WHEN A COMPANY TAKES AIM...WHO PROTECTS YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?:

STRATEGIES FOR LIVING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

RESOURCE BASED COMMUNITIES.

by

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ABSTRACT

Considerable research has already been done on the social
organization of Canadian hinterland localities. In spite of
this, it is argued here that there are important aspects of
everyday life in these places that have not been explored. This
work will examine the strategies that individuals employ to
achieve individual goals associated with living and making a
living in non-urban resource based communities. In so doing, it
shall be argued that these strategies often necessitate the
cooperation of other residents, thus self-interests become
merged with collective interests. In particular this analysis
will focus on the way in which community is symbolically
constructed, defined and maintained as a resource for certain
individual and group interests. Further, these processes can
also be seen, in part at least, as the way in which hinterland
status is incorporated and responded to in everyday life in
hinterland localities.

Conceptually, this research will follow the lead of symbolic
anthropology which views culture as the product of negotiating
shared meanings through interaction between individuals. These
commonly held interpretations of behavior form the basis of
social life and in turn guide and direct individual behavior.

The research was conducted using primarily participant
observation (conducted over a five year period), supplemented by
the use of archival documents, interviews, questionnaires and
census data. An ethnographic approach was taken to utilize the
data collected and develop the argument that individual behavior

in hinterland localities can be examined for the way it is strategic in nature and, how in and through these strategies, community as a symbolic resource is mobilized and at the same time, the consequences of hinterland status are attended to at the local level.

ACKOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

"When a company takes aim...who protects you and your family"[1]

In social science parlance, Cranbrook and the East Kootenays, the region of which it is part, is a hinterland. Economic precariousness, political marginality and population instability are facts of life in hinterlands. These characteristics have been identified and discussed extensively in the social science literature in general and in research into Canadian single industry communities and Canadian political economy in particular. As such, then, this research has relied heavily on the metropolis hinterland and dependency models for theoretical guidance. Such a focus would mean that the East Kootenay region would be examined in light of the distinct social, economic and political relationship which ties it to other parts of British Columbia (hereafter B.C.), Canada and the industrial world. While there is much more to be said about this relationship, in essence, it comes about as a result of the fact that hinterlands are used by metropolises to provide the raw resources which are found there. Thus, outside economic and political entities own, manage and/or regulate the companies and institutions which exploit these resources. The local population depends on them for their jobs, and towns depend on them for their economic viability. But sometimes the decisions that these companies make put individuals, and the hinterland communities that they are part of, in jeopardy. While the metropolis

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hinterland model is extremely helpful in establishing the
characteristics of hinterlands that result from the relationship
between them and the more powerful political institutions of the
wider society, it tells us virtually nothing of life at the
local level. A detailed description of this approach and its
shortcomings will be provided in a later chapter.

At the same time, attempts to account for the nature of
social life at the local level in sociology and anthropology
have relied largely on examinations of particular communities.
This research has borrowed extensively from the view of
community which emerged out of the works of Tonnies (1963),
Durkheim (1933), Redfield (1956) and Wirth (1938). The
particular concern of these scholars lay with examining the
processes of change associated with industrialization and
urbanization. These approaches too, have their limitations in
accounting for the resource based hinterland communities in
modern industrial societies, and this will also be discussed
extensively in a later chapter.

Thus, in order to examine smaller, non-urban localites in
modern industrial societies, we need to plot directions which
will attempt to address the shortcomings associated with both
the metropolis hinterland model and traditional conceptual
approaches to community. This, I argue, will require an
ethnographic approach. Specifically, investigations based on
ethnography allow us to shift our focus in two ways. In the
first instance, it will allow us to analyze life on the local
level in its own right, not simply as an epiphenomenon of the

forces of political economy. Secondly, to overcome the static
conceptions inherent in former approaches to community, it will
require an emphasis on local processes and, in particular,
individual behavior within a context of the locality's
integration into an industrial political economy.

This analysis of individual behavior will be examined as
stategic in nature, implying a goal orientation on the part of
the actor. This means that individuals assess the options open
to them given the set of circumstances in which they find
themselves, including the meanings they attach to the
conditions, their priorities and the resources they have
available to them. In utilizing strategy in this particular
manner, I have borrowed heavily from Barth (1966); Hannerz
(1980) and Wallman (1984). However, the individual level is not
the only one which operates in this particular way. Collective
interests can also be attended to through these individual
stategies. The individual and group interests implied in these
actions are distinguishable but are not always distinct. They
are often interdependent as much of the data obtained through
an ethnographic approach will demonstrate. In this particular
instance, the strategic nature of individual action will be
examined with respect to the fact that it takes place in
hinterland localities, which by definition, are integrated into
a society characterized as industrial.

Thus, our examination must be of hinterland localities and
it must observe the everyday actions of individuals as they make
their way and lead their lives in these places. In such an

examination we cannot afford to lose sight of the fact
that hinterlands exhibit their identifying characteristics
because they are part of modern industrial society. We can,
therefore, observe local activities and individual behavior from
the viewpoint of strategic responses to a variety of local
conditions, not the least of which is hinterland status. Hence,
although this work is about hinterlands, it is not about the
metropolis-hinterland relationship.

This research will argue that residents of hinterland
localities develop strategies to achieve their personal goals.
These strategies can be examined in part for the way that they
reflect and manage the consequences of the relations such places
and their residents have with the wider society and, in
particular, the more powerful economic and political
institutions and actors of metropolitan locales. It will also be
argued that in the particular strategies that individuals employ
to meet their goals they often require the cooperation of
others. This, in turn, leads to the negotiation of common
interests and shared meanings of events and action. Further, it
is in these processes that community is constructed and
mobilized to achieve both personal and collective goals.

Community, conceived of in this manner, is much more an
ideological and symbolic construct, in the sense that it is
called up by local actors when they wish or need to have others
attend to a sense of commonality, a sharing of values,
perceptions, belonging and interests. In this approach to
community, I have borrowed from the ideas of political

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legitimation used by Cohen (1975). In his particular instance, he identifies many of the same characteristics of the processes associated with legitimation, as I point to with regard to the construction of community, as these statements attest:

> The present book describes some of the ways in which these leaders attempt to accomplish their legitimization, and suggests that the strategies they employ resemble the functional characters which anthropologists have attributed to myth. I thus refer to these stategies as processes "myth management" (Cohen, 1975:12).

Traditionally, ethnographies have been written about cultures which have subsistence economies and whose social organization is kinship based. Indeed, the analysis of kinship has typically been a central focus in these ethnographies. At the same time, subsistence economies are differentiated from market economies by the relative lack of economic inequality. More recent anthropological work in these places has had to contend with the introduction and extension of the market economy to traditional locales with additional forces of Westernization. With it has come a shift in focus to inequality. As one writer has observed:

> [i]n the past, many anthropologists studying rural communities have ignored the central government or the more powerful wealthy elite and military. In Guatemala even the most remote village cannot be studied in isolation. They are part of and affected by the existing social stratification in the society (Howard, 1986:293).

Ethnographies and other forms of social research set in Western industrial societies have found this focus even more necessary. In these economies, markets, an occupational division of labour, the nature of labour as a commodity and the

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occurrence of paid work are central characteristics of social organization. Not surprisingly then, political economists, and particularly Marxists, have paid considerable attention to the concept of class relations, envisioning these as the source of social inequality which is most often associated with industrial societies.

Yet, as a result of the marked inequality and other conditions which give rise to, and characterize, class based systems, the concept of class in many of the works of political economy has become reified. House points to this problem:

> If "social class" is to be a meaningful category for the description and analysis of social life, it must refer to real people and their patterns of behavior. It cannot be reduced to an economic category, however, important one's position in the economic structure relative to others might be in affecting one's class standing. It is time to put the "social" back into social class.... (1986:190)

Believing with Thompson that class cannot be viewed as "a structure or even as a category, but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships", we need to be quite clear about what defines these relationships (1963:9). Individuals come to share common experiences and interests with certain others. At the same time, these interests and experiences are different from, and often in opposition to, the interests of other individuals. Class in this sense is based upon the relationships which then arise out of these shared and/or opposed interests.

The metropolis hinterland model is perhaps best character- ized as an approach which examines the relationships of in-

equality that exist between metropolitan centres and hinterlands. It examines clearly what gives rise to the relationship and the consequences of it for the hinterland. This model has not, however been as successful in dealing with the manner in which this relationship becomes part of the everyday life of individuals. Little attempt is made to view class relationships in terms of their cultural expression and existence in the every day life of human beings.

The key dimension of the metropolis hinterland approach to the bias incorporated into its analysis of hinterlands is a relatively shallow conception of the class relationships that exist internally. The focus of local class relations in such works almost invariably is on the large economic institutions which dominate the local economy. By and large, the analysis of relations between the company owners or managers and the workers form the analysis of class in these works. However, when viewed from the inside, both the number of internal distinctions and the variety of interests expressed are considerably more complex, and the processes which are embedded in them, or result from them, are not as straight forward as is assumed in the cases reported in most research utilizing a metropolis hinterland approach.

While those who own the companies that operate in hinterland localities most assurdly affect local class relationships, they do so through local managers. The relationship these individuals who live in the locality but who carry out the will of the absentee owners, have a certain amount of ambivalence attached

to their position in the local social stucture. They too, are often affected by the decisions made elsewhere and are faced with having to live and work with other residents also affected by the decisions of the corporate owners.

In addition to the representatives of the corporate owners located outside the locality, there is also a local "owning class", the independent businessmen. These individuals often have a high profile in hinterland localities because they are disproportionately represented in two important bodies which often "speak" for the local community: the Chamber of Commerce and the municipal government. In addition, research in non-metropolitan localities have also shown that they, along with corporate managers, have much higher social participation rates generally (Miller, 1958; D'Antonio and Form, 1961; Aiken and Mott, 1965; Booth et al, 1968; Perruci and Pilisuk, 1970; Long and Slemko, 1974; and Koch and Labovitz, 1976). Because of their decidedly local economic ties, these individuals are missed in a typical metropolis hinterland analysis of class relations. However, they figure prominantly in many aspects of this research because of their local significance. In terms of class relations, they too, have some built in ambivalence. Ideologically, they often align themselves with both the outside corporate interests and local managers of the corporations, particularly with respect to their views on unions and union objectives. At the same time, they often have the greatest stake in the economic viability of the hinterland locality. They do not have the same mobility patterns or options often available

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to either workers or corporate managers.

The traditional approaches to class relationships in resource based economies tend to treat workers as one class as well. Again, a perpective on class and class relations sensitive to local perceptions and behavior demonstrates that this is not the case. Along with the merchant and independent businessman comes a significant proportion of non-unionized workers. Many of these workers also tend to align themselves ideologically with their bosses and corporate managers and against unions. Nor, is it true that all unionized workers perceive of themselves as workers pitted against corporate interests as is the familar characterization of class relations in the approaches of political economy. The local perceptions of class membership are seldom so strictly defined, but rather, the interests which come to be articulated and shared are often negotiated in interaction with one another and in response to particular situations rather than given structural categories. To do justice to the complexity of class relations at the local level and its importance in local processes in hinterland localities, and to avoid the reification that has characterized the treatment of class in political economy approaches: culture and political economy must be made relevant to one another through research based on ethnographic data.

The nature of these concerns and the fact that the field work was carried out in the 1980's in a number of resource based localities in B.C. makes this research an exercise in the anthropology of modern life. The comparative element, which is

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one of the distinguishing characteristics of anthropology, has

ensured that through our investigations of other peoples we have

endeavoured to know ourselves better, or as Marcus and Fischer

have put it:

> One of the key contemporary justifications for
> anthropological knowledge has derived from this us-
> them, comparative side of ethnography...(1986:23)

Recently, anthropologists have become interested in

exploring our own societies more directly, despite the fact that

this has led some to argue that anthropology "done at home" is

not anthropology, as Messerschmidt attests:

> Some may wonder, however, if we can be anthropologists
> in the traditional sense of the term if we study our
> own society. Are we not somehow grossly distorting the
> standard definiton of anthropology? Some also wonder
> how we can do anthropology adequately in the context of
> modern and familiar environs at home. Do we possess the
> requisite objectivity, they ask, and are we not limited
> by methods and theories derived, in the main, from the
> study of essentially premodern peoples elsewhere
> (1981:3)?

However, if our concern, and indeed our contribution as a

discipline has been the exploration of human diversity, then

surely our own behavior is no less a legitimate object of

inquiry in terms of this overarching goal. If, moreover, the

methods of anthropology, and in particular ethnographic

fieldwork, have provided us with a perspective which is

sensitive to the actions, traditions and ideas of other people

which in turn has extended our knowledge of mankind, then surely

they can do the same in research on ourselves (Cohen, 1974;

Wallman, 1978, 1984; Messerschmidt 1981; Helms, 1986; and

Cohen, 1982, 1986).

While the study of modern life may be a legitimate concern for the anthropologist, others would argue that the use of participant observation in one's own culture is problematic. Wallman both acknowledges the problem and responds to it in this way:

> ... it is notoriously hard for the anthropologist to analyze his own society or culture. He tends to participate too much and observe too little, and he risks ignoring quite curious behavior and blatant contradictions of meaning because they strike him as ordinary, obvious, unremarkable. Real as they may be, none of these possibilities puts the topic or setting beyond the anthropological pale. The peculiar stance of the discipline entails (sic) that all social forms are equally exotic (which is not the same moral trap sprung by the assertion that all social forms are equally good); and it insists that anomalies and contradictions within a system are both normal and instructive. On these grounds, it is correct to assume the first claim and to test it in 'own society' research...(1979:200-201).

The special problems of fieldwork in complex society are also accompanied by some advantages. The anthropologist, working in his own society, and sensitized to cultural forms and their relevance, can take advantage of both greater familiarity with the field site and the language and literate tradition. These can be incorporated into the more traditional field methods. In addition, the traditional tools of anthropologists are equally of use at home in modern complex societies. Research done in complex societies has utilized all these research methods. Of necessity, anthropologists working in their own societies, like their more traditional counterparts, have depended upon the observation of everyday life recorded in fieldnotes. In addition, they are also able to use the surveys, structured

interviews, as well as contemporary and historical documents,
developed and collected by a literate population. In short, they
are able to capitalize on the utility of other investigative
methods of social science

In preparing an ethnography of any culture or society,
anthropologists have had to grapple with the difficult task of
assembling a large assortment of data into a meaningful whole.
The anthropological perspective is, in part, characterized by
its holism. Therefore the ability to convey this in any
ethnography is central to the work. This is even more
problematic for research done in large scale societies. While
the scale of much of this type of research means it cannot be
holistic in the traditional sense, it is still important as part
of an anthropological undertaking that the data be analyzed with
reference to cultural meanings embedded in the behavior and
social structure under examination. One strategy that has been
used to pull together all the essential elements that the
researcher has discovered in doing the research and yet allow
him to convey them in a manageable way has been the use of
social situations. Garbett defined a social situation as "a
temporally and spatially bounded series of/events abstracted by
the observer from the on-going flow of social life" (1970:215).
The purpose of such a heuristic device is to enable the
researcher to embody the essential meanings, relationships,
actions and institutions that he has observed throughout his
examination of a particular culture and the events that he
witnessed, and then to present them to the reader in the story

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of one such event. It is a device which allows the writer to report comprehensively, while at the same time, concisely. It also overcomes the problem of needing to detail an incredibly large number of persons, conversations, events and their interpretations which naturally accrue from an extensive stay in the field. Gluckman's famous bridge opening ceremony in Zululand is perhaps the classic case:

> As a starting point for my analysis I describe a series of events as I recorded them on a single day. Social situations are a large part of the raw material of the anthropologist. They are the events he observes and from them and their inter-relationships in a particular society he abstracts the social structure, relationships, institutions, etc., of that society. By them, and by new situations, he must check his generalizations (1958:2).

Mitchell's (1956) treatment of the Kalela dance offers another example of the use of social situations. In this case, through his description of an urban African dance, he is able to analyze "the significance of tribe and class as categories for interaction on the Copperbelt" (Garbett, 1970:216). Since these earlier works, Geertz's (1973) use of the Balinese cockfight and the Javanese funeral (1973) and Cohen's (1982) account of a blockade at a Scottish harbour have similarly made use of this narrative form.

In a similar vein, Turner (1957) developed the "social drama" as an analytic tool. Specifically, the social drama was the device he used to describe and analyze the patterns which were embodied in the crises or disturbances he found in a Ndembu village. The social drama, like the social situation, can be used effectively to elucidate the social processes and

especially, in the case of the former, it can show how:

> ... social tendencies operate in practice; how, in a given situation, some may support and others oppose one another; and how conflict between persons or groups in terms of a common norm or in terms of contradictory norms may be resolved in a particular set of circumstances (Turner, 1957:93).

The value of the social drama, above and beyond its ability to help the anthropologist manage the data, is that by observing the acts of conflict, tension and disruption, we are given the opportunity to see more vividly "regular" life, or as Turner puts it:

> the social drama is a limited area of transparency on the otherwise opaque surface of regular, uneventful social life (1957:93).

In both the social situation and the social drama it is essential that the account be narrative, for in the description, in the "telling of the story", the writer is able to provide the necessary context upon which the analysis will ultimately be founded (Geertz, 1973).

In addition to presenting the technique of analysis through social situations, more must be said about the methods which underlie this work and how the ideas presented here developed. Indeed, methods and ideas in ethnography are usually intimately connected. This research, like most others, began with an idea which germinated long before the actual research proposal was outlined or the field work in the East Kootenay region had begun. I had an interest in community and especially non-metropolitan communities which led me to seek a Master's degree in sociology. While the ideas I had were vague and difficult to

articulate, I knew that I was interested in what many people express as "a sense of community" or a sense of belonging associated with a place. For a variety of reasons, these particular ideas were put aside and I ended up doing research on community power relations, using primarily the structured interview as the method for collecting the data.

After I had completed my M.A., I obtained a teaching position in the newly created East Kootenay Community College. The core campus of this new institution was situated in Cranbrook, where I took up residency. The college operates on a decentralized model; hence, I ended up teaching over a number of years in all the incorporated towns of the East Kootenays. Given my previous interest in community, and particularly non-metropolitan places, I was, understandably, intrigued by the various communities in this region. I could not help but notice some of the obvious demographic, economic and social differences between the various settlements. After I had been teaching for five years, I took a leave of absence and undertook doctoral studies at which time I formally began this research. Initially, even though I had no specific research plan, I wanted to pursue my interests in community, and assumed that I would take my degree in sociology. Coming from an academic background in sociology, and having previously studied in a "quantitatively" oriented department of sociology, I had assumed that my interest in community in complex society would best be explored within that discipline. Secondly, my previous training had not only not prepared me to do fieldwork, but had denigrated data obtained

primarily through participant observation as being highly subjective, less than scientific, and to be used, if at all, to augment more scientifically gathered data. In short, I was equipped with a bias against participant observation and research which couldn't somehow be made "measureable."

However, at the same time I was aware that this perspective gave me little guidance in answering the questions that interested me. Eventually, I enrolled in a graduate course on resource communities taught in part by an anthropologist, Dr. Noel Dyck, who introduced me to an anthropological perspective and ethnographic readings. Through this course and subsequent reading of works such as those by Iverson and Matthews (1968), Cohen (1975), Frankenberg (1957), Geertz (1965) and in particular, Cohen's (1982) edited edition Belonging , I came to realize that anthropological approaches could be most useful for addressing my particular interests. While the methods that I had been previously trained in would be useful, they could better augment fieldwork and participant observation. This process entailed a transformation of my former perceptions of research, how it is conducted, and, indeed of myself!

