural and
social mix and the Haida cultural influence, it is likely that the majority of fishing, mining
and logging villages on B.C.’s coast and further inland would claim a similar
uniqueness. What is common is the struggle to survive in a society that exploits the
northern hinterland to fuel wealth generation in its southern cities. It is hoped that by
compiling case studies of individual struggles to reconstruct community, and analyzing
and comparing them, we might offer some direction to communities at risk.
Chapter 2  
Theory and Research

Much of the literature concerning downsize and closure-induced transitions in small isolated communities has been written regarding mining towns. The mining industry is found in every Canadian province and territory and, according to Keyes, “Some 120 communities depend heavily on the minerals and metals sector, many others in a less direct but significant way, (for example, transportation and processing)” (Keyes, 1992, p. 28).

Mining resonates throughout modern Canadian history from the gold rush in the Yukon and Northern B.C. that helped populate the west, to the mining and manufacturing of the fifties and sixties that helped the nation's economy mature. Towns such as Daniel's Harbour, Cobalt, Asbestos, Coaldale, Mayo, Schefferville, Wabush, Labrador City, Marathon, Faro, Lynn Lake, Cassiar, Naniswik, Port Hardy, Kimberly, Kirkland Lake, Tasu and Temagami played critical roles in the invention of the modern Canadian state.

Hundreds of other villages and towns in Canada's north are dependent economically on the forest industry - logging and milling - as well as on the small boat fishery and the canneries that process the catch.

Serious concerns regarding the stability and health of west coast salmon stocks have recently come to the fore in the media. Images of the east coast's economic and social devastation caused by the decimation of the Cod stocks flicker across TV screens throughout the country as a grim reminder of that history. The imposition of
the Mifflin Plan (Pacific Salmon Revitalization Plan) in May 1996 will according to many coastal fishers destroy the small village-based fleets of the west coast and perhaps the villages themselves. This, coupled with the crisis facing the forest industry and the villages and towns which house and service the industry, all point to the conclusion that unemployment, displacement and community destabilization will become major issues for B.C. social workers in the next decade.

In titling this paper, an old adage generally attributed to the great Yankee catcher, Yogi Berra, was chosen. Many of his seemingly nonsensical utterances have become cherished parts of our North American lexicon. The title seemed significant because it encapsulated two of the responses the community faced from the state as it attempted to negotiate the downsizing. The first was the prevailing ethos which, in its most Darwinian manifestation advises victims of policy to simply “get over it”. It suggests one simply absorb the blow, brush yourself off and continue with life. It stresses personal initiative and downplays community and rights. In its less callous manifestation, it bears funding and ulterior motives – the manipulative mode as discussed by Midgley, Hall, Hardiman and Narine (1986). The second response facing the community was the incremental state response. Although willing to alter its bureaucratic mandates in response to the peculiarities of the case, the state was ultimately unwilling and unable to assist the community meaningfully due to inertia, inefficiency and lack of expertise.

The more residualist critics would downplay or dismiss the reverberations of downsizes and closures on communities. In response, this discussion of the research related to downsizing and closure in a remote Canadian village will begin with a review of the literature on the social impact of such an event. Perhaps the most visible of the social impacts of a downsizing transition in a village or small town is the job loss directly
related to it. The psycho-social impact of unemployment has been written about extensively, although the great majority of the research concerns the experience of white males, with little written about unemployment's impact on women, racial minorities or the disabled, until most recently (Briar, 1988).

Grieff, Kates and Hagen (1990) point out that work has a myriad of meanings to the individual. These include an economic meaning – food and shelter, increased social status, long-term financial security; a social meaning – social contact, friendships, identity and role, structure and group or place to belong to, or an escape from a disappointing personal or family life; and a psychological meaning - an opportunity to express creative abilities, generate respect, as well as helping form and preserve an individual's internal identity. In fact, it may be credibly argued that employment is a key component of one's sense of citizenship, and the unemployed frequently rest on the periphery of full citizenship.

If employment plays a pivotal role in defining who we are and how we live, then the loss of employment is likely to have a profound effect on an individual, his family and his community. How then, do people respond to being unemployed?

Research in this area suggests that unemployment is a traumatic experience punctuated by dramatic shifts in economic power and self-esteem (Borgen and Amundson, 1984). Anxiety, depression, boredom, interpersonal problems, withdrawal and lowered self-esteem are common responses (Briar, Fiedler, Sheen and Kamps, 1980) as are withdrawal and isolation due to feelings of worthlessness and an inability to express these feelings (Fagin, 1984). Apathy and resignation result from prolonged unemployment (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985) and dysfunction may be precipitated by the sense of shame and blame shouldered by the unemployed (Hayes and Nutman, 1981).
Many writers on the subject of unemployment discuss it in terms of a transition comprising different reactions or stages. Although transitions offer great potential for personal growth and development, they are also fraught with pain, both psychological and physiological for many people. Adams, Hayes and Hopson (1976) delineate the stages as immobilization, minimization, depression, accepting reality, testing the reality, seeking meanings and internalizing these meanings. Powell and Driscoll (1973) suggest relaxation and relief, concerted effort, vacillation and doubt, as well as malaise and cynicism are the stages a middle class worker might experience. Often, the initial optimism, after an extended period of unemployment, reverts to self-blame and then depression (Briar, 1978). Referred to by some as a journey from shock to despair (Harrison, 1976), unemployment, especially extended unemployment, severely impacts the worker, the family and the community.

Research has been done on the effects of unemployment on the physical and mental health of the unemployed and it seems to suggest that unemployment can be detrimental to both. The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (1986, 1982) suggests unemployment is a major threat to health in the City of Toronto. The unemployed have been noted to attend physicians with an increased frequency (D’Arcy, 1986), to smoke more cigarettes, drink more alcohol and caffeine, and exercise less frequently after losing their jobs (Kirsh, 1983), as well as having an increased likelihood of developing cardiovascular problems (Moser and his associates, 1986; Bunn, 1979; Brenner, 1973). Briar (1978) goes so far, in fact, to suggest that unemployment and its resulting anxiety may reduce life expectancy by 5 years.

Tracking the extent of emotional issues and symptomology among jobless workers has been done through subjective reports of the jobless, changes in hospitalization rates and through the use of questionnaires like the Beck Depression
Inventory (Beck and his associates, 1961). Diminished self-esteem has been a common finding in most studies. Contributing factors include a sense of failure, of shame, feelings of rejection, an individual's loss of control over his/her environment, the loss of work-related roles and the negative reactions of family or friends. This loss of agency and imposed dependency can lead to severe depression. Early research had identified depression as one of the most common experiences of the unemployed (Schlionsky, Preu and Rose, 1937) and contemporary research in England using the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) to compare changes in mood between employed and unemployed workers has found three times more unemployed workers had scores above the threshold for the presence of a depressive disorder than employed workers (Melville and his associates, 1985; Braithwaite and Garcia, 1985). Besides the common responses to unemployment, such as anxiety, boredom, depression, withdrawal, lowered self-esteem and self-perception (Briar, Fiedler, Sheen and Kamps, 1980), some researchers (Briar, 1988) suggest reactions to unemployment are similar to those reactions of individuals to loss, grief and separation.

Research suggests that the loss of a job affects everyone in the family. Significant issues include behaviour changes in the unemployed person, adjustments in roles and the increase in time spent together. Children, in particular, experience behavioural changes including problems at school, moodiness, minor gastro-intestinal complaints and altered relations with friends (Liem and Rayman, 1982; Fagin, 1984). In affected communities many inhabitants – mostly young people and families with children – moved, unemployment among the young increased three or four times the national average, dwellings were left uninhabited, loss of students affected the capacities of the school system and municipal government was negatively impacted with loss in revenue (Liljenas, 1992). As well, families in areas characterized by high
levels of unemployment are more likely to be victims of rising crime rates, drug abuse, and family violence (Dail, 1988). Racism and a build-up of social tensions has also been linked to high unemployment in communities (Wollman, 1986).

In summary, the aforementioned research demonstrates that work is of profound importance in an individual's life, and that unemployment is a traumatic experience for many and often leads to despair and depression. Unemployment has physical and mental effects on many of the unemployed, and negatively impacts family and community.