At the end of the year, I returned to the East Kootenays and my teaching position with at least the notion that I was now doing field work. I carried out this investigation over the next five years (and continue even as I write this, since I am still here). Extricating oneself from the "field" when one has permanent residence there, I've discovered, is an impossible task. Being a permanent resident has however, some benefits.

Since I had established roles before I undertook the fieldwork, I have had no difficulty in defining a place for myself in my "field". Nor has anyone with whom I have established contact any difficulty in "placing" me within the localities in which I carried out my field work.

While doing field work in a setting that I am both familiar with and within which I have a permanent place and roles has many advantages as I have outlined above, it also has some disadvantages which the research illustrates. My access to middle class informants and their perceptions is superb by virtue of the position I hold and the interactions in which I routinely find myself involved. Those types of individuals that one finds in voluntary organizations, and at local meetings, concerts, political forums, and educational and religious institutions dominate in my field notes. However, because of my own role as a college instructor and a woman in a place where a significant proportion of the available jobs employ relatively unskilled manual labour on a temporary basis and are traditionally held by males, I could not gain access to reliable data which would reflect this stratum within the population. While it is true that no matter who is doing the ethnography or in what place, the data is constrained by the roles the ethnographer "took" or was "given", my situation was different by virtue of the fact that there was no real choice in the matter. I saw the slice of life that I report here because I was and continue to be, a local college instructor and a permanent resident. On the other hand, it has afforded me an enormously

valuable position because of the extended period of time I have spent "on site".

Advantages and disadvantages of insider research aside, I spent the period from the summer of 1981 to the summer of 1985 primarily involved in collecting data. At first, I approached those people that I identified as knowledgeable about the community, specialized though their knowledge might be. These included civic politicians, church leaders, newspaper editors chamber of commerce presidents, supervisors of homemaker organizations, union leaders, and members of the executives of voluntary organizations.[2] Some of these discussions were more formal than others, but most of them were formal to the extent that I had to meet them (most were not part of my community network prior to undertaking the research), and to do so required making an appointment and identifying what I was doing and why I wanted to see them. From them I either inquired about others I should talk to, or, as was more frequently the case, they volunteered the information. By this point, I had accumulated hundreds of pages of fieldnotes and various documents and phamplets and I had begun to keep a daily journal which noted my daily activities, whom I had contacted and with whom I had chatted whenever I felt that that information would be useful for my research.

In addition to these people, the earlier stages of fieldwork entailed attending many community meetings. I read the local newspaper's "community events calendar", and attended most of those listed as open to the public. These included city council

meetings, regional district meetings, political forums, public
hearings, and meetings of the local historical association. I
also attended meetings organized to address a variety of local
special interests and issues, such as the Kootenay River
diversion opposition, the Town Hall meeting of the Keep Jobs in
the Kootenays Committee, "Lets Talk about Schools", and the
public meeting of Kimberley's town planning commission.

I was also the president of the local branch of the Canadian
Mental Health Association as president for two years. This
experience gave me access to more direct information about the
way at least one organization operates locally. I also contacted
members of groups which had a closed membership and closed
meetings, and interviewed them. These included mostly the ethnic
associations and the fraternal organizations. In addition, I
joined the Cranbrook New Democratic Party (hereafter N.D.P.)
Club and the Kootenay constituency and thus became involved
directly in local provincial politics. I was active for two and
a half years. My involvement in the political arena increased
substantially my contact with politically active individuals
within in the local trade unions, notably, the British Columbia
Government Employees Union, Brotherhood of Carpenters,
International Woodworkers, Canadian Union of Public Employees,
Telecommunications Workers Union (hereafter the T.W.U.),
Cranbrook and District Teachers Association, United Brotherhood
of Operating Engineers, United Mineworkers and the United
Steelworkers. Notes were recorded from all of these meetings
and interviews and in addition, some were recorded on audio and

video tape. Needless to say, after five years of attending literally many dozens of such meetings, a large dosier of notes, documents and tapes was collected.

I would not, however, claim that this was my most valuable source of data. Instead, this came from the conversations and situations I found myself in quite naturally, by virtue of my normal patterns of interaction. I found, much to my own surprise, that people "talk" about community in contexts that one would not imagine yielding such information. I noticed that people remarked on the events and the people around them in their daily routines; embedded in these comments were the essential ideas of the particular strategies of everyday life in hinterland communities which is the central theme of this work. The final draft of this research though, selected only a very few from the countless number (given the way these arise in normal interaction) of such informal discussions.

The cast of characters who speak in this work reflect a particular segment of the localities in question. They have, on the whole, tended to have relatively permanent jobs in the trades, clerical, professional and business sectors of the local economy. Newcomers, as opposed to oldtimers or people who have lived all their lives in the communities have tended to dominate as well.[3]

While participant observation yielded the most important and largest files of data, these were supplemented by a variety of other data collection techniques. In a literate society, the anthropologist is aided by the written records that are widely

available. The most important of these included: the local
newspapers, city directories, promotional brochures and videos,
Economic Development Commission reports to the regional
district, archival documents (letters, diaries, family histories
and newspapers), Chamber of Commerce reports and studies,
feasibility studies and pamphlets distributed by the local
Welcome Wagon committee.[4] The value of these written records
from the point of view of the anthropologist is that they often
include their own context; they incorporate personal
perceptions, general assumptions, identification of persons
involved, evaluations of activies and descriptions of the
situations and events they are describing, all of which is
enormously valuable data in this particular research. While the
ethnography presented in this thesis contains only selective
fraction of this material as well as of my fieldnotes, all of it
played a role in formulating the ideas developed in this
research.

    Finally, I had access to and utilized many more formal tools
of eliciting information. I developed a questionnaire to gain
information regarding local voluntary organizations. One part of
this elicited information about the personal involvement of the
president (or other executive member). In particular, the survey
asked what other organizations both past and present the
individual had been involved with, for how long, and why
personally he/she was involved with the organization in
question. A second part requested the individual to detail the
organization's activities, its role in Cranbrook and its goals

and/or philosophy. I used local commercial directories to get a
sense "quantitatively" about transience. I did so by comparing
the 1975 edition with the 1980, and recording the number of
people who had presumably moved into town (those identified in
the 1980 edition but not the 1975), and the number who had moved
away (those recorded in 1975 but not 1980). Where the
information was available, I recorded the occupation and
employer of the individual. I also approached the major
employers, the school district and the utility companies, and
requested any information they had on staff/ student turnover
and on the number of hookups and disconnects. From these
sources, I was able to get a "statistical" sense of the
transience I was tapping in the field data. Again, what is
reported here is only a small proportion of what, in fact, had
been collected, but it was all "grist for the mill" during the
research period as a whole.

From these sources of information, I first started to
develop the ideas presented here, and in the end they provide
the substantiation for these ideas and are thus the foundation
of this work. The following chapters outline and organize these
ideas and the data which support them into the argument or the
problem with which this research is ultimately concerned. That
is, some strategies of living in hinterland communities and in
particular what these strategies embody, entail and explicate
about everyday life and the way community is constructed in the
actions which emanate out of them, cognizant of the fact that
such places have a distinctive relationship in modern urban

industrial societies. The strategies explicated here revolve around those involved with making a livelihood in such places. Even so, I have identified and elaborated on only some of the possible and probable economic strategies because of the limitations outlined earlier with regard to the residents to which I had best access. In addition, only the aspects of the strategies which best exemplified the analytical and conceptual issues addressed in the work are developed here. These particular analytic concerns and the individuals whose comments, perceptions and conversations gave rise to them mean that this work has not been concerned with the overall strategies of living in hinterlands. To do so would require more data on all occupational categories, and in particular, the unskilled labour sector. Such an exercise would also more detail as to the range of social and economic options and choices employed by a significantly broader range of people, and additional work on a variety of other comunity networks associated with these places, for example the way church membership is used by residents in similar fashion as strategies for responding to the precariousness and marginality of hinterland status. Likewise, because the nature of the exercise here was to identify and develop a framework for the processes outlined here, this work has not dealt specifically with the way women in resource-based communities may well function as stabilizers in a social structure characterized by male dominated occupations and transience. Nor has the particular problems and concerns of women in resource based communities been addressed in this work.

Women, as community actors, are important in the data, especially in the social situation, but attention was not directed to them as a specific group in terms of the concerns raised here. Similarly, this work has focused on the residents who have Euro-Canadian backgrounds, rather than the Native population which resides in the region as well. These groups and others, as well, are worthy of research attention in the future in order to enhance our knowledge of hinterland localities.

As such, Chapter Two provides a detailed description of the geography, political economy and history of the region under examination. In describing the setting of this research, I shall be providing the necessary background for the ethnographic material to follow.

Chapter Three will be devoted to extensive discussion of the two theoretical approaches, the metropolis hinterland and other approaches of political economy and the traditional community literature, which have generally been used to guide research in and on Canadian resource based localities. I shall argue here that both these approaches have some conceptual and methodological shortcomings associated with their analysis of these places which may be addressed through an ethnographic approach.

Chapter Four will begin to present the major source of data collected through an ethnographic approach which underlies this research and in this chapter the focus shall be on a social situation which provides the most important data for the

analysis which will be undertaken in chapters to follow. The situation arose out of the actions of British Columbia Telephone Company (hereafter B.C. Tel) when its proposal to transfer Cranbrook's telephone operators to Kelowna or Kamloops led to local responses, most notably a campaign called the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays". The campaign will be presented to illustrate the shortcomings of the metropolis hinterland approach and the classical approaches to community and at the same time to point out how we might account for this event and others like using the insights of symbolic and interpretive anthropology (Turner, 1967; Geertz, 1973; Marcus and Fischer, 1986).

The ethnographic evidence will be extended in the next chapter in a discussion of the strategies of everyday life in hinterland localites. In this discussion, these strategies will be examined not only for how they are developed to achieve the ends that individuals wish of them, but, further, that these same strategies draw people together in collective action. In order to do so, the meanings of situations and others' behavior must be shared and acted upon. This, in turn, entails processes of negotiation and through all these processes, the conditions of hinterland status are addressed at the local level. The conceptual guidance for such a discussion comes from Wadel's (1979) notion of work, Hannerz's (1980) ideas on role and the anthropological approach to networks (Barnes, 1954, 1972; Bott, 1957; Hannerz, 1967; Aronson, 1970; Fischer,1977 and Sanjek, 1978). In this discussion Wallman's (1977, 1978) concept of social boundaries and Cohen's (1977) approach to politics will

also be used as part of the overall analytic framework for the purpose of understanding the individual and social processes involved in the particular strategies explicated here.

Chapter Six utilizes Cohen's (1975) work on public identity and marginality as well as Goffman's (1963a), Suttles (1968) and Hannerz's (1969) ideas on stigmatized individuals and cultural groups as analytic tools for examining the processes in the hinterlands which reflect insecurity and a sense of inferiority.

An examination of the notion of community spirit and particularly the role of the local festival in this aspect of local social life is the focus of chapter eight. The theoretical insights of Turner, (1967, 1969, 1982(a) and 1982(b), Geertz, (1973); Dyck, (1979); Farber, (1983;) Lavenda, (1983) and Manning, (1983) will be used here to account for this phenonmena in light of the issues raised here.

The conclusion, Chapter Eight, summarizes these points and points to why anthropological research in and about complex societies, in the view of this researcher, is important.

1. The title of this work, and this chapter comes from an advertisement in the local paper sponsored by the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays" committee. This committee, the campaign and the ad itself will be examined in detail in Chapter Four.

2. Although, I interviewed a few church leaders, I did not extend this probable source of data further into other church executive members or the membership of the local churches in general. Given the concerns raised here, it is likely that this is another area which deserves more research attention.

3. Newcomers and oldtimers are terms which are considered to be relative in local useage as will be examined in a later chapter.

4. I was fortunate to have a valuable regional resource in the Archives at Fort Steele (an historic park established on the old townsite of Fort Steele, by the B.C. government in the 1960's). In addition, I am indebted to the park's archivist, Mr. Derryll White, who during the two months I spent researching in the archives, patiently dug out material, answered questions and provided feedback on the research.

CHAPTER TWO

The Setting: the Geography,
History, and Political Economy
of the East Kootenays

Before examining the strategies of living in hinterland
communities, the primary focus of this ethnography, some
background information on the localities in which the fieldwork
was done is necessary. Given the nature of the questions posed
here, it is important to establish the geographical, economic,
political and historical context within which these localities
can be placed. The East Kootenay region is located in
southeastern B.C. Geographically, the region is a valley created
by the Rocky Mountain Range to the East and the Selkirk and
Purcell Mountains to the West. The international border forms
the southernmost boundary and the Trans Canada Highway in the
north marks it off from its more northernly localities up the
Rocky Mountain Trench. Eight incorporated localities and
numerous unincorporated places are situated in the Trench. (see
Appendix A for a map of illustrating the geography of the
region) Geography has given the region extensive natural
resources and incredible physical beauty, but has also isolated
it from the major population centres of B.C., Alberta, the rest
of Canada and the United States. The land base, whether defined
as minerals in the ground or physical setting, has been used
over the span of Euro-Canadian settlement in the area to attract
business, industry and people into the region, and has,
therefore, provided it with its economic viability.

While modern day local promoters of the region are more apt to use the lure of outdoor recreation and the beauty of the physical setting to attract "dollars into the region", now, as was true in the past, the economic viability of the localities remains a major concern. To understand the centrality of the issue of economic viability, the region must be viewed from a broader perspective. Such a perspective would take into account resources that give or have given the localities their economic base, the economic and political decisions which affect how these resources are exploited, and the way both these factors affected the local population both historically and in the present.

An Overview of the Political Economy

By the late 1800's, when the East Kootenay region was first being settled by Euro-Canadians, Canada and the territory of B.C. were already integrated into an industrial economy. Unlike older regions of Canada, where agricultural activities developed along with resource extraction or where manufacturing activities were built upon the extractive base, B.C.'s economic viability rested on primary industry, notably lumber, mining and fishing. For a short period of time in the province's history many of these activities were performed by small independent commodity producers, not unlike their counterparts in other parts of Canada. However, this type of ownership quickly gave way to corporate interests as capital requirements changed. In mining, the change occurred as a result of the movement away from the

placer mining which dominated the exploitation of the province's

gold producing areas to hard rock mining for such things as

silver, copper, zinc, lead and gold. This change and its

consequences are noted by authors such as Schwantes, who states:

> When men began to talk of tunneling deep into the
> earth, building smelters, and of laying railway track,
> the gold pan and the sluice box had to yield to the
> intricacies of high finance, mining syndicates, and
> international politics (1979:117).

Thus, very early in B.C.'s history, corporate capitalism

characterized its political economy and as a result had very

important effects socially and politically (McCormack, 1972;

Knox and Resnick, 1974; Schwantes, 1979 and Clark, 1981). Some

of the important consequences of corporate capitalism in B.C.

include a propensity for large corporate interests to dominate

the primary industry sector, and for this trend to intensify

over time, featuring corporate interests outside the province

and outside the country. A relatively large and often militant

labour force has developed in response to this pattern of

ownership. The economic history of B.C. has been characterized

by bitter labour disputes and a tendency towards militant union

and political organization. The polarity of large absentee

corporate interests and radical union organization has spilled

over into the political culture, resulting in a bipolar

political debate which continues to dominate the province's

government institutions and processes (Jamieson, 1962; Robin,

1966, 1978; Marchak, 1975, 1982; Black, 1978; Koenig and

Proverb, 1976; Galbraith, 1976; and Bradbury, 1978).

While these remarks present a broad outline of the political

economy of B.C., a detailed description and analysis of its inner workings is required. This purpose is better served by going to the works cited above as well as Innis (1936), Ormsby (1958), Robin (1972, 1973), Bercuson (1977a, 1978), Bowles (1979), Ornstein, Stevenson and Williams (1980), Ward and McDonald (1981) Lavik (1981); Wilson and Conn (1983) and Brym (1986). The intention here is to provide a context for describing the East Kootenay region.

The localities of the region range in population from 15,915 in Cranbrook, the region's largest locality and its service centre, to a handful in the case of the smaller unincorporated settlements, like Brisco, for an approximate total population of 61,700.[1] The 1981 population of the eight incorporated localities and the distribution by sex can be seen in Table I. Table II shows the age distribution for the region as a whole and Table III compares the region with the province and nation in terms of ethnic origin. These provide a demographic picture of the region under examination.

TABLE I

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY SEX
FOR THE INCORPORATED LOCALITIES OF THE EAST KOOTENAYS

TOWN	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL MALE (%)	TOTAL FEMALE (%)
GOLDEN	3, 475	1,755 (50.5)	1,720 (49.5)
INVERMERE	1,970	990 (50.3)	980 (49.7)
KIMBERLEY	7,375	3,690 (50.0)	3,685 (50.0)
CRANBROOK	15,915	7,960 (50.0)	7,955 (50.0)
FERNIE	5,445	2,840 (52.2)	2,605 (47.8)
SPARWOOD	4,155	2,170 (52.2)	1,985 (47.8)
ELKFORD	3,130	1,790 (57.2)	1,340 (42.8)
CRESTON	4,190	1,985 (47.4)	2,205 (52.6)

source: Statistics Canada: Small Area Data Program,
        Federal electoral district: Kootenay East-Revelstoke.

TABLE II

1981 POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
REGIONAL DISTRICT OF EAST KOOTENAY

AGE	MALE	% OF POPULATION	FEMALE	% OF POPULATION
65 +	1,750	3.3	1,868	3.5
55-64	1,950	3..6	2,010	3.7
45-54	2,660	4.9	2,235	4.2
35-44	3,560	6.6	3,155	5.9
25-34	5,350	10.0	5,050	9.4
20-24	2,590	4.8	2,435	4.5
15-19	2,540	4.7	2,425	4.5
10-14	2,470	4.6	2,325	4.3
5-9	2,395	4.5	2,230	4.2
0-4	2,455	4.6	2,265	4.2
TOTAL	27,725	51.6	25,998	48.4

source: Strong Hall and Associates, 1983:10

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION
OF THE KOOTENAY EAST-REVELSTOKE ELECTORAL
DISTRICT WITH PROVINCE AND NATION

ETHNIC ORIGIN	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	NATION
BRITISH	50.9	51.0	40.2
GERMAN	8.0	6.9	4.7
FRENCH	4.6	3.4	26.7
SCANDINAVIAN	4.2	3.1	1.2
ITALIAN	3.5	1.9	3.1
UKRANIAN	3.2	2.3	2.2
DUTCH	2.1	2.7	1.7
NATIVE	1.3	2.4	1.7
OTHER	7.3	14.0	9.7

source: Statistics Canada, Small Area Data Program,
Kootenay East-Revelstoke Federal Electoral District.

Beyond the demographic data, though, it is important to establish the particular economic characteristics of the East Kootenays in order to view it in the overall context of the political economy. The economic backbone of the region as a whole is mining activity (mainly coal,lead, zinc, and silver). In 1981, the output from the mining industry totalled in excess of $700 million, and direct employment in mining accounted for 15.4% of the total regional employment. The leading mineral product is coal (accounting for $553,212,409 of the total mineral output). Coal production is carried out by a number of major national and

multinational corporations operating in the Elkford, Sparwood
and Fernie areas. In addition to the coal output, zinc, lead and
silver are mined in the region (Strong, Hall and Associates;
1983: 17, 34).

In addition to mining, the region has significant lumbering
and associated activities. Two major lumber companies, one
American, the other a Japanese conglomerate, own most of the
lumber and pulpmill operations. These companies are supplemented
by numerous small independent contractors and many small
sawmills operating throughout the region.

While mining and lumbering are the economic raison d'etre
for the region, transportation also makes an important economic
contribution because of its vital role in moving the resources
out of the region and bringing in supplies. Most of the
resources are transported out in raw form. With few exceptions,
refining, processing and manufacturing take place elsewhere.
While there has been a concerted effort by all the localities to
increase tourism as another economic strategy (and this effort
has led to more tourism), it is not able to replace the reliance
on the primary extraction activities in the region, either in
terms of revenue generated or tax base. In addition, there is a
small agricultural sector in the region, but farming operations
tend to be marginal, other than the fruit production carried on
in the southernmost part of the region. Neither climate nor
soil conditions are conducive for even moderately productive or
extensive agricultural activities (Strong, Hall and Associates,
1983). Table IV summarizes the economic activities of the region

as expressed in the proportion of the labour force engaged in
the various employment sectors.[2]

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF SELECTED LABOUR FORCE STATISTICS FOR THE REGION

LABOUR FORCE BY MAJOR EMPLOYMENT SECTOR (%)	REGION	PROVINCE	NATION
AGRICULTURE	2.2	2.3	4.1
FORESTRY	4.5	2.7	.9
OTHER PRIMARY*	12.2	2.2	2.1
MANUFACTURING	11.5	14.8	19.2
CONSTRUCTION	9.7	7.8	6.5
TRANSPORTATION/ COMMUNICATION/UTILITIES	9.5	9.2	8.1
TRADE	14.9	17.7	16.9
FINANCE	3.5	5.7	5.4
COMMERCE/BUSINESS	26.6	3Ø.4	29.3
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	5.4	7.2	7.6

source: Statistics Canada "Statistical Information on the
    Federal Electoral District Kootenay-East Revelstoke",
    1984.
 * (other primary resource industries)

The mining industry in the region, particularly in the past,
has been characterized by hazardous working conditions and
frequent mine accidents and disasters. The death and illness
suffered by miners as a result of these conditions, coupled with
particularly bitter labour disputes between miners and the
companies, have given rise to a unique political character, more
so in the past than at present, but the propensity for volatile

union-management relations is still present.3 As a direct result of these historical events and conditions, union militancy is an important characteristic of the region's political economy. The reliance on resource based economic activities characterized by corporate organization, such as mining, have tended to make the East Kootenays a replica of the bipolar nature of B.C. politics. As a result of the high rate of unionization within the labour force of the major employers, and the strong link between organized labour and the N.D.P., and its predecessor the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (hereafter the C.C.F.) in B.C., this party and other more radical political forces have consistently found electoral support here. Unions within the region have, in the past, flirted with the One Big Union and the International Workers of the World and the present strength of the N.D.P. in the area attests to the fertility of this kind of economic environment for left-wing political action (Robin, 1966; Marchak, 1975; Bercuson, 1977; 1978; McCormack, 1972; Black, 1976; and Jamieson, 1962).[4] Yet, in the past decade, the two provincial ridings in this region have returned Social Credit MLA's to the government side of the legislature, although only with slim majorities, and in the 1986 provincial election, one riding went N.D.P. , the other Social Credit, though both were close contests.

While the relatively high rate of unionization, the domination of large corporate interests, and the concommitant bipolar political consequences of such economic organization are important factors in understanding the social and political

distinctions within hinterland such as the East Kootenays, it also important to realize that these are not the only internal differences that exist within the population. At the same time, while it is generally the case that a unionized workforce has strong political ties to the N.D.P., it is not always the case for specific individual trade union members. As a result of the emphasis that has been placed on the larger forces of political economy as it is played out on the local level, notably corporate interests versus unions, other political divisions in the local social structure have tended to be overlooked. For this research though, these local distinctions form an important part of the context within which local interaction needs to be understood.

Corporate elites do not live in hinterland localities as a general rule, rather they are represented by lower level managers, who do live in the localities in question. This situation often puts them in an ambivalent position in the local social structure. They execute company policy locally and in so doing are the local messengers of those decisions which can affect the locality and its residents negatively, while at the same time they must deal with friends, neigbours and fellow members of local organizations.

To a certain extent, this is also true of the political representatives, who on one hand, have a local orientation, but on the other, have to operate in light of broader public policy which represents the province as a whole. Given population distribution, and therefore, voter distribution, the political

power of hinterland representatives is limited and often in conflict with other hinterland localities.

The independent businessmen, who play a significant role in the local social structure, tend to be politically conservative. Translated into support for political party means that they tend to vote Social Credit provinicially and Progressive Conservative, federally. While this tends to be the rule, as pointed out in Chapter One, local political distinctions are not always clear-cut, there are also independent businessmen active in the local N.D.P.

Conversely, even though many of those who are wage earners work for the dominant corporations and are union members as a rule, there is a significant number of non-unionized workers in the local population. The specific types of employers and jobs held by these workers in Cranbrook are detailed in a later section of this chapter. Here, though, I am presenting the political affiliations found within them as a group. In both the unionized and non-unionized segment of the workforce, there is significant political support for the N.D.P. both provincially and federally; but again, this is not universally the case. Many consider themselves "free enterprisers" and as such align themselves ideologically with the Social Credit and Conservative parties.

In addition, there is a group of people whose integration into the local economy is temporary, sporadic and limited. They tend to depend on state support to a large extent and rely heavily on many local social services, such as the food bank,

crisis centre, and the churches and other charity organizations.
Just as their economic connections to the community are weak, so
too are their social and political connections. They tend not to
be included on voters' lists, members of voluntary organizations
or similarly integrated into the local social structure and, as
a result, these are the individuals who are not well represented
in this research.

Thus, a more detailed description of the social and
political distinctions at the local level reveals that while the
dominant industrial model of corporate owners and managers
versus unionized workers holds true of these localites as a
general rule, there are other cross-cutting internal class and
political cleavages. While these distinctions and especially the
cross-cutting loyalties are often overlooked in research that
is conducted from outside such places, for a view which reflects
the everyday life of these places, these become much more
significant.

History of Resource Exploitation in the East Kootenays

While an understanding of the contemporary political economy
is essential, an historical perspective is necessary to
illustrate both how these conditions arose and how Euro-Canadian
settlement in the region has followed a strict set of economic
imperatives. Historical accounts can also be useful in turning
our attention to the ways in which the residents of the region
have attempted to live and make a living in the region. In
relating the historical trends that shaped the region, it is

important to establish the links that make these developments meaningful in the present. These links include the relationship between the various natural resources and the way they are exploited and by whom over time as well as relations between economic and political processes and the effects these have on the localities in question and their residents.

While the focus of this research is on the region and the dynamics of its relationship to the wider urban industrial world, it is important to identify and describe the natives who have occupied this land for possibly 11,000 years.[5] The region is home to a number of Indian tribes; two groups of the Kootenay nation, one in the northern part of the region and the other residing in the southern portion, also referred to as Lake Kootenai or Flatbows and at Columbia lake, the Shuswap.[6] At the present most of them live on four reserves in the region (Strong Hall and Associates, 1983). These reserves constitute distinctive localities within the mix of localities in the region. While they take part in many of the activities of the larger localities near the reserves, as is the case elsehere in Canada, interaction between natives and whites illustrates a different dynamic than that of members of other ethnic groups (Bennett, 1969; Dosman, 1972; Braroe, 1975; and Stymeist, 1975).

Prior to Euro-Canadian settlement, most of these groups lived as hunters and gatherers; their first contact with whites came with the arrival of explorers such as David Thompson, fur traders and employees of the Hudson Bay Company and missionaries. The Oblate Order of Mary Immaculate was

instrumental in establishing the first missions in this area and seeking to bring Christianity to the Natives (Smyth, 1936). Soon after this initial contact, other Euro-Canadians came into the region to exploit the natural resources and subsequently, following the pattern exhibited elsewhere in B.C., the Indians were placed on reserves.

The first resource to be exploited, and hence to encourage a non-Native white population to migrate to the area, was placer gold. It gave rise to the settlement called Fisherville at Wildhorse Creek in 1864. At the same time, a man named John Galbraith set up a ferry and pack horse operation on the Kootenay River at the site that was to become Fort Steele to supply the prospectors. At the time, though, it was known as Galbraith's Ferry. The Kootenay River was the main transportation link in the region and as a result, the East Kootenays became part what was called the "Inland Empire", the resource based hinterland serviced by Spokane, Washington (Schwantes, 1979). As a result, transportation patterns and the nature of the population in the East Kootenay region were highly influenced by American interests. The optimism fostered by the Wildhorse and other gold strikes in the area, along with the obvious American connection to the region's resources prompted the colonial government in New Westminister to consider, belatedly, its own development plans for the region.

These deliberations resulted in the building of an "all British" trail from Hope to Fisherville. The Dewdney Trail, as it was to be called, was the then British Administration's

attempt to wrest the area and its resources from American hands and into the hands of those in charge of the British Colony. Yet, by the time the Trail was completed, there was news of a rich gold strike further North at the Big Bend. The placer mining activity at Wild Horse quickly dropped off as the prospectors, always in search of the big strike, moved to the new field. By the 1870's, the population had decreased dramatically, and with the economic incentive of the Trail deflated, it was neglected and never really served its function as a link to the British colonial headquarters in New Westminister (Smyth, 1936; Graham, 1963, 1971; and Scott and Hanic, 1974).

In the northern part of the region, the settlement of Golden and other localities in the vicinity resulted from the decision to forge the transcontinental railway through Roger's Pass.[7] As a result of a variety of geographical, economic and political considerations concerning the route of the railway through the Rockies, Golden became a site for railway construction crews in 1882 (Smyth, 1936; Mayer, 1970; and Lamb 1977).

The railway activity and the Big Bend gold strike ensured a population base through the 1880's in the northern part of the region. In the south, though, the decline in economic activity continued until the the later part of the decade, when the North West Mounted Police (hereafter NWMP) arrived to deal with a purported Indian uprising. They left a year later and Superintendent Sam Steele who led the troupe, left his private

legacy when the site was renamed from Galbraith's Ferry to Fort Steele (Thrupp, 1929; Smyth, 1936; Stewart, 1979).

Prospecting continued and finally gave rise to renewed mining, this time of galena, an ore containing lead, zinc and silver. This ore though, is extracted through hardrock mining, a substantially different process than placer mining and this in turn required significant capital investment and an infusion of a labour force to carry out the operations. Local capital was insufficient to develop the operations, so the local prospectors and brokers looked to Spokane, Vancouver and Eastern Canada and the United States for syndicates to back the operations. The deposits did prove rich enough to attract the necessary investment and as a result Fort Steele became the regional centre, servicing the needs of the various mines which went into operation. Since Wildhorse Creek was not the site of this renewed activity, Fisherville dwindled to a few residents, and the government offices it housed moved to Fort Steele. The decade of the 1890's marked the heydey of Fort Steele (Thrupp, 1929; Smyth, 1936; Innis, 1936; Liddell, 1958;Scott and Hanic, 1974 and Schwantes, 1979). (See Appendix B for an 1898 map of the Fort Steele Mining Association, detailing the mining operations at that time.)

Fort Steele's geographic position at the hub of the transportation network ensured its position as regional centre. Pack horse and riverboat operations were centred here, and along with them the myriad of other operations needed to service the mining activities and the population as a whole. The Kootenay

River was the transportation link, carrying goods in and out of Fort Steele from the U.S. and other parts of Canada until the Dewdney Trail was constructed. Goods were then transported up the river to the rail link at Golden or down the river to U.S. points. The river provided the basis for the north-south link between the region and the "Inland Empire", but the river did not adequately meet the region's transportation needs. It was not safe for navigation during the low water season, which greatly restricted its usefulness. Political lobbying, mainly by the Fort Steele Mining Association and its official mouthpiece, the local newspaper, The Prospector, for a railway from the south up to Fort Steele, began early, and continued unabated until it eventually became a reality (Smyth, 1936; Innis, 1936; The Prospector, 1895-1903 and Schwantes, 1979).[8]

At the time, Cranbrook was, to quote the Fort Steele newspaper, a "paper townsite". It was, in fact, the farm of Colonel James Baker, the Member of the Legislative Assembly for the district from 1886 to 1898. The location was surveyed into town lots, but, given the prominence of Fort Steele, there was little demand for the lots at that time. Baker had bought the land from Galbraith, while Galbraith continued to have significant land holdings in Fort Steele. Galbraith, himself, had been the region's member of provincial legislature from 1878-1886. The interests of these two prominant players and the localities over which they had influence, came to clash when the extension of a rail link through the region became a reality. The exact route of this line and, in particular, the location of

the divisional point, resulted in a contest between Cranbrook
and Fort Steele, as well as between Baker and Galbraith.
Galbraith assumed that the CPR could not afford to bypass the
obvious hub of mining activity centred in Fort Steele, and stood
by his guns in refusing concessions of land in Fort Steele to
the CPR. Baker offered the CPR concessions, and in return for
half of the town lots of Cranbrook, it was made the divisional
point in 1898. From that point on, Fort Steele gradually lost
its position as regional centre. In 1903, Cranbrook also
acquired the government offices which had been located in Fort
Steele. Henceforth,its population steadily grew. Fort Steele on
the other hand went into permanent decline (Smyth, 1936; Graham,
1963, and House, 1969).[9]

The rail extension however, did not come about only because
of the lead, zinc and silver deposits in the region. In the
southeastern part of region, near the Crow's Nest Pass, there
are extensive and high quality coal beds which were becoming
important as smelting operations being developed in the West
Kootenays required a large amount of coal to operate. In 1897,
the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement was signed by the CPR and the
government of Canada and as a result the rail extension into the
heart of the region and over to the West Kootenays was built.
The agreement came about as a result of a number of interrelated
factors: the rich ore bodies around Fort Steele and various
parts of the West Kootenays, the coal beds of the Crow's Nest
Pass, the smeltering operations in the West Kootenays, the
settlement of the region and the Prairie West and the

competition from a number of American lines running into the
Kootenays (Innis, 1936; Mayer, 1970; Lamb, 1977 and Lavik,
1981).

With the major transportation problem solved, the coal
fields went into full production and a population of miners
streamed into the valley, forming first the locality of Fernie,
but later many more communities including, Natal, Michel,
Morrisey, Corbin, Hosmer, Coal Creek, to name a few (Smyth,
                                                      10
1936; Graham, 1963, 1971 and Scott and Hanic, 1974).

While the various mining operations were and continue to be
the most significant economic activity associated with the
region, there is one part of the region which has a viable
agricultural base. It is located at the southern end of Kootenay
Lake, just outside of what is now Creston, and came about as a
result of a land reclamation project. The first attempt to
prevent the flooding of these bottom lands was initiated by an
Englishman by the name of Baillie-Grohman who, with the
financial backing of some English syndicates and support of the
provincial government, proposed to build a canal between the
Kootenay river and Columbia Lake, which would increase the
                                     11
navigation potential of the river.   At the same time, he would
widen the outlet of Kootenay Lake into the river at Nelson, to
control the annual flooding. However, he failed to produce
profits and as a result both his financial backing and
government support fell through before he could see the project
through. In the end, though, a decade later, the government and
another syndicate reclaimed the bottom lands, which are still

used for agriculture, through a dyking system and without

Baillie-Grohman. (Liddell, 1958; Jordon, 1965 and Graham, 1963,

1971).

In addition to the multitude of localities which sprang up

in the region as a result of the mining activity, many others

came into being because of lumbering. The lumber industry

emerged and flourished as a result of the need for lumber for

the building of the railway roadbeds and trestles and second,

the need for construction lumber for a burgeoning prairie

population on the other side of the mountains. The opening of

the Prairie West led to greatly increased immigration to that

area, but lumber was scarce. These two major markets made East

Kootenay lumbering activities very profitable, and logging

companies and sawmills were situated throughout most of the

region. Again, these activities resulted in new localities

emerging on the landscape to house the workforce required for

these operations (Smyth, 1936; Innis, 1936).

The mining, lumbering and railway activity occurring in the

region during the latter decades of the 1800's also made

townsite establishment and real estate one of the first ripples

of secondary economic acitivity emanating from resource

extraction. This gave rise to the "townsite boomer", a term used

to describe those people whose interests in the region revolved

around the attracting of people to the various townsites and, of

course, selling them town lots. The "booming" led to competition

amongst the various localities and their resident boomers and to

some extravagant claims being made about the region in general

and particular townsites, or more accurately, potential

townsites. The "boomer" sold the locality in question by

fostering an optimistic view of the place (The Prospector, 1895-
     12
1903).   Because Fort Steele was a hub of the region during this

time, and because of the "booming" function of its newspaper,

The Prospector, an advertisement from one of its issues will

serve to illustrate booming. The following appeared on the front

page of the June 6, 1897 edition of the paper:

<div align="center">

KOOTENAY'S CAPITAL
FORT STEELE,B.C.

It is the only town in the District.... though many townsites
Over 1500 Inhabitants
The Distributing point for Southeastern Kootenay

Investors will find that Fort Steele has more natural
advantages for becoming a large and flourishing
town than any other place in the district
and is in the center of a vast mineral region.
Fort Steele has a bank, 8 hotels, 5 large General Merchandise
stores and 2 Sawmills all in active operation.
All kinds of business is represented
and it will in 3 months have a population of 5,000

FOR INFORMATION REGARDING FORT STEELE ADDRESS

VENOSTA AND CO.
TOWNSITE AGENTS FORT STEELE, B.C.

</div>

Thus resource extraction and the transportation network of

the region conditioned the settlement patterns. New localities

rose, others died, as the particular resource ran out, became

uneconomical or the transportation system passed them by. Most

of those whose economic viability was short lived now exist as

the region's numerous ghost towns, a constant reminder of the

precariousness of resource based localities. In their time,

though, in each and every one of these places there was someone

who attempted to cash in on what seemed an assured golden future by selling the place itself. The East Kootenay localities were broadcast to the world through the auspices of these boomers, who played an important part in advertising for the necessary manpower to staff the various economic operations.

The history of the region cannot be separated from the political economy. The resources, the transportation corridors and the economic and political considerations which condition the exploitation and transportation of the resources all effect the way the region was settled and in particular how the individuals who lived here made their living here.

Regional developments since this initial period have followed predictably from the pattern established from the beginning of Euro-Canadian settlement. Population growth and prosperity characterized the region, when the lumber, coal and/or mineral demand was high. For example, coal in 1918 was required for smelting metals for the First World War and then again, in the wartime years following 1939, when large scale armament buildup increased the orders for coal from the Crow's Nest, each time this demand for coal led to regional prosperity and growth (Sloan, 1968:11, v). The boom in the region's mining industry followed a similar pattern, with the early years of World War II marking Cominco's all time high in metal production (Trail Golden Jubilee Society, 1951: 37). The return to a peacetime economy, and particularly the Depression years, heralded in a bust period. Production was cut back, unemployment rates were high, and some localities suffered severe depopulation, while

those better off, did not experience any significant growth in population. The lumber industry, too continued to be characterized by booms and busts, which in turn had an impact on the localities associated with the industry. The impact though was mitigated in the two incorporated localites in which the lumber industry is a primary industry by the railroad and its activities and in the case of Golden, the upgrading of the Trans-Canada Highway. Other lumbering towns though, such as Lumberton met the fate of the mining towns and became ghost towns in the bust following World War I.

Part and parcel of the economic forces which continued to shape the region, politically, economically and socially after Euro-Canadian settlement were the strikes and lockouts which have come to characterize corporate industrialism. These, too, conditioned life in these hinterland localities and continues to do so today.[13]

The East Kootenay Localities in the 1980's

While the preceeding discussion has served to outline the economic base of the region, both past and present, in broad strokes, it requires a more detailed examination to reveal how the various localities differ in these terms. Cranbrook is used here as the primary source of data concerning employment patterns, types of employers and the degree of mobility in the work force since it is the regional centre. These data come primarily from census data and various consultants and regional government reports which, in turn, are based on census data.