In general, social support refers to the role of the family, friends and neighbors in helping an individual cope with his/her environment. However, formal resources and programs often provided by social agencies, churches and unions can be extremely helpful. The potentially harmful effects of change can be reduced by the buffering effect of a strong system of social support resources (Dean and Lin, 1977; Cassel, 1976, 1974; Caplan, 1974; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1974). Social support helps to reinforce the ability to cope with adversity as well as acting as a buffer to reduce the effects of stress (Kirsh, 1983). A social support network offering emotional support, esteem support and network support can provide both cognitive guidance and a refuge or sanctuary from a stressful environment (Caplan, 1974). However, informal networks are heavily impacted if the loss or crisis is experienced community-wide, as those who would typically offer support require it themselves. Formal organizations that might be of assistance are rarely found in isolated villages and even if in place, require additional funding and organization. A coalition of local agencies would also require additional funding and organization, and may struggle with issues around boundaries, leadership and resources (Thompson, 1967).
Perhaps the most common community response to the announcement of a
downsize or closure in a remote community is the forming of a task force or corporate
group to negotiate with government and industry. Often their mandate includes
developing economic alternatives aimed at preserving as much of the status quo as
possible. Economic alternatives need to be found for much of the northern population
who choose to stay or have to stay – First Nations populations, retirees without
southern family, or people born in the north (Bradbury and Wolfe, 1983).

A Corporate group is “more than an ad hoc transitional type of group that might
arise in the course of a protest movement”. Rather, it typically has a “formal identity
and a permanence beyond the life of its members”(Malloy, 1974, p. 55). Corporate
activity is a way of combining state support without giving up local initiatives in planning
and managing local economic development (Neil, Tykkylainen, and O’Faircheallaigh,
1992). Variables considered important in determining the success of local corporatist
activity include a significant number of interested citizens to form the basis of the
creation of collective interests, the negotiation of shared goals, organizational skills,
determination, as well as the ability to mobilize external normative support (Koch and
Gartrell, 1992).

Synthetic organizations can emerge as an ad hoc response to a community
crisis, however they face a number of serious difficulties. Among these difficulties are:
developing domain consensus, acquiring extensive information about the problem and
available resources, establishing the integrity of each group’s boundaries and
developing structures while carrying on operations – often without well-established
channels of communication or established rules (Thompson, 1967).

Government may choose from three options when a remote mine is threatened
with closure according to O’Faircheallaigh (1992) – allow the market to redistribute the
idled workers and resources, allow closure but attempt to economically diversify the area's economy, or prevent closure, with public funds going to the mining company. Certain general circumstances independent of any particular project are necessary for state assistance to be effective according to Neil, Tykkylainen and O"Faircheallaigh (1992). These include a workable federal, provincial and municipal division of responsibility, policies that are relevant and responsive regarding assistance to the communities, an effective fit between the various levels of government programs, both a bottom up development process, as well as access to facilitators in the area of economic development and the provision of ongoing funding.

Local economic development and diversification in a small declining community can be very difficult to achieve, is feasible in a minority of cases and involves substantial expenditure of public funds (O'Faircheallaigh, 1992). Keyes (1992) identifies the key determinants for diversification in his discussion of a 1982 Government, Industry, and Labour task force examining the problems of mining towns facing closure. He suggests the key determinants are: 1) opportunity potential primarily in terms of resource endowment; 2) lead time with which to plan or act; 3) designation of a party or agency responsible for diversification initiatives; 4) attitude of senior governments with respect to the community; 5) attitudes and resources of the community and its leadership, and 6) community access to financial and other resources. Others, such as Bradbury (1989) posit class differences in access to capital, credit and retooling strategies as the main variables. Certainly, studies of small communities continue to identify quality of leadership as one of the most critical factors in achieving local economic development in declining communities.

Examples of the difficulties faced by communities attempting economic diversification are discussed by Tykkylainen and Neil (1995); Neil and Lea (1992);
O'Faircheallaigh (1992) and Bradbury and Wolfe (1983). The latter discusses Eldorado Nuclear LTD’s December 1981 announcement of the closure of their Uranium City mine in June 1982, the consultant’s commission to investigate the economic alternatives, and the proposals the community advanced to the government. The creation of public facilities in the community, the setting up of the community as a regional service centre, tourism proposals, fishing options and farming were all dismissed due to the area’s isolation, topography, costs or lack of markets.

A community’s response should not be confined to seeking to restructure the economy, and should certainly include opportunities for retraining and education, entrepreneurial support, access to a business advisor, small business training, inexpensive facilities, programs to help germinate small business, and funding to support these efforts (Neil, Tykkylainen and O'Faircheallaigh, 1992).

Despite the formidable array of forces aligned against the small community in crisis, some communities may choose to interpret their situation as being an opportunity to re-create themselves so as to become less dependent, less vulnerable and more democratic. This re-creation would involve more than simply replacing jobs and re-establishing the status quo, but would require analysis and the wisdom and solidarity of the community itself.

Surely, one of the primary difficulties facing communities in transition is encouraging the fullest participation of citizens in planning and decision-making. Cassidy (1991) believes that participation is seminal in the struggle for community control since without the power it creates, a community cannot have or maintain control. Yap (1990) paraphrases Paul’s definition of community participation as an active process by which beneficiary client groups influence the direction and execution of a
development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish.

The participation continuum according to Arnstein (1969) consists of manipulation, therapy, informative efforts, consultation and placation, to partnership, delegated power and finally, citizen control.

Pateman quoted in Cassidy (1991) lists the three components of participation as pseudo-participation, partial participation and full participation. In contrast, Bryden (1982) breaks participation into either an instrumental activity or an end in itself. Wilkinson (1986) suggests communities engage in collective action infrequently and only under particular conditions. He states “community action occurs when unusual events threaten local residents. When this occurs, an identity of interest can produce a more or less unified process of collective action among people who seem, otherwise, to have few if any common interests”.

Commenting on those who strive to organize community control, the Oregon Health Decisions project suggests they foster structures which:

- are broadly-based and non-partisan;
- have an independent public identity and are not seen as just one more program of the supporting organization or identified with a particular power;
- have a functional independence from any single sponsoring organization, as far as governance, staffing and finances are concerned;
- are connected to existing networks of active volunteers and community leaders at the local level (Jennings, 1988. pp. 8, 9, 12, 13)

Cassidy (1991) discusses community control and the enhancement of participation. In this discussion, Cassidy warns against the perpetuation of power in the hands of the wealthy and established under the guise of community control. Yap
(1990, p. 61) suggests business people, landlords and shopkeepers are among the few who can afford to be active in the community. Those active are likely to represent entrenched interests previously involved in community affairs. Reagan and Fedor-Thurman (1987, p. 107) warn that “public participation...does not mean participation of the general public”.

Visioning, according to the Oregon Model (Ames, 1993, p. 7) “is simply a process by which a community envisions the future it wants and plans how to achieve it”. In sum, it is an attempt to build consensus for further directions. Consisting of four steps – profiling the community, analyzing the trends, creating the vision, and developing an action plan, the community visioning process should assist the community in values identification, the identification of trends and forces affecting the community, articulation of a “big picture” view to guide short-term decisions and long-term initiatives, and the development of tools to achieve its mission.

Fundamental questions regarding the state’s ability to cooperate with communities attempting to regain control via communal efforts are discussed by Midgely, Hall, Hardiman and Narine (1986, p. 4). He points out the notion of community participation is ideological in that it “reflects beliefs derived from social and political theories about how societies should be organized”. Midgely believes it is a reaction against centralization, bureaucratization and the remoteness of the state. In his discussion of typologies, the manipulative and incremental most closely approximate the state’s response to the Masset downsize. Midgley’s participatory mode, which includes active encouragement and support for communities by the state, would involve extensive devolution of power to the community and the provision of resources needed to support a community’s development. This latter option was never part of the
negotiations between the community of Masset and the state (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997).

Old understandings of the community development practitioner as gruff hero or expert have largely given way to those of facilitator, educator, and technician. Community development itself has been savaged by criticisms that it is not sufficiently people-centered or that it is ideologically naïve. From these accusations have grown a variety of populist theory including community participation. Decrying the exploitation of the individual by the politicians and bureaucrats and her exclusion from both the affairs of state and the development process, community participation seeks to mobilize citizens and to seek redress (Midgley, Hall, Hardiman and Narine1986).

Developmental approaches in social work are advanced by those critical of a more remedial approach. They propose more early intervention and prevention strategies that are seen to help address social need and generate health and community. As Midgley (1996) points out, projects which mobilize locals to address community deficits are often more successful than conventional remedial approaches. Although largely a product of early colonial policy and recent international social welfare efforts by the United Nations and various NGO's, social development ideas are slowly being adopted by some of those seeking to address dependency issues in the first world. Social development has been touted as resulting “in the fulfillment of people’s aspirations for personal achievement and happiness, to promote a proper adjustment between individuals and their communities, to foster freedom and security, and to engender a sense of belonging and social purpose” (Midgley, Hall, Hardiman and Narine 1986). Others maintain community participation strengthens interpersonal relationships, fosters self-confidence, improves material conditions and reduces feelings of powerlessness and alienation (White, 1982; Majeres, 1979). Still others,
based on different ideological assumptions, view such ideas as delusional and argue that complete structural changes are required.

Although the reconstruction of the economy was seminal in Masset’s transition, a variety of other issues and community peculiarities needed to be both addressed and incorporated into any process. These include, among others, culture, land claims, education, dependency, widespread and entrenched unemployment and poverty, Haida sensitivities and social development issues. Any community development and economic development intervention would have to blend together into an approach that is informed by the aforementioned considerations. This reality precludes strategies based primarily on markets and conventional business practices, as they limit the community’s options and are resented by many as representing a paradigm that has oppressed residents and decimated the island’s environment.

Nonetheless, the Masset Community Adjustment Committee (MCAC) opted for an economic development process that was constructed on using the station’s facilities to re-create an economy. Their primary social development thrust was to secure a government funded skills centre to mobilize human capital. Both decisions were made relatively early in the transition and framed the committee’s subsequent efforts. As such, critical social development initiatives were not even considered by the MCAC or its mentors – Department of National Defence and Western Diversification Corporation – and initial energies were spent almost entirely on resolving the station assets questions and contracting for a community economic potential study (GMDC administrator, personal communication September 7, 1997). It is important to note that the station’s Commanding Officer was a key member of the early MCAC and was actively involved in these initiatives.
In the end, UMA's draft report on options for the village's economic development recommended ten options, eight of which were directed at tourism development. Development based primarily on tourism, though initially seductive, is questionable due to its seasonal character, the island's isolation, its susceptibility to downturns in the economy and its intrusiveness.

Ife's thesis is based on insights related to the crisis in the welfare state. He suggests this crisis results from a wider one of a social, economic and political system which is unsustainable and has reached the point of an ecological crisis. He argues that conventional responses to these realities are themselves based on the same unsustainable growth-oriented assumptions and are, therefore, unsustainable.

Community development is the process of establishing structures of human community within which new ways of relating, organizing and meeting human need become possible. Community-based services are structures and processes for meeting human need, drawing on the resources, expertise and wisdom of the community itself (Ife, 1996). The purpose of community development is to re-establish the community as the location of significant human experience and the meeting of human need. To fully accomplish this, decisions on issues such as economic development need to take into consideration social, political, environmental, cultural and spiritual/personal dimensions. Outside experts may have a role to play if they are respectful and do not seek to impose externally derived answers. Ultimately, "the community development perspective requires horizontal communication (learning from each other, not from imposed expertise), accountability to the community and the encouragement of diversity. It is essential for the community development worker to move beyond traditional bureaucratic top-down frameworks and ways of thinking" (Ife, 1996, p. 191).
In this overview of research, I seek to demonstrate that a downsize in an isolated village is a crisis for many. This crisis needs to be addressed at a human level with services to supplement traditional informal support systems which may be weakened.

Conventional residual approaches that encourage workers to leave the community are not relevant in many instances and old economies need to be replaced for those who stay. Generally, an ad hoc group is constructed to negotiate with the corporate and government entities. These ad hoc groups are often hindered by a lack of resources, organization and sophistication when compared to the bureaucrats and lawyers lobbying for the other side. By the time the negotiations take place, communities begin to lose their youngest most mobile families and resources are downsized. Frequently, collateral damage ensues such as associated closures and departures which further destabilize the community.

Communities which face this kind of uncertainty may benefit by adopting an integrated community development approach which requires a rigorous analysis of their situation and a commitment to organize around the pursuit of new social and economic ideas based on social justice and ecology.
Chapter 3

Problem Analysis

Masset, a small isolated community - metaphorically and literally the end of the road - was experiencing intense transition induced stress due to the downsize of the Canadian Forces Station. As well, a declining forestry sector and the imposition of the Mifflin Plan (Pacific Salmon Revitalization Plan) in May, 1996 further complicated the community's attempts to adjust to the downsize and profoundly damaged the village's economy and morale (Rinfret, A.; QCI Observer, February 8, 1996, pp. 1-2). The Mifflin Plan was viewed by many in the community as the death of the small boat coastal fishery. It and previous fishery policy were blamed for the closure of the village's B.C. Packers plant as well as the Petro Canada bulk fuel depot closure. Both facilities were seminal components of Masset's fishing economy (Rowbotham, J.; Daily News, February 4, 1997).

Despite the option of departing the island in search of opportunity elsewhere, few medium to long-term Masset residents chose to leave. How then does a small, isolated and relatively unsophisticated community mediate this transition? What might constitute a successful transition and what could be done to facilitate Masset's successful transition? Who needs to do this work? What can social work learn and then contribute by examining a small community's transition crisis?

We know from the research on downsizing and closure that a community suffers extensive job loss both directly and indirectly (Liljenas, 1992; McKay, 1987; Bradbury and Wolfe, 1983; McKenzie, 1978). Masset had historically experienced low
unemployment rates due to the employment of civilians at CFS Masset and the spin-offs from this employment (UMA, 1995). As well, jobs in forestry, fishing and fish processing allowed for seasonal employment and the collection of UIC benefits during the remainder of the year, a lifestyle choice of many. A short distance down the road, Old Massett suffered from significantly higher rates of unemployment - over 35% with a labour force participation rate of only 47% (Statistics Canada Census, 1991). Of Masset’s total labour force over fifteen years of age (850), 355 were involved in government service and 100 were in educational services. In fact, fully 55% of the employed residents of Masset over 15 years were engaged in direct government employment - for the Department of National Defence, in the school system and in the clinics and social service offices (Statistics Canada Census, 1991).

The Federal Liberal government’s decision to implement the Mifflin Plan and downsize the small boat fishery in favour of the corporate fishery devastated the coastal village economies. The small boat fishers were locally based, resident in coastal villages and contributors to the economy and the social life of their communities. With re-licensing fees in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, only very wealthy, large boat owning fishers could afford to continue in the fishery (Philp, 1998b). The large boat owning fishers rarely lived in coastal communities and therefore, rarely used local workers to staff their boats. As well, with their large sophisticated boats, they were less dependent on the village’s fuel facilities and were able to sell their catch at sea to the large freezer boats as opposed to local canneries which employed villagers.

Chronic over-harvesting in the forestry sector on the Queen Charlotte Islands has created the need for significant diminishment of the annual allowable cut (UMA, 1995). Without drastic changes in logging methods, this decrease in harvest levels will
lead to layoffs, render local mills vulnerable to closure due to lack of supply, and
discourage the dreams of a value-added wood products industry on island.

Homeowners faced major decreases in the value of their homes. In Masset a
30% decrease is generally assumed due largely to decreasing demand and the
GMDC's decision to sell military houses inexpensively to the public. McKenzie (1978,
p. 21) comments regarding Inco's Thompson workforce reduction, "There was an
immediate reduction in real estate prices and the number of housing sales." Either
eventuality may preclude a home-owning worker from being able to leave a community
or from borrowing money to finance a small business. This latter eventuality may have
serious effects on the re-creation of a village's economy by ultimately precluding
resident-based investment in new small business and the confidence this new
investment generates.

We know that a declining population often correlates to a diminishment of
services, particularly health and education services. As funding is reduced due to
population decreases, doctors' and teachers' positions are cut, clinics close, and
schools offer fewer options and programs (Liljenas, 1992). The recruitment of medical
resources has historically been difficult in isolated communities and many communities
are forced to go without doctors for extended periods of time. With the departure of the
DND doctors, and the reduction of both villages' medical staff to a single doctor and
nursing support, the informal counseling done by doctors in small towns was much less
available. Attempts to recruit other doctors proved fruitless for months until the sole
remaining doctor resigned due to the on-call pressures and exhaustion (QCI HCS Drug
and Alcohol Counselor, personal communication, July 25, 1997). As such, the north
end of the island was left without a permanent doctor, the nearest one being one and a
half hours away. This lack of doctors severely hampered the re-establishment of the
hospital after the DND departure and the subsequent funding crisis threatened the demise of the facility in Masset.

The Ministry for Children and Families was unable to recruit a child welfare worker to service the village of Masset on a full-time basis as designed. Instead, a worker was available two days a week. A relative newcomer to the islands, he was unfamiliar with the community’s transition. He had not been briefed by the Ministry about transition issues relevant to this situation and no extra staffing or resources had been made available (Lantz, S., MCF supervisor, personal communication, July 28, 1997). It is worth noting that this Ministry was engaged in its own transition and enormous resources were being directed away from children, families and communities in crisis.