Cranbrook is characterized by a far more extensive commercial and retail sector than is any other town in the region. In addition, many of these outlets are franchise operations, giving Cranbrook a far more 'urban' look, particularly, "the Strip" (the stretch of highway that runs through Cranbrook), and its two shopping malls. As a result of these franchise operations, the independent businesses in the traditional downtown, Baker Street, have experienced financial difficulty. Businesses here come and go with startling frequency and the "FOR LEASE" sign in the storefront windows is a permanent feature. Where small independent businessmen have been successful in developing retail outlets, they have done so by picking up a piece of the market which has been left untouched by the franchise operations, and where franchise operations have moved in to attract shoppers in those markets, it has most often meant the demise of the independent shop.

The relatively large commercial sector in Cranbrook has given it a certain amount of diversity in its economy, relative to the other smaller localities in the region. Cranbrook, though does have a resource based economy. The largest employers are the CPR and Crestbrook Forest Industries (hereafter CFI), which operates several sawmills and a pulpmill in the region. As a regional centre, Cranbrook also has a higher proportion of people involved in public administration. Government offices, both federally and provincially, have centralized many of their operations in larger centres within a region (Strong Hall and Associates, 1983).

The region also reflects its resource based economy through its higher than average male labour participation rates, 81.1% compared to 78.3% provincially, and lower than average female participation rates, 49.8% regionally compared to 52.7% provincially (Statistics Canada, 1984). This male-female difference occurs because the jobs are predominantly held by males in resource dominated economies. Coupled with the fact that there are few other opportunities for females available in these communities, this means that the male participation rate in the labour force is higher. Conversely, the wives of these men, who would have a greater chance of working in urban areas, find themselves less likely to be employed in the resource based localities, hence the lower female labour participation rates. TABLE V summarizes the workforce distribution in Cranbrook.

TABLE V

LABOUR DISTRIBUTION: CITY OF CRANBROOK

EMPLOYMENT CATEGORY	# EMPLOYED
CLERICAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS	1,605
COMMUNITY, BUSINESS AND PERSONAL SERVICES	2,370
CONSTRUCTION	685
FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE	425
MACHINING, PRODUCT FABRICATION	525
MANAGERIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE	595
MANUFACTURING	775
MEDICINE AND HEALTH	225
PRIMARY	595
PROCESSING	265
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENCE	2,370
SALES OCCUPATIONS	830
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	1,300
TEACHING	350
TECHNOLOGICAL, SOCIAL, ARTISTIC AND RELIGIOUS	430
TRADE	1,820
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION AND UTILITIES	940
TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT OPERATING	480
UNDEFINED	400

source: Statistics Canada: 1981

    In addition to the regional centre there are other smaller,
often single industry communities in the region. Each of them is
however, somewhat different from one another, either by virtue

of the dominant economic activity, population size or dominant

company. Table VI summarizes these economic differences in the

other localities.

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF THE OTHER INCORPORATED LOCALITIES
OF THE EAST KOOTENAYS

TOWN	DOMINANT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY(IES)	DOMINANT COMPANY(IES)
GOLDEN	lumber, railway	Evans Products [1] (American)[2] CPR (Canadian)
INVERMERE	tourism, forestry	---------
KIMBERLEY	Lead, zinc, silver mining	Cominco (Canadian)
ELKFORD	coal mining	Cominco (Canadian)
SPARWOOD	coal mining	Westar (B.C.) Crows Nest (American)
FERNIE	service for coal mining	---------
CRESTON	agriculture, lumber	---------- Crestbrook (Japanese)

(1) these represent the corporate ownership in 1985
(2) represents the national headquarters of the parent company
    or major shareholder

Making a living in the East Kootenays most often means

working directly for the companies that exploit the region's

natural resources or providing the necessary or desired goods

and services for the population and companies that these resources attract into the region. Since these resources are bought and sold on world commodity markets, prices, supply and demand fluctutate. The companies increase, decrease, open up and close down operations in response to these fluctuations. The localities which house the workforce for these operations experience these economic fluctuations in a number of ways, most notably though, as population instability or transience. People move in and out of the localities and the region in response to the jobs that are available there.

This turnover of population and rapidly changing cast of characters is noted by the residents of these localities and is indicated by perhaps one of the most common descriptions that one is given about these places. Such statements as "this is a transient community" or "Kimberley is a more stable community, it isn't as transient as Cranbrook" are often used to describe the localities in question. While this perception on the part of residents is valuable in and of itself, and will be dealt with in the ethnographic chapters, it is also important to provide statistical data which can be used to substantiate these perceptions.

In a five year period from 1975 to 1980, the population of the Cranbrook - Kimberley localities increased, but along with the general increase in population, some 7,430 people moved in or out of these two places. [14] This figure represents 32.8% of the 1975 total population, and 31.4% of the 1980 total population. Thus, very nearly a third of the total population

changed in that particular five year period. This particular

rate of migration, must, however, be set within the overall

context of the economy. The economy of the localities during

that time was in the middle of the familiar boom and bust cycle.

In the usual business cycle which affects resource based

economies, Cranbrook was not experiencing the economic boom it

had a decade earlier when, in spite of the outmigration, the

population nearly doubled. When the Japanese markets for the Elk

Valley coal increased, Cranbrook, along with Elkford, Sparwood

and Fernie, experienced a population increase which in turn had

spin-off effects in all sectors of the local economy,

construction, government services, and service industries. In

the 1980's, coal markets in other parts of the world and B.C.

were developed. These offered the Japanese more leverage in

negotiating coal contracts with the coal companies of the East

Kootenays, as such, the contracts decreased both in tonnage and

in market value. However while the 1975-1980 period does not

represent a boom period in the region's economic cycle, neither

could they be considered "bust" years, as is the case presently.

In "bust" years, populations decline and the related economic

activity also goes into decline. However, in the five years

between 1975 and 1980, there were 4,491 (or 60.6%) people who

moved into the area and 2,924 (or 39.4%) who moved out.

As might well be expected, this movement of people in and

out of such localities is not randomly distributed across all

occupational categories or all economic sectors. In and out

migration patterns in hinterland localities reflect again some

very strict economic parameters. While the data in terms of occupation was not complete, there were 657 who listed their occupation as manager, or 8.8% of all those who moved; a further 577 were listed as professionals, representing 7.6% of all those who moved Technical occupations accounted for 16.3% or 1215 people. 248 or 3.4% were owners of businesses, and clerical, manual labour, sales, or miners represented 29.7% (2260 people) of those who moved. These data illustrate the reliance on a relatively unskilled work force both within the resource and commercial economic sectors, which, as we've seen earlier, are dominant in the local economies of Cranbrook and Kimberley. An analysis of those who move by participation in various economic sectors demonstrates this even further. The two dominant resource industries, Cominco and CFI along with the major resource service industries, the CPR, Finning Tractor and a multitude of smaller resource service businesses, account for 16.45% of the migrants as indicated by their place of employment
15
before or after the move to the area.   The commercial sector accounts for a further 20.6%. Various levels of government contribute an additional 12.24% to the geographical mobility, while banks and utilities contribute 1.8% and 2.4% respectively. The economic base of the localities is replicated in the character of the population that moves in and out of the area.

By examining these characteristics more closely in terms of a move in or out of the area, we can analyze some of the details about the relative growth or decline or stability of the various industries or economic sectors. Table VII indicates the number

and percentage of people moving, either in or out, by economic sector or industry. From the table overall, it is evident that, compared to the total number of people who moved in or out, most of the economic sectors had relatively the same proportion of in or out migration. While the differences are not astounding, the table does indicate some microeconomic changes of note. First, the commercial sector shows a relatively larger proportion of in migration as compared to out migration. The opposite is true for the CPR, the provincial government and utilities. In fact, in the case of the CPR and utilities, the absolute number of people who moved away exceeded those moving in. This also is true for Finning, but the absolute difference is relatively small given the small work force in this case.

TABLE VII

ECONOMIC SECTOR BY MIGRATION TYPE

ECONOMIC SECTOR	IN MIGRATION		OUT MIGRATION	
	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)
COMINCO	343	7.6	212	7.3
CPR	48	1.07	89	3.04
CFI	93	2.07	88	3.01
FINNING	26	.58	31	.11
RESOURCE SERVICE	166	3.7	120	4.1
COMMERCIAL	957	21.31	576	19.7
HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY	154	3.43	131	4.48
PROVINCIAL GOVERMENT	359	7.99	291	9.95
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	79	1.75	71	2.43
MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT	63	1.4	46	1.57
UTILITIES	78	1.74	105	3.6
BANK	75	1.67	59	2.02
CONSTRUCTION	144	1.94	109	1.47

Through the examination of this kind of statistical data, the kinds of jobs and the kinds of economic enterprises which are affected by the geographical mobility that characterizes these localities can be identified. As such, along with the previous discussion of the history and political economy of the region, the East Kootenays can be placed in context. It also shows that the employment and mobility patterns are constrained by these forces of geography and political economy. The history

of Euro-Canadian settlement demonstrates that these facts of life accompanied the first settlers into the region and served to shape the settlement patterns and the economic ties it has had with the broader society. These are very important aspects of everyday life in these places, and an understanding of these places has to take these conditions and their consequences into account.

What emerges clearly out of this analysis of the region is that it is a hinterland and the localities that make it up are hinterland localities. According to the literature on metropolis-hinterland (or dependency theory), the distinguishing characteristic of a hinterland is that the local economic activites are owned and controlled by outside agencies, particularily multinational corporations headquartered elsewhere. The consequences of this for the hinterland is population instability, economic precariousness and political marginality. This, as this chapter demonstrates, characterizes the region under examination.

This literature on metropolis hinterland as well as the traditional approaches to community in sociology and anthropology need much greater attention, as they have tended to provide the main theoretical leads in understanding non-urban places in modern industrial societies. It is to this task that we now turn our attention.

1. This figure is approximate. It is composed of the Regional District of East Kootenay with that of Golden and Creston (the two incorporated localities not included in the regional district). However, there are other small, unincorporated areas which are not included. It is difficult to obtain the necessary population data on these places.

2. This data is based on a territory which includes slightly more than the region in question. The most convenient source of data from Statistics Canada is organized on the basis of federal electoral districts. In this case, the source is "Statistical Information on the Federal Electoral District Kootenay East-Revelstoke" of the Small Area Data Program of Statisitics Canada. However, given the general characteristics of Revelstoke and surrounding area, the inclusion of these localities would not change the overall percentages presented here. Demographically and economically, these places are strikingly similar to their counterparts in the East Kootenay.

3. This was illustrated during the winter of 1985 by a wildcat strike by one of the unions in the coal mines. The incident which triggered the dispute was relatively minor, but it quickly esculated to the point where the management fired a couple of shop stewards, which in turn precipitated the walkout.

4. Many of the industrial unions in the West in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century put forth political platforms as essential components of the unions' objectives. They defined their positions vis a vis corporate owners in class terms. The One Big Union and the International Workers of the World were two such organizations.

5. This figure for Kootenay residency in the valley comes from the research of Kootenay archeologist, Wayne Choquette (See for example, Choquette, 1981).

6. This is the spelling that is used now. It has been spelt Kootenai or Kutenai in other references, particularily in historical accounts.

7. In fact, Golden was a relatively minor construction camp, the important centre was Donald. While Evans Products operates a plywood mill there, it no longer exists as a significant residential settlement, despite its earlier prominence.

8. The need for the rail link was illustrated by the fact that there were "73 private bills to construct railroads into these mining regions" introduced into the B.C. legislature between 1890 and 1899 (Lavik, 1983:71).

9. In addition to the sources cited in text, some of this information was obtained from an undated manuscript entitled "Richardson Papers" which can be located in the Fort Steele archives. Its manuscript number is 102.

10. Some of these places still exist as unincorporated localities with a considerably dimished population base, while others have joined the ranks of the ghost towns of the region. Also, some of this information was obtained from an undated manuscript entitled "History of Wardner" written by Baynard Ivorson available in the Fort Steele archives, manuscript number 9. Wardner itself was named after a very prominant townsite boomer of that era.

11. While there are few physical reminders to Baillie-Grohman and his canal scheme, it is represented symbolically in the name of the locality of Canal Flats.

12. Some of them remained only "paper townsites" despite of the efforts of their boomers.

13. This historical account has not gone beyond the original period of the exloitation of the local resources and the settlement of the localities in question, except in very general and broad terms, for two reasons. There is no secondary literature that deals with the development of the region as a whole in the way its origins have been treated. In addition, for the purposes here, which is to establish the way in which the local resources were exploited and the effects that had on settlement patterns, the material here was sufficient. It would however, be an interesting research project in itself, to follow the development of the region in the 1900's in the same way to show population fluctuations, town growth and decline as related to the particular resource exploitation. This is however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

14. This data was collected by comparing the 1975 and 1980 city directories for Cranbrook and Kimberley as outlined in Chapter One. As a source of data, it has a number of problems. First, the data is incomplete for the occupation and employer, since many people are reluctant to give this information. Second, the data is as accurate as those who collect it, and they are limited to those whom they are able to contact and who are willing to give them the information. However, these problems aside, I know of no other data

source which lists names, addresses, occupations and employers and is collected over time. This type of information is necessary for the types of comparisons made here. I would like to thank Ms. Isobel Hutchison, whose commitment and help freely extended to this project made this data collection possible. While the data represents the population of both Cranbrook and Kimberley, Cranbrook is significantly overrepresented. This is because Cranbrook is more than double the population of Kimberley.

15. Finning Tractor is a firm which supplies and services the heavy duty industrial equipment that is used in mining operations.

CHAPTER THREE

Perspectives on Hinterland Communities

Social scientists in Canada have largely looked to the theoretical leads provided by various approaches of political economy to explain social life in the towns and villages that have housed the workforce for the country's resource extraction activities. In addition, though, and sometimes in conjunction with, these approaches of political economy researchers have also relied extensively on examinations of particular localities. This has provided a substantial literature on the smaller non-urban localities in Canada. It has already been argued, though that the analyses from this existing research have significant theoretical and methodological shortcomings. To identify these shortcomings and provide the context for the theoretical ideas proposed in this research, we need to discuss more extensively the existing literature. In the first instance, we will examine the particular ideas of the metropolis hinterland and dependency models.

The resource based, extractive nature of the Canadian economy has given her communities an essentially industrial nature, one which is tied to larger, more powerful economic institutions both within and outside of Canada. This, in turn, has led to the existence of many single industry communities. This economic pattern has also had an impact on the kind of research that Canadian social scientists have undertaken. Canadian sociology was initially developed largely around the

interests of Innis (1928), Mackintosh and Joerg (1932-1940), Dawson (1940) and Clark (1942) in the development of settlements on the frontier. The tradition established by these writers continues, Lucas's (1971) work being perhaps the best known of these. Bradbury (1978) lists 114 other such works which, by and large, have picked up and elaborated on these economic forces and the relationship such places have with the broader society of which they are part. This focus has been developed into a theoretical model referred to as metropolis-hinterland or dependency theory.

Gunder Frank (1969) coined this term in his analysis of the relationship between Third World countries in Latin America and the Western industrialized nation-states. A.K. Davis (1974), borrowing from this school of political economy, utilized the concept to account for types of relationships that exist between regions within Canada and between Canada and other industrial nations. The model centres on the relationship that is built and maintained between two groups and often the associated territory they occupy. One group and its territorial base is labelled the metropolis, and may refer to a city, a region or a nation or a collection of nation-states depending upon the level of analysis that one is using. The other side of the relationship is the hinterland. While it is important to recognize the territorial base that is most often used with this type of analysis, it is even more important to remember that the emphasis is on the dependent relationship in the hinterland vis-a-vis the metropolis. The analytical emphasis is placed on the

relationship rather than the particular territory because it is possible, and even common for one territorial unit to be simultaneously a metropolis and a hinterland. In these cases though, it is a metropolis to one or more territories and a hinterland to others. This should become clearer as we examine the relationship itself. In Davis's words:

> Hinterland means, in the first instance, relatively underdeveloped or colonial areas which export for the most part semi-processed extractive materials-including people who migrate from the country to the city for better educational and work opportunities. Hinterland may also usefully denote urban under-classes as well as rural peasantries and rural proletariats. Metropolis signifies the centres of economic and political control located in the larger cities. Further, the term may denote urban upper class elites, or regional and national power structures of one sort or another.... The symbiotic metropolis-hinterland model assumes (1) conflict of interests between the metropolis and hinterland and (2) a tendency on the part of hinterland groups and interests to fight back eventually against their metropolitan exploiters in order to gain a larger place in the regional, national or international sun (1974:453).

By examining the political economy of British Columbia as a whole, and the East Kootenay region specifically, we can illustrate the points that Davis (1974) makes. Mining, lumbering, fishing and their related activities form the backbone of the B.C. economy. Most of these economic activities take place in the smaller, non-metropolitan towns in the coastal and interior regions of the province. Vancouver and Victoria, however, dominate the financial and political realms. The headquarters of B.C. Corporations are most commonly found here. However, a significant number of the firms which operate in B.C. are either headquartered in Eastern Canada, the United

States, or Japan. Thus, the Lower Mainland serves as a
metropolis to the interior and coastal regions, while
simultaneously being a hinterland to other parts of Canada and
the U.S. These metropolitan centres have the power to make
decisions consistent with their own interests which are not
necessarily shared by the hinterland (Shearer, 1968; Knox and
Resnick, 1974; Marchak, 1975, 1982; Bradbury, 1978; and
Clement,1981).[1]

The metropolis hinterland model or dependency theory draws
upon the Marxist tradition of political economy in the social
sciences. The two ideas of metropolis hinterland and dependency
have been used together to account for underdevelopment, first
in the Third World and then in regions in Canada. Borrowing
from the Marxist tradition in these works has meant that class
and class relationships, formulated in regional and national
terms, lie at the heart of the analysis used. Although
metropolis-hinterland, dependency and Marxist variants of
political economy lead to three separate streams of thought on
class and international relationships between the developed
world and the Third World and between regions within developed
capitalist states, they share many basic assumptions and methods
of analysis. Those writing from these perspectives have
dominated Canadian sociology for the past two decades.[2] Thus, it
is these perspectives which have provided Canadian social
scientists with much of their knowledge of Canadian regions and
hinterland localities (Brym, 1985, 1986; Brym and Sacouman,
1979; Glenday, 1978; Ornstein, Stevenson and Williams, 1980;

Phillips, 1978; Laxer, 1973; Bowles, 1979, 1982; Jamieson, 1962; Drache and Clement, 1985; House, 1980; Berkowitz, 1979; Bercuson, 1977; and Matthews, 1983).

The concern of Canadian scholars with the conditions of settlement in hinterland communities has extended to examinations of the particular role of women in these places. The studies which have focused on women in resource based communities have examined a variety of topics from the effects of isolation on women, employment opportunities, services available (especially day-care facilities), rates of mental illness, family roles and participation in decision-making (Jamieson and McLaren, 1983). These studies, like their more gneral counterparts have tended to focus on the problems that residents of hinterland localities experience as a result of their economic base and the hinterland relationship that ties these places politically and economically to larger centres both within and outside Canada.

From the point of view of theoretical orientation, it would be inaccurate to view these works as monolithic. Within each of the theoretical variations, there has been significant debate over a wide range of theoretical ideas. Research on Latin America (where dependency theory first emerged), is now developing significant critiques of Frank's (1969) and other dependency theorists analyses of the relationships between Latin America and the developed world. Of the many criticisms that have been raised with regard to Latin American dependency theory, one in particular is particularly important for the

points raised in this research. In Frank's (1969) and other

dependency theorists views, there is a difficulty in accounting

for the articulation of the internal and external conditions on

any other basis than the fact that the latter mechanically

determining the former, as Bloomstom and Hettne attest:

> Theoretically figuring out how external and internal
> conditions interact has, in fact, been one of the
> school's main problems, to which a number of more or
> less elegant solutions have been found. The notion of
> external conditions mechanically determining internal
> ones is tied to Frank's earlier writings, above all to
> the controversial metropolis-satellite model in which
> dependency traces a path from Wall Street to the
> remotest Indian village. The concept of 'satellite'
> suggests a total lack of own dynamics (1984:72).

More specifically for the research reported here, there have

been critiques of metropolis-ninterland and dependency theory as

it has been applied to Canada, some of which are aimed at the

economic analyses used (Friedmann and Wayne, 1977 and Veltmeyer,

1978, 1980 for example), while others are trying to sort through

the connections between the territorial basis of power and class

interests raised in these perspectives (Niosi, 1978).

It is, however, the work of those who have argued that the

metropolis hinterland, dependency, and Neo-Marxist political

economy models have analytical shortcomings because of their

economic and structural determinism (and along the lines

suggested earlier with regard to the critiques of Latin American

dependency theory) that is of particular interest here

(Matthews, 1983; Hodge and Qadeer, 1983; House, 1981, 1986 and

Clement, 1987). These writers have argued that while these

paradigms have helped forge a Canadian sociology, distinct from

the structural- functionalist tradition of the United States,

and made us aware of the importance of the political and economic inequality that exists and why it exists, they have at the same time lost sight of real people in their analyses. House makes this point in his critique of Overton's (1978) analysis of rural Newfoundland :

> Not only does he add no empirical data of his own, but his work makes hardly any reference at all to the rich ethnographic record of rural Newfoundland...Why not? Because, presumably, inshore fishermen and their families are 'blocked' in a pre-capitalist mode of production that (together with its cultural 'superstructure') must be swept away by the progressive tides of history. The ethnographies and, by implication, the people they describe, are simply irrelevant to the theoretical predilections of the Neo-Marxist orthodoxy on development (1986:187).

This shortcoming I would argue is especially the case for the research done on hinterlands. It is, by and large, done on hinterlands; not in hinterland communities. The metropolis hinterland model yields an implicitly assumed rather than an explicitly stated view of the lives of the residents of
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hinterland localities. As a result of its particular perspective, hinterlands, and the people who live there, are, by implication, recipients of action which results from decisions made elsewhere. According to this perspective, people in hinterlands are expected to respond to the decisions which are not in their interests, but nowhere in the perspective is there any analysis of what this might entail, or how it might happen.

The Canadian scholarly literature on hinterlands in general, and the research on single industry communities in particular, have drawn from this perspective, an approach which examines the "problems" associated with living in hinterlands; its emphasis

has been on social pathology (including that which has focused on women in these places). While I am not arguing that hinterland status does pose and present problems for its residents, I am arguing that there are other elements to be considered, notably that humans interpret and place meaning on their objective status which allows them some control over their lives in a cultural sense. While I did not specifically address the kind and extent of the social problems associated with resource based communities, rates of alcoholism and substance abuse, domestic violence, divorce, mental illness and/or crime, I have no evidence that suggests that is significantly different in the region I have examined than what researchers have found through their analysis of similar places where that has been the object of their enquiry. It was to the element of human agency and its significance that I felt was lacking in the previous research broadly identified in the metropolis hinterland approaches that I attempted to address in this research.

That this element is lacking is not surprising, because the model, from both a theoretical and a methodological standpoint, cannot respond to these kinds of questions. While one is left with the impression that the researchers utilizing the metropolis hinterland model have every sympathy with the "plight" of those who live in such places, the assumptions which underlie this view are not conducive to a serious attempt to understand life from the experience of these people. It already assumes that life there is, at best, unfortunate, and that the

control over "meaningful" events lies outside these places and its residents. Therefore, this literature describes local institutions and processes only from the point of view of how these are conditioned by the broader forces within urban, capitalist, industrial society.

I am arguing here that while this view of the hinterland is important, it is insufficient because it does not take into account the strategies that are employed by people as they interpret, respond to and render meaningful the events that occur in their everyday lives. To add this dimension to our understanding of human behavior in complex society, we must change our perspective, we must incorporate a view from the "bottom up" rather than simply a "top down" view. In turn, this changes our examination from an exercise where definitions are imposed by the researcher to one where we look for actors' meanings; the product of such an analysis attempts (as far as it is possible to do so) to present experience and action in terms of the insider rather than the outsider. These are the distinctions which differentiate the anthropological perspective from other social sciences, and grounded theory from reliance on secondary data (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Therefore, to incorporate this dimension into our understanding of life in hinterland localities, we must undertake to examine these places using ethnographic methods.

Further, I am arguing that shortcomings of the hinterland model can be addressed by examining the strategies that the residents of such places use which respond to these external

conditions; the resources, material and non-material, but particularily the symbolic resources they mobilize to achieve their ends and ways these resources and processes involved are managed in light of local perceptions and conditions. Such a view of hinterlands allows us to explicate the way that the external and internal conditions interact and to "put the "social" back in social class to paraphrase House (1986).

In addition to the examination of hinterland localities within the various perspectives of political economy, these places have also been examined as communities. To review the usefulness of the concept of community for understanding hinterland localities, we must first attend to the distinction between locality and community. Both of these concepts are important and relevant for an ethnography of hinterland communities; but they refer to different spheres of human social organization. In addition, the two concepts are relevant to one another. Locality refers to a legal, administrative and geographical entity. Membership in localities is relatively straightforward and rigid because they have physical boundaries. Community, on the other hand defined in the way that I am using the term, refers to social organization emanating out of expressions of common interests, common sentiments, a sense of belonging or identity and its boundaries are social. As a result, its membership is fluid and dymanic.

Locality and community have, however, a great deal of relevance to one another. Community rises out of the interactions of people and the attendant meanings which inform

and guide those actions. Because localities provide places where people live, work and deal with one another in face-to-face interaction, they affect the processes which give rise to community. Similarly, they condition certain collective interests such as those associated with hinterland status. For example, locality can constrain and affect community by giving rise, in part, to some of the meanings and interpretations on which interaction is built. The transience of hinterland populations provides a case in point. The particular number of residents that make up a locality is affected by hinterland status as was shown in Chapter Two. Their membership in the locality at any given time is defined by the legal and administrative boundaries of the locality, which in turn provide some of the factors which lead the residents to feel relatively optimistic or pessimistic about their own and the town's fortunes. Nonetheless, the essence of community lies in symbolic and social processes, not simply in the physical element of bringing people together. Just as a work of art and the medium through which it is expressed have relevance for one another, but should not be confused as being the same thing, so too do locality and community share this kind of relationship and conceptual distinction. Research in hinterland communities should attend to all these aspects of human behavior and social institutions and the ways they are interdependent.

When the concept of community is approached through ethnographic methods, and in particular when the concept is examined as part of an ethnography of hinterland communities,

which encompasses the elements of individual strategies and metropolis hinterland political and economic processes, a different view of the concept emerges from that which is traditionally the case. The roots of the concept in the social science literature lie in the classical works of Tonnies (1963), Durkheim (1933), Redfield (1947) and Wirth (1938). The ideas on community presented in these writings reflect a concern with social organization as it was emerging under the forces of urbanization and industrialization. They were responses to what was perceived as the breakdown of the old social order based upon primary groups, kin and friendship relationships among homogenous groups of people, and the emergence of the industrial city where secondary relationships and contractual arrangements governed interaction among people who are mobile and heterogenous. The heuristic device used to illustrate the changes these forces brought was the ideal type. The researcher constructed a type made up of all the characteristics generally associated with the concept in question which did not hold him to empirical examples of the phenomena. These ideal types were then generally placed on the polar ends of a continuum, which gave the researcher the ability to compare the empirical examples with the types. The ideal types used by these researchers were "society and community" (Tonnies); "folk-urban" (Redfield); "organic solidarity-mechanical solidarity" (Durkheim) and "urbanism" (Wirth).

As a heuristic tool, the ideal type has some merit. However, it is seriously limited by the assumption of linearity built

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into it. By conceptualizing "community" as the polar opposite of "society" on a continuum, it implies that as a given group of people exhibit characteristics associated with one or the other end, they move away from the opposite end. Thus, the processes of urbanization and industrialization described in these works implied a move toward the "urban" or "society" end of the continuum, which inevitably meant a "loss of community". More modern versions of the concept carry these underlying assumptions, even though their authors may no longer subscribe to all the ideas of the classical writers or the ideal type approach. It is not uncommon to see references which suggest that some places are "more of a community than others" or that it is "questionable whether it can be termed community" (Hannerz, 1980:44) or titles such as The Eclipse of Community (Stein, 1964); or "Loss of Community" (Hunter, 1975).[5] In the same vein, there is this description of a sociology course in a university calendar: "the focus of the course is on the contrast between industrial and pre-industrial societies. This theme is discussed in several different contexts: with respect to the rise of capitalism, division of labour, the erosion of traditional values and the decline of community" (Open Learning Institution, 1987 Calendar: 15).

In addition to the problem of linearity which has been incorporated into the concept as a result of the assumptions used by the classical writers, a further problem emerges when one considers the way these authors conceived of the boundaries of these units of social organization. Wirth's city, Redfield's

folk society, and Tonnies' community were all seen as closed

systems. They did not take into account external factors which

affected what went on within the boundaries. As a result, the

models were unable to incorporate effects on the social

organization which came about with the relationship they had

with other localities or the broader society of which they were

part.

Finally, the classical approaches to community viewed non-

urban localities as closed systems characterized by close, face-

to-face interaction,and primary relationships. In this view the

geographical boundaries coincide with the social boundaries. The

processes of social and geographic mobility rendered this

conceptualization unworkable if, in fact, this coincidence was

ever the case. The common definitions of community that are

employed by social scientists, however, still carry these ideas.

The definitions refer to community as a territory within which

individuals share a common identity or sentiment.[6] For example,

MacIver and Page say community:

> ...is an area of social living marked by some
> degree of social coherence. The basis of community is
> locality and community sentiment (1961:9).

To be sure, many recognized the inherent problem associated with

the assumption of coincidence of social and geographical

boundaries in localities under the conditions characterisitc of

industrial society. Sinclair and Westhues (1974), for example,

state that if social scientists insist on using both of these

components in their definition of community, they will find very

few empirical examples. Because of its long tradition, many

critiques of the classical approaches to community can be found (Arensberg and Kimball, 1965; Paine, 1966; Bates and Bacon, 1972; Bell and Newby, 1972; Effrat, 1973; Hillery, 1955, 1972; DeWors, 1971; Miner and Greer, 1971; Plant, 1978; Warren, 1956; and Wilkinson, 1970). Not surprisingly then, the conceptual muddle which has emerged over the concept of community has led to the calls for its dismissal by a number of researchers (Magnarella, 1982; Stacy, 1969; Pahl, 1970; and Scherer, 1972).

Because community has been conceptualized in this way, it has meant that within the context of industrial society, community has been at best relegated to a romantic past. In particular, these conceptualizations are unable to deal with the way non urban places are part of the economic and political forces of the wider society.

Thus, both metropolis hinterland and the traditional sociological approaches to community have intrinsic assumptions which make them inadequate for accounting for social life at the local level. The particular perspectives of political economy, at best, neglect local perceptions and responses and instead the residents of such places are the passive recipients of actions of other outside economic and political elites. It is a view which Matthews, using Giddens' (1979) term, says "treats individuals as manipulated by social forces ...as cultural dopes" (1983:7). At the same time, it is essential that any perspective on hinterland communities bear in mind that they are in fact hinterlands, and the reality of the powerful constraints from outside cannot be dismissed, as is often the case in many

community studies. The traditional community literature has tended to neglect the way in which the forces of industrialism and political economy are felt, translated and reflected at the local level. What is needed is analysis which can account for both elements, as Marcus and Fischer point out:

> However, there seems to us to be a more radical challenge in this, by now conventional charge against 'symbol and meaning' ethnography: how to represent the the embedding of richly described local cultural worlds in larger impersonal systems of political economy. ... What makes the representation challenging ... is the perception that the 'outside forces' in fact are an integral part of the construction and constitution of the 'inside,' the cultural unit itself, and must be so registered, even at the most intimate levels of cultural process... (1986:77).

This work proposes to make the reality of the wider industrial urban society on hinterland relevant to the everyday responses of people who live and make their living in such places through an approach using ethnographic methods. A central part of this approach is an analysis of an event called "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays". This episode will serve as a social situation which can be examined in light of the analytic concerns raised here. Chapter Four describes the episode and its analytic significance.

1. Hodge and Qadeer cite a powerful example of this control:
   > On a wintry night, residents of Burin, Newfoundland, kept a prayer vigil outside the local fish plant to avert its closure and prevent the transfer of its machinery to another town. The Premier of Newfoundland wired for federal help in an attempt to save five hundred jobs in the only industry of the town of 3,000 (1983:167).

2. For a recent overview of the various perspectives and their critiques in Canadian political economy see Marchak (1985).

3. See for example Bloomstrom and Hettne (1984). This work reviews the origin and development of dependency theory and its various theoretical streams, the numerous critiques of dependency theory and attempts to suggest where the new trends in analysis of Latin America are being established. Earlier, O'Brien (1975) and Booth (1975) raised some of these same criticisms of the works of Gunder Frank in particular, and dependency theory in general, when dependency theory was still very much in vogue. For a more complete review of the literature and criticisms of Latin American dependency theory, I direct the reader to these sources.

4. While dependency theory has provided us with some important insights into the intricacies of the captialist system, including the relationship between metropolises and their hinterlands in terms of the way in which the former exploits the latter, this does not reflect the way in which local actors interpret or understand their everyday life in such communities. To them, the realities of whether or not there is a job available and whether more broadly there is economic optimism as a result of economic expansion or pessimism in an economic down turn are the "stuff" of everyday life. They recognize that companies and governments removed from their lives make the decisions that bring this about but do not on the whole conceptualize it in terms of "the exploitation of surplus value from the hinterlands by the metropolises".

5. The reference to community that Hannerz (1980) is making here, is in fact a review of Zorbaugh's (1929) study of lower North Side Chicago.

6. Hillery's (1955) review of the literature on community revealed ninety-four definitions of community. The only common denominator was that all identified people as a component! However, the majority did establish area and social interaction as the important elements.

CHAPTER FOUR

"Keep Jobs in the Kootenays"

In April of 1985, Cranbrook employees of the British
Columbia Telephone Company (hereafter B.C. Tel) office were told
by company officials that effective September, 1986, operator
services would be moved out of Cranbrook. This would mean that
some seventy opertors in Cranbrook would have to take transfers
to Kamloops or Kelowna in order to continue working for B.C.
Tel. This decision and the local response to it, the "Keep Jobs
in the Kootenays" campaign, is a story which can be analyzed as
a social situation (Gluckman, 1958; Geertz, 1973; Dyck, 1979 and
Cohen, 1982). This narrative form allows anthropologists to
extract from one event or situation, limited in time and scope,
the essential points of analysis raised more generally in the
fieldwork. In using the "Keep Jobs" issue as a social situation,
I shall be relating the events as they unfolded over the latter
part of 1985 and through most of 1986 to demonstrate and
illustrate how, in and through their actions, some Cranbrook
residents responded to the constraints of hinterland status and
at the same time gave rise to and mobilized community. To do so,
I relate the story in two versions, each representing a
particular way of interpreting this event. The first version
outlines the events primarily in terms of the nature of the
conflict, the players and interests they represent and the ends
they are attempting to achieve. It is a version that essentially
interprets the events from the point of view of an objective

outsider who is cognizant of the realities of hinterland localities in modern political economies but one which does not require any insider knowledge of the players or the local setting beyond that. The second version, on the other hand, attempts to analyze the same situation with knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the local social setting above and beyond the fact that this is a non-metropolitan resource based locality.

This version is important here because it strikes at the heart of the questions that this research is attempting to address. I have been suggesting that our understanding of resource based hinterland localities has been limited by the "top down" approach to hinterland localities embedded in the analyses of Canadian political economy and by the stasis embedded in the traditional conceptions of community. To understand community and hinterland status we need to focus our attention on individual behavior and the context that renders it meaningful. In and through such an analysis we can address the issues of hinterland status and community. I've conceptualized this behavior as strategic, borrowing extensively from Wallman (1984), Hannerz (1980) and Cohen (1987), in order to demonstrate how individuals develop, maintain and utilize the resources available to them to respond to the conditions of everyday life and in particular the precariousness and marginality associated with living in a hinterland. One important element of these strategies revolves around the social resources available to the residents with whom they construct personal networks and mobilize public support. In this way individual interests and

collective interests are made relevant to one another, often

expressed as community. The particular interest I have in this

research and am attempting to demonstrate in telling this story

of the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays" campaign is how and why

community can be viewed as being created in interaction as a

resource to be mobilized to achieve personal and collective

goals. It is to the campaign itself that we now need to turn our

attention.

The notification of B.C. Tel's intention to transfer

operator services out of Cranbrook went to the Cranbrook local.

of the Telecommunications Workers, or T.W.U. well in advance of

the anticipated transfer. This was in compliance with the

collective agreement that the company had in effect with the

T.W.U. at the time. The T.W.U. as an organization, and many of

its affected members were unhappy with the decision and they

used the lead time provided by their contract to attempt to

change the decision. They went about this in many individual and

collective ways, but two in particular are relevant here. The

union began to fight the decision using the tools of organized

labour and ultimately ended up going to arbitration on the

issue. At the same time, some B.C. Tel employees, including many

who were not directly affected by the transfer, decided to

organize a separate committee to attempt to change the company's

decision through public pressure. Their key to generating public

support was to present the issue in terms of the economic threat

to Cranbrook and the region that would result from losing some

seventy unionized jobs. To achieve this end, a committee was

struck and the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays" campaign got underway in January, 1986. The campaign started by gauging potential community support. They developed a poster with the campaign slogan, "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays", and approached the business community, service clubs, churches, the Labour Council, teachers and pensioner groups, as well as others, to display the poster. As a result, during January and February especially, the yellow poster was a common sight in store and automobile windows.

In the meantime, Conservative M.P. and Minister of Employment and Immigration, Flora McDonald announced the possibility of conducting a study into job maintenance and technological change for smaller communities faced with job losses related to technological change. The T.W.U. lobbied the Cranbrook municipal government to write the federal minister and request that Cranbrook be made the site of such a study. The proposal generated significant debate between the Conservative and N.D.P. Members of Parliament (hereafter M.P.), but did not result in Cranbrook being named a site for such a study.

The committee continued action by scheduling a town hall meeting for March 12, 1986. Committee members solicited panel speakers, arranged for facilities and organized the meeting to the point of having it videotaped. Along with the town hall meeting, an aggressive advertising campaign was launched. It included both information on the issue itself as well as a plea to attend the town hall meeting. A letter was drafted and deliered to all Cranbrook residents, again informing the local

population about the serious economic impact the transfer would have and it too urged people to turn out at the town hall meeting.