With a downsize or closure comes dramatic drops in the municipal tax base and a diminishing of services and resources. This loss of tax base may lead to increases in municipal taxation that further stresses homeowners and small business owners. Often a community’s social economy is destabilized as the community loses many of its volunteers, coaches and community activists - so frequently members of the younger, well-educated families who are best able to relocate successfully.

An affected community’s citizens must individually and collectively deal with their grief and losses, the community destabilization and often an intense crisis of identity. In an environment of uncertainty and accelerated change, the community is forced to expend energy and resources not only in keeping going, but also in dealing with crisis issues, and in coming to terms with new and emerging realities. In sum, those affected need to deal with their losses and grieve both individually and as a community - decathexis, negotiate the closure or downsize, and attempt to generate vision, consensus and identity - cathexis.
The downsize of CFS Masset brought into play a myriad of federal and provincial ministries and departments. Due to extensive budget cuts to the DND, a number of military facilities had been downsized or closed across Canada in the preceding years. In an attempt to diminish the traumatic economic effects of base closures on the host municipalities, as well as to limit the political costs of these closures, funding was set aside to assist these communities in weathering the closure. Thus, when the CFS Masset downsize was announced, funding was available via a complicated and ultimately unresponsive bureaucratic process (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997).

With DND prepared to provide Masset with $5 million, but unwilling to administer the funding, the monies were transferred to Western Economic Diversification (WED), a federal agency involved in economic diversification in the western provinces. WED had earlier accepted responsibility for transitioning DND's Royal Roads facility into a university after its announced closure in the same 1994 Liberal budget (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997). To further complicate matters WED had no experience creating a university and none in generating a successful transition and a post-dependency economy in a complex, multi-dimensional isolated community.

The Industrial Adjustment Service (IAS), a federal and provincial government partnership designed to provide support and services to towns experiencing large scale dislocation due to plant or mill closures, subsequently became involved in the Masset dossier. Although typically involved in assisting workers and their families in accessing employment outside an affected community, the IAS was amenable to redirecting their focus from assisting people in leaving their community to assisting the community in recreating an economy and retaining its population. According to the GMDC
administrator, this came about because of the community's strong consensus in public meetings and consultations in which they demanded help in re-developing the economy and preventing the loss of more residents. However, despite attending several meetings, iAS representatives did not provide significant guidance and were unprepared and unwilling to engage in community development. It was thus largely left to the community, and the MCAC in particular, to find its own way (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997).

Like most small communities, the municipal government was devoted primarily to property issues and did not engage in community development. To negotiate with both federal and provincial bureaucracies, mediate the transition, access and expend funds and develop a viable community plan, a body had to be constructed. To create a body, acceptable to all factions in a deeply divided community, motivated, efficient, and with the vision and leadership to deal with extremely complex issues, while at the same time creating convergence and consensus, would be a Herculean task. In reality, the body came together in a rather haphazard way.

The genesis of the Masset Community Adjustment Committee (MCAC) was a poorly attended public meeting at the Masset community hall in May 1994. Organized and chaired by the village's mayor and the Station's commanding officer, it included representatives of the IAS and WED. At the close of the meeting, participants were invited to sign-up if they were interested in becoming further involved in the transition process. Thirteen volunteered, and in its first year, the MCAC met every second Sunday. It was composed of some of the village's institutional leadership - the banker, the Station's commanding officer, and the high school principal - small business people, and concerned citizens. Ife's (1996) analysis warns against this usurping of power and process by the privileged few, a usurping that frequently reflects the class,
gender and race/ethnicity basis of society and ultimately reinforces structural oppression and disadvantage. Integrated community development works to build community and empower people by availing them of opportunities to increase their capacity to determine their own futures and participate in and effect the life of their communities. This exclusion of the many, and the ensuing isolation of the MCAC, would continue to plague its relationships with the community, and would be mirrored in its incarnation, the Greater Masset Development Corporation (QCI Observer, June 29, 1995; January 12, 1995; Rinfret, 1998).

Perhaps the key issue facing the committee and the citizens was the question of either negotiating the transfer of the station’s assets to a village-based development body or having them bulldozed and the land returned to its original condition - the “greenfield option”. The station’s assets included a hospital, a recreation centre with gym and pool, a curling rink, a golf course, a large administrative building, a chapel, a day care centre, a family resource centre, a grocery store, a variety of storage and maintenance shops, 199 married quarters and a domestic site consisting of 65 acres. A 1995 inventory had pegged the replacement value at approximately $43 million. (UMA, 1995)

The complexity of the assets transfer negotiations would guarantee little broadly-based community involvement. In fact, these negotiations framed the transition process and worked to exclude much of the more creative thinking proffered by individuals in the community. As well, the composition of the committee with its factions and their long histories of conflict and mistrust precluded significant progress during its first year, a critical time for the community. Caregiving and service groups were not coordinated to address the psycho-social issues facing residents. In fact, these concerns were rarely, if ever, discussed by the MCAC (Personal communication, GMDC...
administrator, September 7, 1997), and the provincial and federal governments neglected their responsibilities to address the prevention and social development needs of the community. Community development options gave way to a singular economic development strategy as a response to the community's crisis. In effect, the seminal tasks of communal dialogue, community visioning, consensus creation and community development were shunted aside by DND deadlines, uninspired leadership on all levels, the enormity of the task, and imposed understandings of the situation and the community.

Meanwhile, the community suffered through the January 1995 B.C. air ambulance crash and the loss of five lives, a rash of thefts and break and enters, as well as the still unsolved attempted murder of a high school aged youth. Clergy, mental health and addictions workers struggled with an increase in drunkenness, violence and para-suicides (QCIHCS Drug and Alcohol Counselor, personal communication, July 25, 1997; Philp, 1998). Despite the extensive pain and identified need, the professional and paraprofessional helpers continued their work, isolated and overwhelmed as no government largesse was forthcoming.
The Village of Masset was facing tremendous pressures - large scale unemployment, the destabilization of the community, and the need to respond to DND and other federal agencies regarding the future of the station’s assets. This latter obligation would require extensive community consultation and far reaching economic and social analysis to assess and document community will, potential and alternatives. Any decision to retain the DND station assets would have to be based on a viable long term business plan, one open to scrutiny by government and citizens.

Ultimately, however, WED had a veto over the process. The August 1, 1996 edition of the QCI Observer includes a front page article by Lorden titled “Masset frustrated as base takeover plan stalls”. The article discusses how flaws in the business plan presented by the MCAC to the federal government would result in at least a three month delay in initiating talks on the transfer of station assets. The article goes on to quote Chris Bywater, the committee coordinator, “One of the problems we’ve had is the three federal and one provincial sectors of government involved in this thing. We’ve indicated to a number of people that we are quite dissatisfied with what’s going on. We need to clarify exactly what’s required”.

Accessing funding and dealing with a myriad of large bureaucracies would require an acumen not typically found in a small village population or in rural municipal leadership. This need for a community competence would lead to the construction of a corporate or community action group, the Masset Community Adjustment Committee.
(MCAC). As noted earlier, this group of thirteen came together haphazardly and struggled in their first year to come to grips with the village's situation and in planning for the future. The group members' disparate visions of a future economy ranged from pulp mills to eco-tourism. All MCAC members were volunteers at that time, and most held jobs during the day. Meeting every second Sunday, it was difficult to get work completed - briefs prepared, ministries contacted - and organize broad community consultation. With a community largely in denial and the MCAC’s chair openly pilloried in the village for his anti-community bias, this project became even more complicated (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997).

Western Economic Diversification prodded the fledgling MCAC to contract consultants to complete an economic development analysis of the area. Such an analysis is conventionally done in communities affected by downsize or closure as a way of identifying a community’s economic strengths and liabilities, information fundamental in the re-creation of a conventional economy (Neil, Tykkylainen and O’Faircheallaigh, 1992). However, because of local sensitivities, the insinuation that outside experts could somehow derive insights that were invisible to locals and could attempt to impose them on the village, was hurtful and destructive. It re-established a dependency that had victimized the community during the station’s residence – a dependency from which the community had only just begun to wean itself. Ife (1996) points out it is essential that people be able to define their own needs and that defining ‘need assessment’ as a “technical undertaking for the expert” disempowers people. He does, however, believe that a sensitive, respectful and supportive consultant working with a community may make a valuable contribution. The integrated community development perspective therefore requires “horizontal communication (learning from each other, not from imposed expertise), accountability to the community, and the
encouragement of diversity. It is essential for the CD worker to move beyond traditional bureaucratic top down frameworks and ways of thinking” (ife 1996, p 191).

Once again, an outside party, in this case Western Economic Diversification, would impose a deadline designed to expedite the process to suit their purposes. These pressures, omissions and timelines would lead to poor decision-making, overspending, a faulty process that alienated the population, and a flawed and largely irrelevant document (Price, S.; QCI Observer, August 17, 1995, pp. 1-2). The engineering firm, UMA, was awarded the contract to review economic options associated with the Masset area. As the budget available for this assessment was $100,000, the MCAC assumed that this was the cost of such a study. The contract was not put up for tender to discern how much such a study might cost and what it would include. Nor did the MCAC define the parameters of the study they were contracting. It is evident in this instance that basic fiscal know-how was lacking and WED displayed no mentoring or administrative leadership to the MCAC. In a very real sense, the MCAC did not shape the process; the process, shaped by others, shaped them.

A number of flaws are apparent when examining the project’s process and results. First, community involvement was minimal. The study’s research and community consultation took place in the middle of summer when a significant percentage of the population were out fishing or on holidays. The report, though useful for the demographic information it managed to compile, had little to say about using the station’s assets and nothing to say about the community’s core values or strengths upon which to build (Price, S.; QCI Observer, August 17, 1995, pp. 1-2).

The report, “Masset Strategic Options and Opportunities” (1995), identifies four opportunity areas in the draft’s executive summary. These include an education and training centre, tourism opportunities such as development of an RV park and a marina
expansion, regional infrastructure including airport improvements and community enhancement and resource development such as value added wood products. The report suggests the following action plan:

   a) Establish a transition team to obtain the assets of CFS Masset for a community-based development corporation. A proper business plan would need to be developed in conjunction with this.

   b) Establish several sub-committees (using non-committee members when practical) to follow up on initiatives identified and feasible.

   c) Prepare business plans for preferred options.

The report's release in the community was met with much derision. Perhaps most alienating for the locals who perused the document briefly were the main street revitalization sketches which presented an image of a linear, almost urban, streetscape punctuated by a traffic circle containing totem poles and other Haida sculpture. (See Appendix E and F) This revitalization approach touched a sensitive nerve in locals, as certain military elements and others had so often proffered, smugly, that the disorganized and unkempt village was as unworthy and unattractive as its residents. For many this sentiment was echoed in these sketches. Old Massett Village council objected to the consultant's suggestion to use totem poles as a symbol of the community and decried their cultural insensitivity on this matter (Price, S.; QCI Observer, August 17, 1995, pp. 1-2).

   Around this time, the village's range of possibilities seemed tocentre around two options. The village could receive some compensation and have the DND site dismantled and returned to its natural state, or they could agree to purchase the entire facility for a nominal fee, seek monies in lieu of the funds required to greenfield the
properties, and attempt to maintain these facilities such that they benefited the community and were largely self-supporting.

Although many residents had fond memories of the village's pre-DND days and considered a return to the small fishing village life desirable, the majority were concerned with the loss of the hospital and recreation facilities and the anticipated decline in population and quality of life. The fishery crisis caused by the imposition of the Mifflin Plan, and the collateral damage of the village’s Petro Canada fuel depot and the B.C. Packers plant closures largely precluded the small fishing village option. According to a local seafood packing plant executive, the instability caused by the imposition of the Mifflin Plan lead to the loss of all of Masset’s seine fleet and 10% of its troll fleet. The B.C. Packers closure caused the loss of over 25 jobs and a 2 - 3 million dollar loss to the local economy (Rowbotham, J. Daily News, Prince Rupert February 4, 1997). Petro Canada’s closure would ax any plans to attract, and service, marine traffic to the village.

The MCAC however, was to become significantly strengthened by the addition of the Old Massett economic development officer as chair and the August 1995 seconding of an Industry Canada employee by WED to act as a resource and to organize and complete the necessary work. Despite these additions, the MCAC struggled in its relationships with federal and provincial bureaucracies, and at one point were dealing with eleven federal departments and three or four provincial ones. The GMDC Administrator tells of a three month wait to access $7,000 of the community’s monies. The sum was to be used to pay for soil samples to attempt to justify altering an agricultural land designation to industrial so a small mill could be built on the site. The investor took his money elsewhere due to the delay. In fact, the approval system to access Masset’s own $5 million, managed by WED, involved eight
levels of approval and a provincial government sign-off. The system was unresponsive and never designed to facilitate this type of effort or initiative (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997).

Before the DND assets could be either dismantled or purchased and transferred to a village based development body, the Old Massett Band had first dibs on the assets. This reality resulted from the legalities surrounding their application to government to negotiate their land claim. The Old Massett Band would need to waive interest in the properties in order to permit another body to purchase or dismantle them. Should the Band choose to claim the properties, they would be sealed and held in trust by Indian and Northern Affairs until their land claim was resolved.

The Old Massett Band waived interest in the properties in early September 1996. Later that month, a meeting was held between the MCAC and the two village councils. Three lawyers were present at this meeting - a tax lawyer, one specializing in municipal law and the Old Massett Band's lawyer. A structure was negotiated in this meeting that would create a non-profit corporation involving the two communities. The Greater Masset Development Corporation (GMDC) would be composed of an eight member board with four members named to it by each council.

This would prove to be a unique partnership, and a seminal step in the transition, in that it was the first one in Canada between a band and a municipality. This convergence of interest would considerably strengthen the new corporation's negotiating ability. They would present a unique unified front, a precedent and a potential model for other communities. With this unified front would come both intention and moral suasion. Armed with a business plan, a new non-profit corporation status, and consensus, it would be difficult for government to continue to hinder the completion of the negotiations.
Although the new corporation knew what they wanted and had done extensive groundwork, access to the decision-makers remained elusive (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997). It was more apparent than ever that they needed to resolve all of the issues at one time, or risk being shuffled around from one bureaucrat to another, none of whom had the power or the inclination to complete negotiations. The group found a strategy when a local First Nations politician with many years of experience suggested they needed to get someone who could "organize the deal". He suggested the group retain a lobbyist, known to him, with extensive experience as a deputy minister at the federal level (GMDC administrator, personal communication, September 7, 1997).

The lobbyist was retained and in February 1997, fully prepared, a small group from Masset were able to attend meetings in Ottawa with Deputy Ministers and Assistant Deputy Ministers in attendance, and complete their business. As a result of these meetings, the group was able to leverage funding from Health Canada and Indian and Northern Affairs for money to upgrade the hospital, close the deal to acquire the base assets for one dollar - and a greenfield fund settlement of $3 million - receive approvals to fund an airport extension from Transport Canada, timber rights on the remaining DND property and block funding from Western Economic Diversification which would allow large blocks of money to be available as required and preclude the ministerial sign-off previously in place. As well, Human Resources monies would allow for the set up of a skills centre to retrain the island population by providing facilities and management to respond to islanders' training needs. It was anticipated that capital, considering the possibilities on the island, would respond enthusiastically to the onsite, government-funded training resource.
Despite the apparent success of the group’s Ottawa initiative, serious concerns are raised by this episode. Perhaps most glaring is the need to engage a lobbyist to gain access to decision-makers. This, despite the fact that DND, immersed in its own serious problems, would want to move as expeditiously as possible to close the Masset file. The corporate, almost Darwinian ethos experienced by Masset’s representatives in their negotiations in Ottawa should be of intense concern to small, dependent communities. If as Ife (1996) suggests, the welfare state is collapsing under the weight of the corporate, globalist agenda, then individuals and communities are largely on their own and their existence increasingly at risk. As isolated communities, they are vulnerable. They must therefore move to join other communities at risk in forming a coalition, a community of communities, to protect their interests and defend their rights. This union of common interests would direct its energies at challenging the behaviour and power of governments and lending support, resources and expertise to its membership. Perhaps within this struggle for survival and dignity is contained the true DNA of community and of the human project which, to paraphrase Toni Morrison, is to remain human and block the dehumanization of others.
Chapter 5

Summary/Discussion

When the downsize of CFS Masset was announced, the enormity of the change facing the community was apparent to few. Over time, these changes would somehow be given meaning and integrated into the continuity linking past, present and future.

Today, Masset continues to exist - if not to flourish - and this fact alone speaks to its resiliency and authenticity. The community through the MCAC and its incarnation the GMDC has accomplished much that is laudable. Completing complex negotiations to acquire the Station's assets, lobbying successfully to save the hospital, and setting up the Skills Centre - a critical resource to upgrade and retrain island residents as well as a microbusiness incubator - are examples of some of its work. As well, it has extended Masset airport's runway and infrastructure – essential for emergency medical services - and is working toward constructing both a new marine terminal and a bulk fuel depot. Most recently, a full-time economic development officer was hired and sales of the remaining military houses were completed.