The committee succeeded in finding panel speakers, most of whom represented the independent business establishments of Cranbrook, but other union members, some of the committee members, a B.C. Tel representative and the provincial Member of the Legislative Assembly (hereafter M.L.A.) were also included. Only the representives of the other major corporations, the banks and Peter Emery Conservative M.P. for the riding, declined to speak at the meeting.¹ The mayors of Kimberley and Cranbrook, Burns and Dole respectively, chaired the event. The room was filled to capacity, with over two hundred estimated to be in attendance. After the panel members delivered their speeches, the meeting was opened to comments from the floor. After three hours of debate, the meeting drew to a close. In the interim, a large number of people from the community had given vent to their sense of frustration in dealing with outside companies who make decisions which affect the economic viability of both individuals and communities and with the decreased level of services they experience as a result of living outside of the metropolitan centres.

Prior to the town hall meeting, and especially after it, the committee and the T.W.U. decided to lobby the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission (hereafter the CRTC) to use its regulatory powers to pressure B.C. Tel into, if not reversing the decision, at least to put a moratorium on the

transfers until a public investigation could be undertaken.2

In April, 1986, the company designated the Cranbrook office, a "day office", a move consistent with its longer term objective of phasing out the operator service in Cranbrook. This meant there would no longer be evening shifts of operators in Cranbrook, the board would be shut down, and all calls would be handled out of Kamloops, a centralized B.C. Tel centre. The employees responded to this by having the operators continue to report for work. In the end, the company won a Labour Relations Board ruling on the job action and the operators were reprimanded and not paid for their work.

The company throughout all of this was maintaining that the advent of new technology had revolutionized the telecommunications industry. These transfers were in their perception a response that would utilize that technology to operate more efficiently and therefore to meet their obligations to their shareholders.

The committee continued to fight the transfer decision and in cooperation with Cranbrook city council, launched a "Buy Locally" campaign. It also launched other programs for public education and to garner support for their cause. They set up a booth at the local trade fair in May 1986, where, names were collected for their petition to the CRTC (eight hundred people are reported to have signed the petition), and they developed a calling card to be left by T.W.U. workers at places of business that they had patronized. The card read:

I have just spent $_____ at your place of business.

> If my job leaves the Kootenays,
> you will suffer the loss.
> KEEP JOBS IN THE KOOTENAYS
> COMMITTEE

Throughout the summer, the committee advertised sporadically and concentrated its efforts on lobbying the CRTC. The CRTC, however, and Peter Emery continued to remain adamant that the issue was outside its jurisdiction and thus, this strategy was stymied.

Meanwhile, on the other front, the arbitration hearings were set for June, 1986 and the union had hoped for the ruling to be handed down by the end of the summer and before the transfers were scheduled to take place. The arbitration board did, in the end, rule in favour of the union, but it was announced in October, 1986, after the transfers were in effect and the affected individuals had to make their decisions. The company then appealed the arbitration ruling and eventually won the challenge.

Reading this event in the way it has just been presented leads to the conclusion that it is entirely consistent with what has been already established in the previous two chapters. It illustrates in detail that the East Kootenay region and the localities which make it up, are hinterlands. It serves as a case study in how decisions that are made elsewhere affect the lives of the residents. It also demonstrates the result of a conflict of interest between metropolitan centres and hinterlands. In fact, if we leave the analysis of the "Keep

Jobs" campaign at this point, it is entirely consistent with the metropolis hinterland view of just what power those in control of the economic and political institutions have over the residents of hinterlands. Research utilizing such an approach would be inclined to leave the analysis here since this is exactly what the model would predict would result from such a situation.

The version just presented, though, does not fully account for the actions, perceptions and meanings of the T.W.U. and committee members or the residents at large as they took part in the event. It is a view from the outside and one in which hinterland residents are seen to be essentially passive. Where, an attempt is made by people at the local level to respond to the constraints, such as in this case, these attempts are seen as futile because in the metropolis hinterland view, this is another case of the power differential between metropolitan centres and the actors associated with them and local residents. If, however, we change our perspective and read the event from the inside, other concerns can be identified.

At the same time, it is clear from the above account of the "Keep Jobs" campaign, that traditional approaches to community which implicitly or explicitly separate "community" from "society" in modern industrial urban societies will have a great deal of difficulty in accounting for the event as well. This is a case, and not atypically so, where the actions of the residents demonstrate the clear recognition of their integration into the broader society. The forces of political economy act as

constraints on individual behavior and they are recognized as such in the everyday actions of people at the local level.

To respond to the limitations of both political economy and community studies, we need to approach the event reported here ethnographically. That is to say, we need to elicit the "native" point of view (Marcus and Fischer 1986:25). In doing so, in this particular case, it points to and raises some interesting questions about everyday life in hinterland localities. How do the individuals residing in these places live and make a living in such places? How are local divisions within the population dealt with and responded to when people in these places work and live "cheek by jowl" and especially when someone or a group feels that it would be in their interest to launch some sort of collective action? How do these local processes signify, reflect, modify or act as a response to hinterland status? What do these processes and strategies tell us about everyday life at the local level? To respond to these types of questions, we have to look to theoretical guidance beyond the approaches of political economy and the traditional community literature.

In symbolic and interpretive anthropology, culture is seen to be a system of symbols, which by definition are part of all social organization. These symbols, their meanings and cultural understandings are developed in this framework through observation and interpretation of people's behavior in its social context. As Turner demonstrates in his analysis of ritual symbols, the structure and property of such symbols must be inferred from (1) external form and observable characteristics,

(2) interpretations offered by specialists and laymen and (3)

significant contexts largely worked out by the anthropologist

(1967:20). Putting this in the context of the research here, the

challenge is to ferret out the meanings that people use in

interaction which both produces, and is, in turn, affected by

the social relationships within which these meanings take place.

Indeed, Cohen maintains that relationships can only be oberved

through symbols and the most important symbolic function is the

"objectification of relationships between individuals and

groups" (1974:30). Approaching the research in this way means

that this work will follow on the tradition of Turner and Geertz

and, who in turn, followed Max Weber by believing that:

> ... man is a social animal suspended in webs of
> significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be
> therefore not an experimental science in search of a
> law but an interpretive one in search of meaning
> (Geertz 1973:5).

The development of these "webs of significance", which create

meaning for the activities that man undertakes, is a symbolic,

and thereby, a social undertaking. The development of these

meanings occurs, I suggest, in the interaction between the

residents, and in their direct and indirect dealings with other

localities and the wider society.

For if we understand the task to be associated with people's

behavior and with the processes of negotiation and construction,

then we can begin by examining the strategies individuals

employ, why they do so, with whom, and for what end or ends.

Thus we need to develop a sense of the context within which this

behavior occurs, for it is in the context that these concerns

are addressed. In this view, according to Marcus and Fischer, one is led:

> ...to a renewed recognition, central to human sciences, that social life must be fundamentally be conceived of as the negotiation of meanings. Interpretive anthropology thus gives priority to the study of the "messier" side of social action...(1986:26).

This again leads us to an ethnographic approach, for in describing events and those who take part in them, their reasons for doing so and with whom, an ethnography contextualizes (Marcus and Fischer 1986:26).

In this particular case, the starting point of such an exercise is in examining those strategies that residents of hinterland communities employ in their everyday lives that both respond to the conditions which arise out of their relationship with metropolises of various kinds and on another level, with which they construct, and in turn impart meaning to these conditions. In these same strategies, which are oriented to the achievement of certain self interests, individuals often rely on the cooperation of others and, in so doing, symbolically construct community and mobilize it to achieve these ends. Community, as opposed to locality, is created by the negotiation of shared interests between and among people and, thus,can become a resource that individuals and groups utilize in their attempts to achieve their personal and collective goals.

Making a living is, of course, a central aspect of much of human activity. In industrial societies, this means incorporation into a market economy and often a labour market accompanied by high rates of geographical and social mobility.

Industrialism requires a mobile work force. Particularly in
hinterlands the size of the labour force depends primarily upon
factors relating to the markets of the various raw materials.
People come and go as the local economy expands and contracts,
which, in turn, leads to population instability in hinterland
localities.

At the level of the individual, however, the particular way
they go about the business of providing for their material needs
conditions much social behavior. Therefore, when we speak of a
place being a hinterland, we refer not only to a specific
relationship it has with the wider industrial society, but we
also imply certain economic imperatives which define viability,
not only for individuals who need to provide for themselves and
their families but for the locality as a whole. Employment,
then, is the vehicle through which this occurs. How many, and
what kind of jobs are available in any given place, affect a
variety of social, economic, political and demographic processes
which serve to characterize the place.

While this is true of human economic activity in general, in
hinterland locales, it implies that making a living follows
along certain strict economic parameters. Not the least
significant of these is that the relationship creates economic
dependency in the hinterland. As such, the elected officials,
the business people, workers and residents of such places are
involved, albeit in different capacities, at different times and
to differing degrees, in activities which they believe will
mitigate against the precariousness that is associated with this

dependancy. While one's own job may be relatively secure at any given time, most are well aware of the fact that the economic viability of the locale can be in jeopardy, and that many outside economic forces impinge on their own private and individual efforts at earning a living. The evidence of the numerous ghost towns, dotting the region, serve as mute reminders of this dependency and precariousness. While the ghost towns take up little geographic space on the physical landscape, on the symbolic landscape, they loom large.

If we now re-examine our story of the "Keep Jobs" campaign in light of the analytic leads of symbolic and interpretive anthropology, another version of the event can be developed. In this version, though, our focus must be on the events as they were interpreted and made meaningful by the participants themselves, ever mindful of the fact that in their perceptions, actions and common meanings were continually being negotiated. The important elements now, though, include more than the analysis of the power relationship between B.C. Tel and its employees. It also includes the strategies that individuals were employing to bring about certain ends and how in and through the particular strategies they used in this case, they attempted to manage the interpretations and ultimately, the course of the event. In so doing, and with the cooperation of others based upon these negotiated meanings, community was created and mobilized in interaction with one another.

At the same time, these strategies comprise a partial response to the way that hinterland conditions are responded to

in the everyday lives of the residents of such places. To aid us in recasting the event in light of these concerns, we shall examine the campaign as a social situation, which in turn will allow us to draw out the significant elements that were involved for the way they illustrate the broader analytic points raised here. But, to do so we need to go beyond the chronology of decisions and reactions reported above and incorporate into our discussion what the organizers and residents were saying to one another; that is, we need to focus on the event from the local point of view. From this perspective, I argue, not only was the campaign more remarkable than we are led to believe from the previous discussion but, a rather different type of analysis emerges.

I, like other residents, became aware of the proposed transfers through a news story in the local paper in November of 1985. Through this and other emerging stories on the situation, it was clear that the employees of B.C. Tel were unhappy with the proposal. At the time, I read the accounts and thought simply that this was just another case of economic bad news that we as a locality had been experiencing for some time as the market prices for our regional resources continued to tumble. In February, I received in my mailbox the letter that was the opening salvo of the "Keep Jobs" campaign.

Shortly, thereafter, I became aware of the existence of the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays" committee through a series of newspaper ads that the committee had sponsored. Since the letter and ads provide insight into how the T.W.U. and the committee

were presenting the issue, the letter and one such ad follows

(the title of this work eventually came from the heading of this

particular ad).

Dear Citizens:

THE ECONOMIC BLEEDING MUST STOP! OUR COMMUNITY IS BECOMING A
GHOST TOWN. DO WE WANT THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE COMMISSION
TO BECOME THE #1 EMPLOYER IN THE EAST KOOTENAYS?
Corporations like B.C. Telephone, B.C. Hydro, C.P.Rail, B.C.
Government etc., are closing down services and attempting to
transfer jobs and paycheques out of this area. The employees
affected do not want to disrupt their families nor leave the
East Kootenays. With 2Ø to 25% unemployment, our community
desperately needs the wages and taxes from those jobs.
The B.C. Tel Centre is just the tip of the iceberg. Our local
economy cannot withstand the loss of income caused by
boardroom executives who neither know or care about our
communities.
In 1985 you paid 7% more for B.C. Tel services and yet the
company plans to take away your operator services   by
Sept. 1986 and reduce customer service people by Dec. 1986.
Why are you paying more and getting less? How can B.C. Tel
justify these moves when all the neccessary equipment for
transferrring calls to and from anywhere in the province is
already in place in the Cranbrook office? We would not be
opposing this closure if was going to improve services or
lower costs, but we know that telephone calls can be handled
easily and cheaply without the negative impact on the
community.
OUR COMMUNITY STANDS TO LOSE IN EXCESS OF $2.5 MILLION
ANNUALLY IN LOST WAGES IF B.C. TEL PROCEEDS WITH THIS MOVE. ⸱
The impact felt by these lost wages will negatively affect all
businesses and services in our communities. If 1ØØ wage
earners and their families move out of town, the effect will
be devastating to the community.
You are invited to attend a TOWN MEETING on:
        Wednesday, March 12, at 7:ØØ p.m.
        Royal Canadian Legion - 2nd floor
        1Ø1 Kootenay Street North
        Cranbrook, B.C.
A large turnout at the meeting will let B.C. Tel know that we
will not allow our community to be disrupted because of the
greed of a powerful absentee corporation.
WE   ARE   PROUD OF OUR COMMUNITY AND THE WORK WE DO. WE NEED
YOUR SUPPORT TO CONTINUE.

                         Sincerely yours
                         Locals 19, 29 and 36
                         of Telecommunications Workers Union

WHEN A COMPANY TAKES AIM . . .

WHO PROTECTS YOU
AND YOUR FAMILY

B.C. Tel plans to close its Kootenays customer service offices in Nelson and Cranbrook taking away millions of dollars in payroll money from our community and reducing the quality of service we now receive from B.C. Tel.

On June 9th, Lorne Nicholson, MLA for Nelson-Creston, sent a telegram to Federal Communications Minister Marcel Masse urging him to hold public hearings in Cranbrook so that local people can present their concerns to the CRTC before the projected closure date in September. He also stated that if hearings could not be convened by then, the minister should order a one year moratorium on the office closures pending a hearing.

B.C. Tel has hired a professional lobbyist in Ottawa to represent their interests. The person hired was formerly a special advisor in the Prime Minister's office. The corporation has the power to hire one of the Prime Minister's staff to represent it, but in the Kootenays who do we have?

The two Members of Parliament have not voiced our concerns to their own Conservative Caucus and it makes us wonder if these two MP's are willing to stand up for their constituents. It's their job to represent us and they must clarify their position.

HERE'S WHAT WE CAN DO

1. Telephone our MP's:

   Bob Brisco   Stan Graham
   West Kootenays   East Kootenays
   365-7709   426-4473

   Ask them to call for a public hearing and push for a moratorium on the B.C. Tel closures. We need more jobs, not fewer.

2. Write to:

   The Hon. Marcel Masse
   Minister of Communications
   House of Commons
   Ottawa, Ontario
   K1A 0A6

   Ask him to convene a CRTC public hearing in Cranbrook so that B.C. Tel can show cause for the office closures and so that citizens can present concerns such as:

   a) loss of even more jobs and families
   b) loss of needed payroll in the community
   c) removal of telephone services
   d) paying more and getting less from B.C. Tel
   e) need for a moratorium on closing our telephone offices

   > We Need
   > Representation!
   > Call your MP's
   > Write to
   > Marcel Masse
   > It's important
   > that we fight back!

Through the content of the advertisements and letter, I began to appreciate the local significance of the campaign. They acknowledged the fact that the issue revolved around the probable transfer of some seventy B.C. Tel operators and the personal consequences to them, but what both documents highlighted was the economic reprecussions to all of us who live here. Through this we were drawn into what might otherwise have been seen to be simply a case of a specific union-management conflict or the personal matters of those scheduled to be transferred.

With this in mind, I began to follow the issue much more closely and got in touch with a T.W.U. contact I had and asked if I could tape record the up-coming town hall meeting. He said that they had already made arrangements to have it videotaped and that I would be welcome to borrow the tapes after the meeting. I then attended the meeting, listened to the speeches and noted the composition of the panel. The following excerpts present, in the words of some of the panel members, their personal views on the proposed transfers. Cranbrook Mayor, Tom Dole welcomed everyone and set the tone for the meeting.

> "I hope that the relocation of the operators is not the only reason you are here tonight. We are all aware of the problems of Cominco and the Elk Valley. Cranbrook is a service centre, we are the hub of the region because of the activity around us, as those diminish, we are affected. It hits you directly if you work for B.C. Tel, but it's going to hit all of us unless we can constructively find some alternatives or to work together to make a vibrant economy again. We had hoped Richard Black our M.L.A. could be with us (he arrived later). I have had a number of conversations with him and he is concerned. With that I will open the meeting first, to our panel members, then the audience. We

would ask that control be established so that when questions are asked, even though you may not agree with them, that you wait your turn at the mike. Be completely cordial to one another at all times. I think that is important especially to build the base to establish economic security in our region."

"I have lived here all my life, and I have chosen to spend my life here. I don't want to go broke and have to move. The payroll of Cominco definitely affects business in both malls. We see the effects in Kimberley, they lack confidence and the wallets close. We have an attitude problem here. These companies have a high profile here and what are other companies who might want to move here going to think if they see these businesses going? (independent businesswoman)

"B.C. Tel is moving these people for one reason, it is to force a number of them to resign. The changes that have come about in the C.P.R. have come for one reason- to get rid of employees. We all realize that companies are in the business to make money, but B.C. Tel has made a lot of profits in the Cranbrook area. We are saying these companies have an obligation to their employees and to the people who buy their services." (C.P.R. worker)

"There is no use to taking five hundred jobs from the Kootenays, breaking up families and have these men chase resource jobs all over the province. The big difficulty with technology is the two groups that have the most control over it, the big employers who use it to make money and the politicians who don't know anything about it. The logical conclusion to this process is very large city states and very poor rural areas surrounding them, or the other thing we can do is to decentralize. We can democratize society as easy as we can do the other. People in this hall need to talk to others tomorrow and talk to the two senior levels of government to take control of our lives." (T.W.U. president)

Since Mayor Dole had another meeting to attend, he took the

floor next, and stated:

"Make no mistake, council is concerned about the transfers being discussed tonight, as well as the layoffs in the major industries in the area, and we are trying to do something about it. We have an economic development committee and a marketing strategy to do what we can to help ourselves. We are working with Kimberley to see how we can work together. We are

asking the unions and the business community to work
with us to tell our story out of town. We've got to
make an awareness of our city. We need input from all
sectors. We are asking all aspects of the community to
help us help ourselves.(sic) We've got to have everyone
working together. We can't afford to have people think
'he's on the other side' or 'he won't listen' or my
thoughts aren't important'. We can make it happen.
Another thing that is happening this summer- the Summer
Games. Its another example of where we can work
together and show this province that we can put on the
best games, but we need four thousand volunteers. The
history of the games have shown that with three to four
thousand volunteers, people have worked shoulder to
shoulder, they have become friends, and they've had a
lot of fun. We need something after that to keep up the
momentum. Maybe the economic hard times will provide
that challenge. For the Summer Games, if you haven't
volunteered, please volunteer. I've seen the volunteers
and what it does to a community, the enthusiasm, the
good vibes. So I ask you please volunteer."

"I completed my education and went to work for B.C.
Tel. I've dedicated myself to my work for more than 17
years. They repeatedly tell me what a good employee I
am and then say but-if you want to stay with us you
must move. Sell my house, leave my family and fond
friends, leave a city that I have loved living in all
my life. I've been a telephone operator and am
presently the clerk for operator services. This is
where I've spent the last seventeen years. We are more
than fellow workers as we share community interests and
people interests. We work together, we party together.
We support local charities and many share religious and
humanitarian beliefs.... I speak as one, but can you
see the ramifications of the number of people
considering leaving this area? The various
organizations are already feeling the pinch with high
unemployment.... This is my home. How do I feel being
told that B.C. Tel is closing our office? Betrayed"
(B.C. Tel operator).