Despite its successes, serious concerns continue to be expressed about the GMDC. The island's weekly newspaper, The Observer, stated in its April 2, 1998 edition, "In a report to council on February 25, auditor Jan Tambre said he had grave concerns about the way the corporation is running. He said it did not appear that the directors were answerable to the people and that council lacked control over GMDC's operations" (Rinfret, A.; QCI Observer, April 2, 1998, p. 12). Many residents share these concerns and fear that the village's $8 million compensation fund is rapidly being
spent on infrastructure to cater to the needs of vacationing tourists, and little or none generating sustainable work for its residents. These concerns are compounded by the alarming decline in Coho stocks and fear of the collapse of the west coast fishery (Philp, 1998b). As well, the long-anticipated Asian tourist and development dollars seem even more elusive as a result of the Asian economic crisis and restructuring.

Masset and the entire island community face numerous difficulties in the natural resource sectors, already discussed, and an isolation that precludes most competitive manufacturing and hinders easy access by tourists. The recent Delgamuukw decision may well lead to the flight of non-First Nations investment monies and development at a critical time for residents' bank accounts and morale. How then to avoid the community's slow decline after the present grant economy dries up?

Certainly, any economic development plans or strategies need to be made by taking into consideration the value base of the community, the community will, and the overall personality of the community. Hence, this is a process which must struggle to encourage the widest possible community participation and incorporate a broad spectrum of opinion (Ife, 1996).

A community visioning process can, with limited resources and facilitation, offer a segment of the population an opportunity to create a common vision of their town's future. This visioning process is empowering, generates hope and allows for the supported disclosure of concerns and fears which may not have been previously expressed. Other initiatives that can generate community participation include public meetings, focus groups, church discussion groups, televised panel discussions and children's essay and poster contests. As well, techniques such as those discussed by Beck (1995) in the Kootenays – kitchen table meetings and the co-design process –
might be effective in allowing the voices of those excluded by sexism, racism, personal discomfort, disability, lack of fluency or anti-meeting sentiments, to be heard.

A competent analysis of a community’s strengths and weaknesses, assets and liabilities, based on community values, can be of great assistance in these discussions. As well, the skills of a community development worker committed to facilitating the community vision can be invaluable. In the end, a community must struggle for consensus about how to create an economy that is inclusive, responsive to local needs and environmentally beneficial.

Throughout B.C., numerous resource-based communities have experienced a closure or downsize and have struggled to survive (Ward, 1997). For many of these communities, survival has meant gaining control of the local resources that typically belong to outside interests. Revelstoke was such a community. When faced with the imminent closure of the sawmill and the abandonment of the local TFL by a large forestry player, the community decided that local forestry should benefit local people. In the end the town, armed with expert advice and the support of local timber outfits, purchased the TFL. In the process that followed, Revelstoke was able to revitalize its downtown and its small businesses, provide timber to the local sawmill, and generate a strong sense of community control (Bob Clark, QCI Community Forest Symposium, September 1997).

Kimberly, when faced with the impending closure of the Sullivan mine by Cominco, was able to reinvent itself. “These days towns like Kimberly, if they’re blessed with the right environment and a will to survive, can adopt a new persona attractive to tourists and market a lifestyle to retirees and young families fleeing high urban house prices and the rat race. It depends on circumstances, of course. If your company town is as isolated as Ocean Falls or Cassiar, you’re pretty much dead in the
McMullen 42

water when the company suddenly moves out. Other towns, such as Chemainus and Port Alberni, hang on but with a drop in population when a mine or mill slashes jobs” (Ward, D.; Vancouver Sun, October 18, 1997, pp. C1, C4).

Gold River and Tahsis also faced a serious economic situation and a lack of community control over local resources. The residents made application for a community forest tenure and struggled to make it a reality. Based on their experiences, they warn against a community underestimating its power and advise communities to refuse to accept less than they want. This point might have been relevant in the Masset case, however, being forceful about one’s interests requires some consensus about what one’s interests are. This consensus was lacking in Masset’s case and would skew the transition process.

Chris Bywater, the GMDC administrator discussing the learning curve for himself and the community argues for “...the importance of organizing around what you need or want and then figuring out how to get the government agencies involved to basically react to what you want because if you let them dictate to you, you will self-destruct..., because they don’t have to live with all the stuff you have to live with and their processes don’t have to be anything approximating what is practical. When the going gets tough you dig down and hire the best lobbyist money can buy. You can’t just do that, you have to be organized because they can’t come and organize for you but they can give you access and get you out of the muck ‘cause the organizations are populated by people who are going through the motions and don’t have the ability or the compunction to say okay or not okay or whatever” (GMDC administrator, personal communication. September 7, 1997).

Certainly one of the tragedies of the Masset downsize was the residual and incremental approaches of government. Despite all the community’s efforts to organize
and follow the rules and procedures laid out by the bureaucracies, they were in the end forced to adopt the Machiavellian strategy of hiring a top shelf Ottawa lobbyist to organize the deal and gain access. Only then, could they plead their case to the ministers and deputy ministers who were able to make ultimate decisions on the Masset dossier.

The creation of common interests and consensus - the social and political maturing of a community - is omitted in many responses to a downsizing crisis. Typical responses consist of economic development interventions that, when successful, fill the job void temporarily, but neglect seminal issues of power, control and ecology. Community crises, then, might be more constructively viewed as opportunities to become more democratic, unified, and economically renewed. According to Ife(1996), a key principle of community development is to expand community ownership both of material things and of structures and processes.

In order for a small community to be viable in the long term, it may be advantageous to adopt an economic model which stresses autonomy, decentralization, community control and which is not dependent on increased growth for its health and maintenance. In an increasingly global economy, communities that do not control their resources are extremely vulnerable. Community development, then, should stress gaining or retaining control of resources. This conflict over resources and their control must be fought by communities against powerful opponents, government and business, who are loathe to divest themselves of power.

The Mifflin plan, the exorbitant cost of additional licenses, and the federal government's license buy-back scheme have all worked to eliminate the small village based fishers in favor of corporate fishers residing in Whistler, Calgary or Bali. In the forest sector, only 14% of the jobs derived from the island's forest cut are held by island

International trade agreements presently under negotiation such as the MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment) severely threaten the citizens' ability to control their economies and their lives. In its draft form (1995), this agreement would allow foreign corporations to sue Haida governments if they lose access to lands via land claim resolutions, allow foreign companies to bid on and acquire fishing licenses, and foreign logging companies to acquire forest licenses. No requirement to employ local workers would be enforceable and environmental laws would be challenged by companies seeking damages for loss of profit and denial of access. As well, the creation of new protected areas which would restrict commercial development would be precluded. Disputes would be addressed by teams of trade lawyers whose decisions would be made in secret and lack an appeal process.

The choice, then, for many small communities is to begin the work of acquiring the resource base in their vicinity. In Masset's case, faced with an ongoing situation of being seated below the salt, the community might, in conjunction with other island communities, begin discussions on reclaiming the resource base and constructing community-based management structures. Certainly, expertise in this area would be available from the Nisga'a of the Nass Valley, who have spent years investigating and developing relevant policy and procedures.

In the initial months after the downsize announcement, no formal planning took place at the agency or municipal government level to address the question of how to assess community needs and deliver services. In this sense, the municipal government/agency/church axis failed the community. The lack of leadership, insight
and concern by agency and church regional staff is indicative of a serious malaise that must be addressed.

This indifferent response - or non response - by the centralized welfare structures provides fuel for life’s proposition that communities may profit most from a community-based model of service. In such a model the community assumes responsibility for the planning and delivery of services, as well as identifying needs, establishing priorities and monitoring and evaluating programs. Via the distribution of responsibility and competence broadly among citizens, one works toward the empowerment of individuals, the creation of identity and an ethic of caring critical to the growth of community and its social maturation. This ethic of caring and an enhanced sense of identity should also assist in precluding the “beggar your neighbor” propensities of so many communities in crisis. Masset’s airport expansion and the planning for a new marine terminal have severely threatened other island communities who already have these resources in place, and depend on the jobs created servicing both the facilities and the travelers.

Again, a crisis can become an opportunity to expand consensus both in a community and with neighboring communities, in effect, generating community. An understanding or social entente could help consciously integrate economies and enhance skills and organization island-wide. Initial attempts at inter-community cooperation have been disappointing, largely due to mistrust and animosity. The Fogo Process designed to overcome mistrust between outport communities on Newfoundland’s Fogo Islands, could inform any intervention to address these internecine between communities on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Overtures to reopen talks on oil and gas exploration off the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands have recently surfaced (QCI Observer, editorial, April 23, 1998).
Claiming finds that significantly surpass those of Hibernia and her sister fields, the seduction by the oil companies will be artfully constructed and difficult for desperate workers and communities to refuse. Masset's hard-earned expertise will be invaluable in organizing and in crafting the convergence needed to deal with these eventualities.

As the Community Forest Symposium held in Masset in late September 1997 demonstrated, a significant number of communities have faced and will face crises relating to closure or downsizing, and a significant amount of knowledge and expertise exists (Lordon, I.; QCI Observer, October 2, 1997, p. 1). An entity, like the fledgling Coastal Community Network, should be constructed to collect and disseminate this expertise. A Coastal People's Party, like that in Norway, created to represent the interests of coastal residents and their need to control their resource base, might be an effective way to get these issues discussed prominently in Victoria.

Government's half-hearted involvement complicated the transition and threatened to exhaust the long-suffering volunteers. Bureaucratic arcana precluded strategic decision-making and action in several instances. To overcome such impediments, not only must funding be available from the start and easily accessible, but social development initiatives must be undertaken to assist in the generation of consensus and in caring for the displaced. As well, deadlines must be realistic relative to the project undertaken and the extent of the community's expertise.

Northern community activists and youth leaders should be offered opportunities to train in leadership schools that specialize in basic organizing techniques, visioning and democratic process, as well as community-based service provision concepts and economic development alternatives and strategies. The University of Northern of British Columbia should play a central role in providing this training. As well, the Ministry of Northern Development should employ community development social
workers whose mandate is to identify potential communities at risk, co-ordinate agency responses to relevant issues, and provide expertise and resources to community-based volunteers organizing to deal with their situation. Funding to address these concerns must follow to guarantee service delivery and staffing. Assessing the value of the interventions will be the responsibility of the community, and these assessments will aid social workers in refining their skills and guarantee accountability.

Certainly, in this case, both levels of government must assume moral responsibility for the islands’ seriously damaged environment, as the severe over-harvesting of timber and the crisis in the fishery are strongly linked to unwise policy. As watershed health is linked to a forest’s health, so too is the health of the marine life linked to both. Development efforts therefore, might be best directed at using local knowledge and local people to address these environmental deficits through reforestation and watershed and stream enhancement. Though a long-term project, initial benefits would be employment and the regeneration and repair of communities affected by crisis. Ultimately, this endeavor might generate hope, and lead to organized small communities controlling local resources in an environmentally and socially responsible way. In many ways it is an ideological shift that is required to achieve this.

Leadership, courage and vision are critical factors in a community’s transition and to paraphrase Charles Dubois, what is important is to be able to sacrifice what we are for what we could become.
Chapter 6

Future Research

It is becoming more apparent that globalization and the effects of the “new economy” will be profound on small resource based communities. These realities may well force these communities to recreate themselves in ways that result in their becoming both less dependent and less vulnerable. A community’s transition and renewal can be aided by integrated community development principles, values and methods which can provide analysis, direction and know how.

In Masset’s case, no formal organization or coalition of helping individuals and agencies was in place, or constructed, to address the myriad of issues related to loss, unemployment and distress - all issues research suggests threaten individual and community well-being (Liljenas, 1992; Briar, 1978). Nor, according to these helpers (mental health workers, drug and alcohol counselors, child protection workers and clergy), was any direction, concern, or policy regarding the downsize communicated to them by their superiors. In fact, each employee suggested their own organizations were in a transition crisis themselves and chaos and uncertainty were more or less the order of the day.

Research 1.

This lack of leadership or even involvement by helping agencies in communities in crisis has been noted in previous research on downsizing (McKay, 1987). Are the two instances cited anomalies, or are social workers and their agencies somehow
excluded or do they avoid becoming involved in community crises? If so, what are the variables that preclude involvement?

McKay (1987) proposes four possible reasons for this non-involvement:

1) Services are limited in number and therefore non-influential.

2) The disciplines represented lack the skill and knowledge to facilitate and organize large system change.

3) Agencies have reduced their visibility in light of issues of privacy and confidentiality.

4) The exact nature of their services is not known in the community.

To these one might add a lack of leadership in small agencies, overwork and exhaustion, agencies in crisis, or perhaps social workers feel no more obligated to participate in addressing a community crisis or transition than the man selling cars on the lot down the street. Perhaps small town and northern/rural social work is itinerant in nature, and workers feel few allegiances to the communities they serve.

Masset’s transition, and the role of social service workers in it, raises questions that should be asked of other northern social workers. As such, one might consider using the British Columbia Association of Social Workers (BCASW) Northern Branch membership as a survey sample. Based on the assumption that most of the membership had experience in small, more isolated communities, respondents would be asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire regarding transition/community crises that they had experienced in their northern practice. Information would be sought regarding type of crises, as well as agency and individual involvement. Respondents would be asked to expound on the variables previously listed and their significance in these events. Exploratory in nature, this research could be expanded, contingent upon the extent and quality of the response.
One of the fascinating elements of Masset's transition process was the construction of the Masset Community Adjustment Committee (MCAC). Ad hoc groups are common in most of our communities, whether created to investigate and advise on municipal affairs, education, or difficult social issues such as violence and drug abuse.

The MCAC differed from many community based groups in the complexity of the issues it struggled with and the duration of the commitment required of its members. Malloy (1974) posits that a broad based group with continuity and the ability to lobby and negotiate with a variety of government bodies is necessary for most successful attempts at local economic development. He suggests a "corporate group" differs from an ad hoc transitional type of group in that it is not oriented to the pursuit of a single instrumental goal and that the group has a formal identity as well as a permanence beyond the life of its members. Neil, Tykklainen and O'Faircheallaigh (1992) discussing Koch and Gartrell's article, "Keeping Jobs in the Kootenays: Coping with Closure in British Columbia", suggest local corporatist activity's success is dependent on a number of variables including: 1) a commitment to the town and its viability by a significant number of residents forming the basis for the creation of collective interests and the negotiation of shared goals; 2) determination and organizational skills on the part of participants; 3) credibility as proponents of the community; 4) access to personal contacts outside the local communities, to technical and economic skills; and 5) the ability to mobilize external normative support.

Research 2.

Neil, Tykklainen and O'Faircheallaigh summarize by suggesting that local corporatist groups have the greatest chance of success if they are externally inspired, involved in negotiational rather than confrontational intermediacy, and if they seek to facilitate self-help rather than to gain unilateral external assistance.
Since many small communities will face these pressures in the next decades, and will form corporate groups to negotiate and direct their transitions, the nature, process, and requirements of these groups are of research interest. In effect, is there something that can be learned about a corporate group’s experience which can assist other communities undergoing similar difficulties? To research this question, individual members of the MCAC, now disbanded, would be approached and asked to discuss their group’s experience in a taped, standardized, open-ended interview. Questions would range from individual motivation, the personality and qualities of the most competent members, group issues, such as, cohesion, convergence, values, problem-solving strategies and leadership, as well as questions regarding optimum group size, resources, community consultation processes, training needs and relevant skills. The responses would be analyzed to yield information to facilitate designing more efficient groups, and might provide social workers an overview of the issues and tasks, as well as the processes and skills that an effective ad hoc group possesses.

Research 3

As noted throughout the paper, the generation of consensus and participation are critical parts of any healthy community project. One approach to facilitate accomplishing these goals is community visioning. In essence, visioning is the process whereby a community envisions the future it wants and plans how to achieve it. For a variety of reasons, previously discussed, Masset did not accomplish this task, formally or informally, and its development has been impeded by this omission. How then to encourage and facilitate the engagement of significant numbers of residents in the creation of collective interests and the negotiation of shared goals? One process that has been successful in encouraging the participation of community members in investigating and pursuing similar issues is Action Research.
Action Research attempts to solve specific problems within a program, organization or community. It explicitly and purposefully becomes part of the change process by encouraging citizens to study their own problems in order to solve them (Whyte, 1991). Action research approaches would allow a community group to come together to study and then initiate a community-visioning project. This community-visioning model discussed by Ames (1993) was used effectively in Oregon. In essence, the research group would engage in profiling the community - “where are we now?” - and generate both a community profile and a values statement. The next question would be - “Where are we going?” - and through the use of community meetings, kitchen table meetings and the co-design process, as well as focus groups, they would arrive at a trend statement or probable scenario. Stage three requires the group ask “Where do we want to be?”, and using community meetings, focus and co-design groups, they generate a vision statement and a preferred scenario. Finally, “How do we get there?” is the question that needs to be answered. Similar consultations are then used to identify goals, strategies and priorities - an action plan.