The Social Credit M.L.A. at the time, Richard Black

concluded the panel speeches and commented that "what we need to

do is to get away from finger pointing and get together to solve

our problems." He outlined two initiatives, namely referring the

matter to the provincial government's Commissioner of Critical

Industries, and a telegram he had sent to the CRTC which, like

the position the committee had been promoting, had urged the commission to look into the matter of the transfers.

Given the internal cleavages, particularily the union-management and overlappping political divisions, even the make up of the panel was remarkable. Here there were independent business people along side trade unionists; card carrying members of the Social Credit party next to their counterparts in the N.D.P., all attempting to address a common problem albeit from the particular interests of each participant. But, at the same time, the mayor's opening remarks, which set the tone for the meeting, indicated that he recognized the potential for conflict and its harmful consequences in this instance.

There were however, some common messages in the addresses; "The loss of anyone's job hurts us all economically", "we do not have enough control over outside economic and political institutions and we need more control" and "the only way to solve these problems is by working together". But there were also messages that point to the particular positions in light of which various individuals were viewing the issue; business people were responding to it in terms of the lack of confidence other companies will have in the locality, lack of consumer spending when the corporations pull out of town and the need for local economic development. Union representatives were talking about the move as a way to decrease the workforce and those most directly affected by the transfers were referring to the fact that they would be pulling up stakes and leaving their networks of friends and family.

The meeting was then opened for public participation and discussion. The following excerpts and the responses of the panel and audience represent what the people in·the audience were saying to each other and the panel members.

T.W.U. organizer Robert White who flew in from the coast, opened the discussion from the floor and addressed his remarks to Richard Black. First, he congratulated him for being there and for sending the telegram. He then read an excerpt of a letter to the Keep Jobs Committee from Conservative M.P. Peter Emery which stated "that the matter was a provincial one and not under federal jursidiction". He then went on to comment that the people need to get onto their two levels of government and for Black and Emery "not to point to the other level of government." He then outlined the provincial government's role in the development of North East Coal. This project used taxpayer's money to develop coal mines which now compete with those in the region. He concluded with "the government needs to start playing hard ball. If a government can intervene in a project like North East Coal, then surely it can get off its butt and do something for the people here and not just write letters!" This was clearly a political stab at Black by someone who was outside the constituency and Black responded to this, obviously angry and defensive. He commented that "without getting political, there was a great debate in 1972 for developing the transportation corridors but the government cancelled the Kootenay-Elk railway." He also pointed out that the federal government's attempt to do away with the Crow Rate

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which would help the B.C. Crow's Nest communities was objected to by the then N.D.P. M.P. Allan Hays.

A C.P.R. worker who was a known N.D.P. activist took the mike next and similarly challenged Black and the Social Credit government on their lack of action on the centralization of C.P. Rail. Black was visibly angry and the tension in the room increased considerably. His response was to criticize again the former N.D.P. government.

There was then a question by a businesswoman directed to the B.C. Tel representative as to whether the centralization would result in decreased costs to B.C. Tel customers. The B.C. Tel representative responded in the negative.

She was followed by a teacher who was known to be a Social Credit supporter. His comments were directed at the political overtones of the initial question and answer period.

> "I look around this room and I see Chamber of Commerce members. I see some people I recognize as Liberals, some I recognize as Conservatives as well as Social Crediters and NDPers. I believed that they were here because they care. Seeing that, I see no point in causing dissent. I'm a little hurt, I thought I was coming to a meeting that represented the people who are losing jobs, not a political meeting. I don't think it will serve any purpose to get any one mad."

His comments were clearly addressed to the audience and were met with applause. From this point until quite a bit later, the questioners did not make overtly partisan political remarks, and the B.C. Tel representative rather than Black became the focus, an important element in the attempt to manage the meeting in terms of the common ground that had been established in the campaign to this point.

Many of the remaining speakers were B.C. Tel employees and their perceptions can be summarized by the comments made by the "Keep Jobs" chairperson. She directed Hansen's (the B.C.Tel representative) attention to the statement of goals in the Company's Annual Report, the section is entitled "Towards excellence". She asked," does this not apply to the employees and people in the Kootenays?" The audience applauded loudly. Hansen responded, "yes, but out of thirteen thousand employees, there will have to be sacrifices by some of us." She went on to question him on why the company built a new warehouse just three years ago which will now undoubtedly sit empty. He responded that had the company known then what it knows now, it would not have built the warehouse. "We made a mistake, we got caught in the sudden downturn in the economy."

Intermittent comments were made by many of the questioners about the current level of service and whether it would decrease with the proposed transfer. The B.C. Tel representative maintained over and over again that technology was now to the point where operator service was as good performed elsewhere and that the centralization would decrease the company's costs.

Before the meeting began I was aware through my N.D.P. connections that the representative for the local N.D.P. candidate (who could not be present) was originally scheduled to speak on the panel. In the end, though, the representative addressed the audience as a speaker from the floor. When he identified himself and for whom he would be speaking, Mayor Burns (who was chairing the meeting at this point) reminded

him of the three minute time limit, the first time it had been
mentioned since the discussion on the floor had opened. The
tension in the room once again increased and there were boos and
calls from various parts of the room, one to the effect of "he
can have my three minutes". When the noise subsided, he read an
abbreviated speech.

After the meeting, I approached my T.W.U. contacts and asked
why there was a change in plans in this regard. I was told that
no one really knew why, except the committee had, at the last
minute, decided to invite only elected representatives to be on
the panel.

The meeting was covered by the local and provincial press
and ended after some three hours of debate. It was, in fact, the
negativity of some of the questions that was picked by the local
press and reported on, as this excerpt headlined "Few Solutions
Raised at Save-jobs Meeting" attests:

> The speeches were followed by a question and answer
> period that focused more on the wrongs of the past than
> solutions for the future. The meeting's chairmen,
> Burns and Cranbrook Mayor Dole often reminded the
> audience to keep to the topic and refrain from
> political and personal attacks, but they failed to make
> much of an impact on the speakers (Daily Townsman,
> March 13, 1986).

Many from both the committee and the union were annoyed at this
report, first because they felt that there were solutions
presented, and secondly, because the paper overemphasized the
amount of "political" content in the meeting. This was shared by
one of the independent businessmen on the panel who felt
strongly enough about the newspaper report to write a letter to

the editor which stated in part:

> In your reporting you continue to high-light the entire
> affair as essentially a TWU-BCTel confrontation
> involving the transfer of staff. While it started out
> this way, the TWU has made a substantial, and
> successful, effort to draw attention to the area's
> economic conditions IN GENERAL, and to seek remedies
> through preservation as well as creation of jobs.
> Therefore, the Keep Jobs in the Kootenays committee
> should receive the support of ALL of us in this
> community, regardless of political or union points of
> view. THAT is the message that YOU, as a community
> newspaper, should convey to the people. It has my
> support and that of my company. Just think, you could
> be protecting your own job by helping to seek ways to
> make Cranbrook and the Kootenays prosper (letter to the
> Daily Townsman, March 26, 1986).

The committee members indicated to me that they were very

pleased with the response from the business community first for

the poster campaign (only a small proportion of independent

businessmen did not take the poster to display) and willingness

to sit on the panel for the town hall meeting. The fact that

they and others recognized that this was important and difficult

given the traditional political cleavages in town, was

underscored by a comment made to me by a T.W.U. member after

the town hall meeting and the newspaper report:

> "It was pretty interesting all right (referring to the
> Town Hall Meeting). I couldn't believe that people like
> Larry (well-known right wing independent businessman)
> would be sitting next to Tom (union official) and
> both of them confronting Hansen (B.C. Tel Official) and
> then to have Rick (businessman who wrote the letter
> to the editor) sock it to the paper for not recognizing
> the committee's importance and contribution, well it
> was a bit much!"

The Town Hall Meeting and its relative success was in fact a

topic of discussion around town for the next week.

The story was, in fact, interesting enough to be picked up

by the provincial papers. Through this report from the <u>Vancouver</u>

<u>Sun</u>, March 14, 1986, we can see what those people contacted by

the paper were saying to an even broader audience:

> "As a chamber of commerce, we were pretty cautious
> about it at first, but people are really telling the
> businessmen, 'We can't buy anymore' They're starting to
> seal up their wallets, and the business community is
> trying really hard to hold on to what we've got."
> (Chamber of Commerce president, Doug Mandly)

> "We're not just concerned about our jobs," said Donna
> Conan a B.C. Tel clerk who has worked for the company
> in Cranbrook for 21 years. We are concerned about the
> communities that we live in."

> "James Sasel editor of the Cranbrook Townsman, said the
> Keep Jobs in the Kootenays Committee 'sure has a
> sympathetic ear from the people. It is quite striking-
> very grassroots and low key.'

These public messages were becoming quite clear in their

content, the transfer proposal was being perceived of as a

threat to more than those who were scheduled to be transferred

and that collective interests had been identified by these

people who spoke out on the issue.

After the town hall meeting, I set up an interview with the

president and another active member of the "Keep Jobs" committee

and over a series of meetings with them, I obtained a picture of

the transfer proposal and the organized response to it, as they

saw it.[3] They outlined to me the chronology of the decisions

that were made, from the committee's inception in January and

the leg work that went into the poster campaign, setting up the

town hall meeting, and the petition to the CRTC.

They told me about the search for a slogan and how it had

changed from "Keep Telephone operators in the Kootenays" to

"Keep Jobs in the Kootenays" as an attempt to broaden the base of the committee itself; they wanted to attract people other than B.C. Tel employees and to highlight the issue as one of many such job losses in the area.

They told me how they had kept the committee politically non-partisan so they could apply pressure on B.C. Tel from whatever source. In particular, they identified some of the ways that they felt had accomplished this. They asked the mayors to chair the town hall meeting because "they had a high profile but were not partisan"; they asked only elected officials to be a part of the panel, and they responded with an ad denying any political affiliation in the advertiser when a Conservative organizer attempted to "coat-tail" on their success.[4] Through a carefully planned non-partisan approach they felt they would be best able to steer a course which would avoid people's sympathies from being divided.

They also related to me the discussion surrounding appropriate job action when the company had decreed the Cranbrook office to be a day office and how they had argued that the union's response be one which would not jeopardize the broadly based credibility the committee was gaining. As a result, even though strike action was considered, they took the approach of having the operators report for work in spite of the company's decision.

They also told me about their own personal reasons for getting involved since neither of them were operators and therefore not directly affected by the proposed transfers. Here

again in their own words are parts of their conversations with me. The first is the response of Donna, the committee chairperson:

"I had to give a lot of thought to getting involved and chairing this committee. It would be quite easy later of the company to take revenge by eliminatingg my job. My first reason is purely a selfish one, I have a sister who is a single parent at at the mid-point of her career. Her job might stay or it might go. She and her son are important to me and my husband. I guess the second reason is that sometimes you have to stand up and be counted."

Elizabeth, like Donna, commented that she felt it was time to stand up and be counted as well but went on to say:

"My job isn't going to be affected this time, the duties might be. But just previous to this, at the union meeting, I got elected as the union rep for the clerical local so I didn't have much choice. I graduated in 1966 and I started work in B.C. Tel. At that time it was a good place to work. I really don't want to take my work to Kelowna. I was born in the Tudor House (the origginal hospital, now a hotel) and I would just like to stay here. My husband is a telephone man so if we're both ever out of a job we're really in trouble. Most of our kids are here and I just really don't care to go somewhere else."

The ties of kinship and friendship and the obligations of unions and other groups as well as the fear that one's own job may soon be on the line, are all integral components of the reasons for getting involved even though many participants weren't scheduled to be transferred this time.

In addition to my discussions with Donna and Elizabeth and what I gleaned from their files on the committee itself, I also talked to a variety of other T.W.U. members, various downtown merchants, the mayor and N.D.P. activists about their perceptions about the proposed transfers and the "Keep Jobs"

campaign and committee. I was interested in gaining a

perspective from a variety of people who traditionally fall in

different camps consistent with the internal distinctions

discussed in Chapter Two. Some of these perceptions, of course,

were present in the excerpts from the town hall meeting. Similar

sentiments were expressed in other interviews, news stories and

letters as these excerpts attest:

> "When centralization occurs, the outlying areas take a
> beating" (interview with Baker Street merchant).

> "I realize that corporations have to do their best for
> their shareholders and that the bottom line is profit
> but the large corporations are only concerned about
> number one right now, not the community or the long
> term" (conversation with independent businessman).

> "Everyone benefits when people are working. The union
> was willing to work with management to help others keep
> their jobs, it was positive"(independent businessman at
> town hall meeting).

> "Do you know Japanese philosophy? Well, I think their
> approach is so much better than what we have here in
> North America. Here we are individualistic and have a
> weaker sense of the collectivity and think in terms of
> what is good for the individual and not what is good
> for the community. In the East they do not allow
> companies to centralize. When centralization occurs the
> outlying areas take a beating. Any company, large
> corporation that is, is concerned only for number one
> right now, not the community, and not the long term. In
> this system people are hurt along the way. First, the
> victims are the people who work for them, then the
> community, which in turns hurts all of us. I mean, this
> is where I make my money and this is where I live. My
> anchor is deep in this community, there is no place I
> want to go. Its so frustrating, we pay dearly for our
> government services and utilities and get so little in
> return. I've never voted NDP, but I really don't know
> what to do this time, I just don't know what will
> happen if we vote Socred again" (interview with
> Cranbrook merchant)

> "It's union oriented, but its goals are something that
> we all share, Dole said. They're concerned about
> keeping jobs in the Kootenays, as we all are. I don't

look on it as a union movement, I look on it as a community movement" (quote by Cranbrook mayor, Tom Dole in <u>Daily Townsman,</u> March 26, 1986)

"Although Council is hesitant about interfering with corporate decisions, we are most concerned with the negative effects of the remote operators service office closure. If a joint study would help prevent or minimize local job loss, then we would encourage your company to participate with the Telecommunication Workers Union and the Ministry of Employment and Immigration" (excerpt of a letter from Mayor Dole to B.C. Tel).

"I have the greatest respect for the Keep Jobs in the Kootenays committee. They got organized, have acted responsibly, have not alienated non-union people with their approach. They have made B.C. Tel aware of the unhappiness and have increased the awareness of the community pulling together" (interview with Mayor Dole)

The committee had, by and large, gotten the business sector

and municipal representatives on side as these and their

previous comments indicate. However, in these statements, there

is also some ambivalence expressed: "the needs of business to

attend to the bottom line", and "the reluctance to interfere in

business decisions". They were still very much aware of the

the fact that it could be seen as simply a union-management issue.

In addition, there was significant frustration expressed by

the N.D.P. activists, both on the committee and outside of it. I

first noticed this at the town hall meeting after I became aware

that the agenda had been changed and the N.D.P. candidate would

not be part of the panel. As well, both the union and the

committee had decided that applying pressure on the CRTC was its

best strategy. Since the region at that time had no elected

N.D.P. representative either federally or provincially and since

the committee had decided on a non-partisan route, the local

N.D.P. activists were frozen out of the issue. At the same time, they could not afford to criticize the campaign, as there was significant political support within the T.W.U. and the committee which they did not want to alienate.

Many within the local N.D.P., along with the T.W.U. members, remarked that they were especially annoyed with Tom Dole's presentation at th town hall meeting. In their words:

> "I just couldn't believe Dole pushing his pet project, the Summer Games the way he did at the meeting. Imagine someone thinkng we can volunteer our way out of our economic problems!"

By September, however, the CRTC route had been clearly stymied, the arbitration ruling still had not been announced and B.C. Tel proceeded with the transfers. Then, a provincial election was called. Towards the end of the month long campaign, the T.W.U. in Vancouver sponsored a local advertisement which stated that "the N.D.P. were the only party fighting for jobs in the Kootenays". The ad had been paid for by the T.W.U. in support of the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenay" committee. This action, although initiated by T.W.U. organizers outside Cranbrook, had the support of the local T.W.U. members who were campaigning locally for the N.D.P. candidate. The tone and content of the ad, though, resulted in the resignation of the "Keep Jobs" chairman, and she made her decision public by giving the story to the local newpaper and announcing her resignation in a letter to the editor. This was followed by another letter to the editor from T.W.U. member Mike Procter. Procter was then also the East Kootenay Labour Council President and a

member of the N.D.P. election committee. The two letters are included here to show the political divisions within the commitee and the T.W.U.

ACTION SPURS RESIGNATION

To the editor:

As chairman of the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays' Committee", I am furious that the Telephone Workers Union would have the audacity to run a recent advertisement with the headline "Socred Government Turns Its Back on Kootenay Jobs."
The union claims that "despite repeated requests for help from the Socred MLA's and Tory MP'S, only New Democrats cared enough to speak up for our members and local constituents" and "the only political party to fight for and maintain jobs in the Kootenays has been the New Democrats" is a blatant lie.
In my files, I have several items of correspondence from both Richard Black MLA and Peter Emery MP, as well as from Susan Dome federal NDP MP and Abraham Green, MLA for Creston Nelson (NDP). Our committee has appreciated the efforts of each. I point this out because when our group was formed, one of the first items settled was that we would be non-political.
I am resigning immediately as chairman of the "Keep Jobs" committee to indicate my displeasure to the TWU. They knew our political feelings, yet chose to try and make a political statement at our expense.
As a free thinking union member, I believe in the slogan "Vote as you please, but please vote". I firmly believe that all unions would get further with whichever government is in power with a less adversarial attitude than is presently displayed.

Yours Truly,
Donna Conan
Cranbook

CONTENT OF AD NOT QUESTIONABLE

To the editor:

As a local member of The Telecommunications Workers Union I feel I must respond to Donna Conan's letter to the editor of Friday October 17th.
First, I must commend Donna and the "Keep Jobs in the Kootenays" Committee for their dedication and hard work in the campaign over the loss of operator and clerical jobs at B.C. Telephone in Cranbrook. They did

an excellent job of making the public aware of this unnecessary move by the company. Unfortunately our local representatives of the two senior levels of government did not follow through with the same enthusiasm or zeal and this is where I must take exception to Conan's letter.

While the circumstances surrounding the placement of the TWU advertisement of October 15 could be seen as somewhat questionable, the content is not.

Kootenay MLA Richard Black did send a telegram to the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission calling for public hearings on the matter, but he did little other than to state that whole thing was a federal responsibility. This is technically correct. B.C. Tel is a federally regulated operation coming under the CRTC.

On the other hand, Kootenay-East Revelstoke MP Peter Emery a member of the House Communications Committee in Ottawa failed to recognize this point and consistently referred to the relocation as "solely a provincial matter". He did not even respond when the issue was raised in the House of Commons, in April by Susan Dome NDP, MP for Vancouver East.

This is in sharp contrast to the 1980 campaign over the same type of office closure. At that time, then NDP, MP Allan Hays took an active role in Ottawa and at local CRTC rate hearings and was a positive influence in the company dropping its centralization plans at that time.

While the "Keep Jobs" Committee tried to remain non-political, the issues that face them and continue to face TWU members, as a whole, are political...extremely political. Decisions involving the day-to-day working lives of our members are routinely being made by politically appointed bodies such as the Workman's Compensation Board, Canadian Labour Relations Board and CRTC. In the majority of cases, their rulings merely rubberstamp employer actions and are rarely in our best interests.

In the final analysis, the solution is a political one. Files of nice, polite correspondence and a nice, polite, non political campaign are, I am sure, of little comfort to the 50 or so, of our operators now working in Kelowna, Kamloops, Prince George, Vancouver and Victoria, or those contemplating unemployment, here in Cranbrook.