A community’s failure to respond collectively to a significant crisis with broad citizen participation may deprive it of the local grounded wisdom so essential to the planning process and the assessing of external expert opinion. As well, the loss of energy and will resulting from this failure may lead to lethargy and drift, and the community risks having fundamental decisions imposed by a government whose primary mandate is expediency.
Appendix A

Masset Overview

The Queen Charlotte Islands, or Haida Gwaii as they are known to their original inhabitants, the Haida, are a long tooth-shaped group of islands lying seventy miles west off the north coast of British Columbia. The first European contact with the Haida was by Juan Perez in 1774. In 1787, England’s George Dixon, engaged in the sea otter trade, named the islands after his ship, the Queen Charlotte.

Masset, occupying a site at the extreme north end of the islands, was originally known as Graham and was surveyed in 1907 for the Graham Steamship, Coal and Lumber Company. The townsite’s name was later changed to Masset at which time the Haida village two kilometers to the west became known as Old Massett. The Village of Masset went on to become the first incorporated town on the islands.

In 1942, a small military base was set up in Masset to monitor radio communications. Departing after the war, the military returned in the early sixties with the heating up of the cold war. By 1991, two hundred and thirty-nine (239) military personnel, one hundred and thirty-three (133) spouses and two hundred and thirty-seven (237) children were resident in Masset (UMA 1995, p. 22).

According to the 1991 Statistics Canada Census data, the Village of Masset’s population was 1,476, with approximately 600 of these being members of the Canadian Forces and their dependents. Two kilometers to the west is the Village of Old Massett, a Haida reserve comprising 632 people in 1991. With few commercial and social resources in Old Massett, this population tended to use Masset’s schools and recreation facilities and frequent their stores.
Despite its physical isolation, Masset was a relatively cosmopolitan centre for a small village. Fully four percent of the population spoke French at home and twelve percent suggested they were bilingual. There was a German speaking population of between 2 and 3% - several of whom were Czech refugees from the 1968 Prague Spring – as well as a Spanish speaking Filipino population, several Vietnamese and a contingent of Americans who left the United States to evade the draft (Statistics Canada Census, 1991).

The population of the village was predominantly Protestant (790) but also contained significant Catholic (285) and “No Religious Affiliation” (370) populations. A small Jehovah Witness and Salvation Army membership also resided in the village. Seven hundred thirty (730) people reported being of a single origin – primarily British (270) and Aboriginal (190) and 720 reported multiple origins (Statistics Canada Census, 1991).

Canadian citizenship was held by 1415 residents, whereas 50 had other citizenships, consisting of American Forces people and their families, some Swiss nationals and several Haida nationalists who revoked their Canadian citizenships during the Gwaii Haanas struggle (Statistics Canada Census, 1991).

One of the primary characteristics of the village population was its transiency. As a radio communications centre, the base had been essential in monitoring submarine traffic during the cold war. Staff were typically posted for three years and then deployed elsewhere. Similar approaches to employee postings were taken by the RCMP, B.C. Tel and B.C. Hydro, leading to a constant turnover in the community each summer. As well, village schools became stopovers for teachers from the prairies who wished to gain entry into the B.C. school system, but were unable to find positions in the Okanagan or the Lower Mainland. Local students graduating from G.M. Dawson
High School and seeking opportunities in higher education also left, with few of the successful returning.

G.M. Dawson High School offered programs from Grade 8 to Grade 12. However, until the 1997 opening of the Skills Centre, no other educational training was available on the island except for periodic North Coast Community College offerings. Of the total population (205) between the ages of 15 – 24 years, 120 were not attending school, 85 were attending full-time and 10 were attending part-time (Statistics Canada Census, 1991). A poor achiever provincially, the high school had historically been buttressed by the more middle class sons and daughters of the military and the children of the few professionals and management families of Masset and Port Clements. As in other schools with significant Aboriginal populations, the Haida had been less engaged and quite passive in their involvement with the educational system, a residue perhaps of the residential school history and cultural resistance. Because of the employment of civilians by the Canadian Forces Station, Masset had for years had low unemployment rates. As well, other jobs in forestry, fishing and fish processing allowed one to work seasonally. A short distance down the road, Old Massett suffered from significantly higher rates of unemployment – over 35%, and this with a participation rate of only 47%. Port Clements, on the other hand, had an unemployment rate of 4.7% and a participation rate of 79%. In contrast, the Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional District's unemployment rate for both sexes was 16% with a 77.7% participation rate for both sexes (Statistics Canada Census, 1991).
TABLE 1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total 15 +</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Labour Force</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation Rate</td>
<td>89.8%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistical Canada Census, 1991

Of the total labour force over 15 years of age (850), 355 were involved in government service, 100 in educational services, 65 in trade, 50 in primary industries, 40 in finance, insurance etc., 25 in health and social services, 15 in construction, 15 in transportation, 10 in manufacturing and 125 in other industries (Statistical Canada Census, 1991). This breakdown demonstrates that fully 55% of the employed residents of Masset were engaged in direct government employment – for Department of National Defense, in the school system and in the clinics and social service offices.

Males constituted 57.4% of the employed (485) with 40% in the service industries, 12% in construction, 11% in other employment, 8% in primary occupations, 6% in religious, artistic, natural and social sciences, 5% in administration, 5% in teaching, 3% in medicine, 3% in clerical and 3% in sales. Women (360 total and 42.6% of the employed) were employed primarily in the service industries – 39%; clerical and related work – 30%; teaching – 10%; sales – 8%; natural and social science, religious, artistic etc. – 5%; medicine and health – 3%; in managerial – 3% and 3% in processing.
The majority of both sexes worked as employees, although men (80) were self-employed two and one half times more often than women (30).

The average income for males working full-time in Masset in 1990 was $38,111. For women working full-time, the average income was $28,921. The average household family income was $48,938, an amount comparable to the average of the Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional District. Old Massett had a household income average of $25,379 and the median income was $19,136 (Statistics Canada Census, 1991). In summary, the economy of Masset was based on government services, as well as primary resources such as fishing and forestry. The Village of Masset was the centre of economic activity in the retail trade sector for the north end of the island. CFS Masset was the primary employer. Masset had the highest percentage of people in the 25 - 34 age cohorts and both Old Massett and the Village of Masset had fewer people in the 45 - 75 age cohorts. The percentage of residents with an annual income of less than $7,500 in Old Massett (44%) was significantly higher than the provincial average (19%). The percent of residents earning over $30,000 in Masset (43%) was significantly higher than the provincial average (31%) (Statistics Canada Census, 1991).
### Appendix B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1994</td>
<td>Martin announces downsizing of CFS Masset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1995</td>
<td>UMA sponsored workshop on economic initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1995</td>
<td>BC Air Ambulance crash near Masset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1995</td>
<td>BC Packers closes Masset Fish Plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1995</td>
<td>Muffin plan announced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1995</td>
<td>Televised update and phone-in re plans for the station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1995</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1996</td>
<td>GMDC formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1996</td>
<td>CFS Masset officially shuts down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1996</td>
<td>UMA report delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1996</td>
<td>UMA draft report unveiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 1996</td>
<td>Base takeover talks begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1996</td>
<td>Reid-Crowther transportation study contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1996</td>
<td>UMA report delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1996</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1996</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1997</td>
<td>Timing, expansion &amp; consolidation of Base takeover talks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1997</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1997</td>
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<td>Jun 1997</td>
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<td>Aug 1997</td>
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<td>Sep 1997</td>
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<td>Oct 1997</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 1997</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1997</td>
<td>Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Timeline

- **Feb 1994**: Martin announces downsizing of CFS Masset.
- **May 1994**: UMA sponsored workshop on economic initiatives.
- **June 1995**: Base takeover talks begin.
- **Nov 1995**: Reid-Crowther transportation study contracted.
- **Dec 1996**: Petro Can announces closure for end of 1996.
PRELIMINARY STREETSCAPE CONCEPT PLAN
VILLAGE OF MASSET: MAIN STREET REVITALIZATION
PRELIMINARY STREETSCAPE CONCEPT PLAN: VIEW ALONG MAIN STREET
VILLAGE OF MASSET: MAIN STREET REVITALIZATION
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  *Society, 10* (2). 18-26.