Yours truly,
Mike Procter
Cranbrook

A new chairman was found for the committee, but with the loss of the appeal of the arbitration ruling, the transfer having already taken place, and the political divisions within the committee having been made public, the momentum of the campaign was gone. The committee still exists but other than a few ads urging the residents to write to the committee president to indicate support of the committee and the T.W.U. attempt to have Cranbrook named as a site for the study on the effects of technological change and job loss on towns like Cranbrook, little else has occurred. The yellow posters have been taken down in most places and in others they have faded to white in the windows.

To analyze the "Keep Jobs" campaign as this version is presented requires us to go beyond an examination of the power differential between the metropolis and the hinterland, even though in this view, as in the previous one, we cannot afford to lose sight of the fact that this power differential exists. More to the point, we must recognize that the residents were aware of this as they undertook the action they did. In fact, there are historical examples of similar situations, including the 1980 campaign. (See Appendix C for one such interesting historical parallel.) But if we leave the analysis at this, people's behavior in the campaign does not make much sense, so we must shift our attention to what else was going on throughout the campaign.

To aid us in this regard, we need to pay some attention to the individual behavior as it was exhibited in this instance.

The individual strategies which come out clearly in the ethnography are a response to the population instability associated with hinterland status. Their strategy is rather direct in the case of those who were scheduled to be transferred, but even those B.C. Tel employees who were not immediately in danger of losing their jobs or being transferred understood the issue as an eventual threat to their own security. In addition many felt the direct impact through family and friends. For the issue to go beyond B.C. Tel employees, indeed, for a public campaign to be mounted at all, the threat of economic insecurity had to be translated to the population at large. The central task of the T.W.U. and the committee was to manage the interpretations that residents and in particular the small independent and franchise merchants had of the proposed transfers in such a way as to negotiate a shared understanding of a common threat suffered along with the B.C. Tel employees. Central to this ethnography and central to the event itself was this negotiation process.

Superficially, it may seem like a reasonably easy task for the T.W.U. and the committee to have the issue interpreted as a threat to the locality as a whole. On closer examination, though, the process of doing so required superceding some very important and long standing traditional cleavages of class and political distinctions in the local population. The fact that the campaign was initiated by a group of unionized workers, who were and could be identified as such, meant that it was more likely to be perceived as a "union-management" issue. Indeed, as

this ethnographic data illustrates, this nearly happened a
number of times and one of the important roles that many
businessmen and the mayor played was in their public statements
refuting the perception that this was a union-management
confrontation. Attention was drawn to this again by the
references to the coalition of people, normally not considered
"like-minded", brought together in the fight, particularly the
Town Hall Meeting.

While this cleavage and the underlying political
philosophies which support it was perhaps the crucial and most
difficult for the T.W.U. and the committee to manage, it is
important to realize that they had to reckon with more than this
one. The overlapping membership between the T.W.U., the
committee and the local N.D.P. meant that the frustration of the
left-wing political activists had to be managed as well.
Finally as the case of the election campaign and the resignation
of the chairman attest, the members of the union and the
committee were not ideologically homogenous, and in the end these
differences were brought to public attention. Prior to the
election ad, though, these internal clevages had been submerged
in the campaign.

The campaign was remarkable, then, for having achieved this,
that is, having overcome the traditional distinctions which
would have divided the residents and the B.C. Tel employees
themselves in terms of the ideological interpretations normally
made about a company planning to transfer some of its employees.
In overcoming the usual cleavages in the population, they

mounted a campaign of public pressure directed at the outside,
the company and both levels of government with the support of a
significant proportion of the middle class population. They did
so by mobilizing the concept of community and again the
ethnographic data illustrates the use of community as a way of
superceding possible divided sympathies and creating a common
interest between groups which traditionally compete with one
another. In this sense, then, community was created and
mobilized through the actions of particular individuals as they
cooperated with one another to achieve both personal and
collective goals. The use of the symbol of community in this
instance supports Cohen's argument concerning the essential role
of symbols in political processes. As he puts it:

> Through the 'mystification' which they create, symbols
> make it possible for the social order to survive the
> disruptive processes created within it by the
> inevitable areas of conflicting values and principles.
> It does this by creating communion between potential
> enemies. A proverb among Arab peasants states: 'I
> against my brother; I and my brother against our
> cousin; I, my brother and my cousin against the
> outsider.' A man discovers his identity through
> interaction with others. To cooperate with his brother
> against their cousin he must reconcile his hostility to
> his brother with the need to identify with him in the
> fight against their cousin (1974:31).

To further attempt to fit these specific ethnographic
examples into the broader theoretical ideas of symbolic and
interpretative anthropology, we can examine the importance of
the shared meanings which the campaign brought about as both
part of the individual strategies involved and the subsequent
social action. In this process a certain amount of negotiation
to ensure shared meanings has to take place for social action.

Central to this are some key elements. First of all, shared meanings are essential for social action or interaction; secondly, they act as guides for behavior; and, finally, while much of it is directed at motives which are self-serving, they also have broader social ends. In saying this, I am arguing that one must start with social action, but within it and through it one must recognize culture, social structure and individual interests. By piecing together some ideas from Geertz and Keesing this point can be demonstrated.

> Behavior must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behavior or more precisely social action - that cultural forms find articulation (Geertz, 1973:17).

> Culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; social structure is the form that action takes, the actual existing network of social relations. Culture and social structure are then but abstractions from the same phenomena. The one considers social action in respect to its meaning for those who carry it out, the other considers it terms of its contribution to the functioning of some social system (Geertz, 1973:145).

> Humans have constructed mazes of social life- because they have had to- so that the paths through them to individual goals are opened only by cooperation, by sharing, and by rule following. Sometimes the reward of playing the game together and of helping one's fellows are immediate and direct. Sometimes they are long range...(Keesing, 1981:318).

The interaction that goes on within localities has, as we've been pointing out, many different facets, both overt and unconscious. It is also strategic in that in both the individual and collective sense it is oriented towards achieving certain ends. At the same time, these strategies incorporate, again, both individually and collectively, ways of

reflecting and responding to the constraints that are imposed on such places as a result of being hinterlands. This view of people who live in hinterlands does not conform to the notion of structural determinism inherent in the analysis of political economy. In this, I share the view of Matthews who says:

> Social structures cannot be ignored, but the object of analysis is to focus on how the individual acts within social structures, how social structures affect his actions, and how at least occasionally the individual acts in ways not determined solely in terms of class interest or economic motivation (1983:7).

In the "Keep Jobs" campaign, the social structure of modern industrial society and the relative power of the outside agencies was integral to the actions of all those participated. The impetus of the whole campaign and the ability to mobilize community was rooted in not just the shared perception of being members of a hinterland, but the fundamental experience common to all of the precariousness associated with it, or, as Cohen put it in his analysis of the fisherman's blockade in Scotland:

> ... for the causes of much of the resentment could not be articulated in such tangible terms, they were rooted rather, in the fact of living on the pheriphery of a predominantly urban industrial political economy, remote from - and at the mercy of- the centres of power and decision... (1982:304-305).

Further, in this particular ethnographic example, as in many others, the resource that was used to bring about the shared meanings and provide the focal point for the social action, which in turn, required overcoming traditional differences in the population, was the notion of community. In this analysis, then, even though community is generally conceived of as an entity, it can only be examined as a process. And, as a process,

it must be examined by an analysis of behavior, or social action. This social action, however, must be viewed holistically; we must attend to its properties which tell us of the individual's interest in undertaking the action and the way social and individual interests are often incorporated into one another. We must attend to its meaning, understanding that meaning is created and negotiated as well as shared and transmitted within social groups. We must recognize that this is a symbolic, and therefore, a social process and that as it guides individual behavior into predictable paths, social relationships are built and social structure takes form. These processes take place for the most part within small groups and through face-to-face interaction; but they incorporate, reflect and act back upon the much broader forces of the larger society of which they are part.

1. This and all other names in this research are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the individuals.

2. In 1980, a similar situation had arisen and a similar campaign had been undertaken. In this instance the B.C. Tel workers had been successful in getting the CRTC to intervene through public pressure and the action of the M.P. at that time.

3. I would like to express my thanks to both Donna and Elizabeth, who as members of the "Keep Jobs" committee, devoted considerable time to answering my questions about the committee and the campaign. They also gave me free access to their files, without which it is quite clear that much of this ethnographic data would be missing.

4. Politically, the mayors are "right leaning", but since municipal elections are not run on party lines, at one level at least, they can be seen to be non-partisan.

CHAPTER FIVE

"I joined for the social life, for meeting new people and for involvement in the community."

In the previous chapter it was noted that employment, both in an individual and collective sense in hinterland localities, is the key to economic viability and therefore of considerable concern to all who live in such places. Since the special characteristics of the economy play a prominent role in both industrialism as a mode of subsistence and hinterland status, the notion of work can be a useful starting place for a discussion of social interaction in hinterland localities.

Work has come to mean paid employment in the modern industrial mode of subsistence and market economy, and, through both of these factors of industrialism, labour has become a commodity. But the wage economy, carried out for the most part in large formal organizations, has meant that the activities take place in conjunction and cooperation with others. The development of formal organizations with specific and highly specialized tasks to accomplish these ends is new, but their cooperative nature is not. The joint nature and cooperation that all organization requires is accomplished in the way it always has been, through the development and maintenance of social relationships among people. We have tended to examine only the formal roles and 'paid' activities associated with the former and have left largely unexamined the work of creating and maintaining the necessary relationships are equally important

and characteristic of work organizations.1

What makes the examination of the social relationships which underlie these organizations of particular interest in hinterland localities is that this is carried on despite the high rates of geographical and social mobility in localities which have relatively small population bases. In addition, these places are subject to extreme fluctuations economically and demographically because of their reliance on resource extraction. Thus, the economic precariousness and population instability affect not just the nature of what we usually refer to as work, that is paid employment, but also the work associated with creating the necessary social bonds between people that ensure these activities can be carried out.

Work, in this latter sense, is what Wadel (1979) refers to as the "hidden work" of everyday life. Work is the term he uses to encompass all those purposive activities, whether the end result is part of the labour market or those significant for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. These activities, which do not constitute paid employment, but which contribute to or develop all the social relationships which underlie the activities in the formal work sphere are not usually seen as work. But, as he argues, these activities are, nonetheless, often essential for providing the necessary foundation for the kinds of activities that we do refer to and recognize for the economic ends they provide (1979:372). Thus, there is a very real connection between making a living in an economic sense and living in the social and cultural sense. This

"work" takes place in the mundane, day-to-day activities that individuals undertake without much awareness of their contribution to these broader elements of social organization. Or, as Wadel puts it:

> As the situation is at present, it is the social form of institutions that has received the most attention: we write mostly about the institutions as 'end results' and not about the 'work' that has gone into their achievement. Concretely, we should ask in each case, what work (activities and effort) is necessary for the creation/maintenance/change of an institution?...The importance of the exercise is that it opens the possibility of demonstrating that whereas everyday activities which, when considered in isolation may appear 'trivial' (even to the person who carries them out) and not merit the label work, when aggregated and considered in relation to formal work do constitute a prerequisite of effective institutional arrangements (1979:372).

As one such example of "hidden" work, he cites the fact that community studies have shown that significant effort on the part of residents goes into the maintenance of neighbourhood and community, but neither the researchers who have reported these activites nor the informants who have described their activities have recognized this effort as work (ibid.:374). While he uses this only as an example of what he is referring to as work and how it is "hidden", the point is worthy of a great deal more elaboration. If we understand these activities to require this effort on the part of individuals to sustain what we normally consider to be fundamental social institutions, then it implies that to further our understanding of these institutions, we must lay bare these activities and analyze them in the context of their contribution to sustaining what we normally think of as social life.

It is in this same vein that Jacobson (1978,1982) has argued that the role of women particularly within the family and the support they provide for the community through their efforts within the domestic sphere has been neglected by researchers, including those doing community ethnographies. Women have been rendered invisible and the work that they do has not been made visible in such research. This too, comprises the "hidden work" of everyday life.

This same point has been made by Wallman, albeit in a slightly different context, in her analysis of eight households in the Battersea area of London, as can be seen here:

> The importance both of the local ties and of the time it takes to create them shows most dramatically in the unemployment figures given as evidence of Battersea's localist style in Chapter 1 (page 7) (1984:34).

While she does not refer to the time and effort to create and maintain social relationships as work, she is clearly identifying the same processes here, namely that individuals develop ties between themselves and others as part of their overall strategy for living and that the particular ways they go about doing this characterize each household.

Recognizing such instances as work is the first step. From there we need to contextualize this "work", that is, to describe who performs it, in what situations, for what reasons, with whom and with what results, individually and collectively? In responding to these concerns, we can learn more about the institutions by examining much of the action which is largely taken for granted. All work (in both of these senses) takes a

commitment of time, energy and motivation on the part of the individuals involved, even if this is not recognized as such even by those performing it.

One conceptual tool which may prove useful for examining more specifically this "work" in hinterland localities, is the notion of role as Hannerz (1980) conceives of it. While the concept of role is the sociologist's stock in trade, most conventional definitions view it as entailing the duties and obligations associated with a given status. This particular use of role makes it static and it, like its theatrical counterpart, becomes script-like and is learned by (and therefore, taught to) each new incumbent of the position, virtually in a rote manner. Hannerz, however, defines role as:

> ... a purposive situational involvement with dimensions of consciousness and resource management... (ibid.:245).

This approach makes it much more dynamic, open to interpretation and to use by an individual to achieve certain ends. As such, a role is a pattern of behavior whose essence is to be found in the situation and in the purposes to which the individual who has undertaken the action puts it. Not only does this definition emphasize process over "end result" again, but Hannerz further elaborates on the other elements to which this particular conceptualization leads, and which further distinguishes his use from the more conventional approaches to role.

> We want to acknowledge that through the entities we call roles, people can negotiate, bargain, threaten, and battle with each other, interactional modes which do not quite fit with the notion of clearcut rights and

duties. Such confrontations come about because people differ in the orientations of their consciousness, or because their interests in resource managment are on a collision course....The view of role which emphasizes task rather than purpose obscures much of this, or at least the fact that roles are sometimes made rather than taken (ibid.:102).

In this, Hannerz identifies other components of interaction with regard to the making and use of roles that is relevant both to this research and developed in Wallman's (1984) research as well, that is, the idea that interaction entails resources and that these are managed. In this particular instance, I have pointed out that we need to focus on the strategies that individuals employ to respond to the situations in which they find themselves and that these often entail the cooperation of others. Mobilizing personal networks are part of these strategies and they require resources, many of these are non-material, but like all resources these need to be managed. Again, the work of Wallman can be seen to be relevant here:

Even those who limit the resource concept to ⁻material items will recognize that resource management involves organization and some number of layers of social and cultural embroidery. To include perceptions, skills, symbolic structures, organizational strategies and any sense of commitment to those structures or strategies within the scope of the resource concept is not therefore outside the bounds of common sense (1984:28).

These ideas are particularly helpful in this research since the attempt here is to overcome the shortcomings of the structural approaches of both the metropolis-hinterland model and traditional approaches to community by focussing on process, and in particular by examining hinterland residents' behavior and the contexts within which it takes place and is made

meaningful. Using the concepts of role, resources and resource management in this way aids in this task because it already incorporates the notion of situation and ties it to purposes that individuals have in undertaking certain actions, thus making it strategic action.

Further, while much of this research will be describing individual action from this perspective, the analysis will emphasize the close and often overlooked coincidence (most often created in interaction) of both self-interests (individual goals) and collective goals. In this case, the particular strategies discussed here, and of course, these are not the only ones, often involve others and become social undertakings. The roles that people "make" and "take" as residents go about their everyday activities in hinterland localities are central to an understanding of relationships that emerge, and results that are brought about.

Many of the roles that become part of the repertoire of individuals who reside in hinterland localities also reflect the nature of these places and the relationships they have with the wider society and more powerful political and economic institutions. Given the population instability, there are a number of people at any given time who are working to integrate themselves into the locality, finding networks of friends and colleagues, availing themselves of the resources, both material and non-material, to which social relationships give rise. Since this is a relational process it requires the cooperation of the other residents in the locality and, once established, those

relationships which fulfil the needs of individuals need to be maintained. In this way, we see once again, that the distinction between self-interests and collective goals is not particularly helpful. People attend to their own interests and goals often through cooperation with others. This cooperation, however, necessitiates shared meanings which in turn are negotiated in the interactional processes. In hinterlands, these processes have incorporated into them the transient nature of such places, and, at the same time, the actions which emanate out them can be viewed as one of the local responses to this condition of hinterland status.

One element of the strategies discussed here- keeping in mind that these are not the only roles or strategies individuals are undertaking- is that networks are created in and through the meshing of self-interests. Individuals both build new networks and utilize existing ones as they go about their everyday life. The relationships which underlie the networks require the work referred to earlier; but they are also a personal investment. Individuals plot their way in social situations by creating and utilizing their contacts with one another and, as such, these networks provide access to resources and the mechanisms for joint action. This again points to the strategic element involved in individual action as work to connect themselves to others and within the informal and often even formal social structure of hinterland localities. While network analysis, as an anthropological tool has been utilized more formally by others (especially those doing work in complex societies) than

in this research, the theoretical ideas that underlie this mode

of analysis have been valuable in terms of providing another

link between individual strategies and collective action (see

especially Barnes, 1954, 1972; Bott, 1957; Hannerz, 1967;

Aronson, 1970; Fischer, 1977; and Sanjek, 1978). It is also

valuable for the purpose of escaping the static assumptions

built into other types of analysis, since networks are conceived

of as being dynamic rather than static. Keesing makes these same

observations with reference to anthropology of cities:

> By showing how and why urbanites enter into economic,
> political, and kinship relations, and how they
> strategically use their networks of connection, urban
> anthropologists can move beyond both a static framework
> of institutional analysis and the distortion that comes
> from looking only at that portion of each person's life
> that is spent in a small group- a gang or residence or
> bar- the anthropologist happens to be observing
> (1981:477).

Taken together, the concepts of strategy, work (in the

broader sense than paid employment), roles which can be made as

well as taken, and networks can provide very important

theoretical leads for the purpose of understanding everyday life

in hinterland localities.

The "Keep Jobs" campaign presented a case where most of

those who were scheduled to be transferred did not want to move.

We can, however, find other examples of where the prospect of

being transferred is either widely accepted as part of the job

or, alternatively, individuals for whom a transfer is a

promotion, and, hence, for those upwardly mobile individuals, a

positive move. Even in these cases where the transfer does not

have these same negative meanings, many of the same concerns,

both individually and collectively for the locality are raised. Central to this, is the fact that the decision about when these transfers take place, and where one is transferred to, are in the hands of decision makers in the company or government.

Therefore, even though there are some rewards associated with the situation, it tends to affect the way such people commit themselves to others and the locality in general. In some cases it makes for some very difficult decisions, as this ethnographic example illustrates. A Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer was transferred to Kimberley, where he and his family lived for four years. He pursued his interests in outdoor recreation (readily available to him here) and had a circle of friends, a network, which was important to him. When the force transferred him, both he and his family expressed a great deal of sadness even though the transfer represented a promotion. He attempted to negotiate with the force in order to stay and be given the promotion, but it was not possible. They moved and three years later, I heard that he had quit the force and had moved back to Kimberley and taken a job with Cominco. When I next spoke with this man, I asked him about what had transpired. He said:

> "I was really unhappy on the Island and the wife and
> kids were just as bad. I thought and thought about it
> and then decided that as the cliche goes "life is where
> the heart is". I made some enquires about some jobs at
> Cominco and when it looked promising, we made the move.
> I really liked my work with the force but I just
> couldn't see that it was worth uprooting my family,
> leaving friends and places I liked and so I guess
> there'll always be some regrets but, I think I'm better
> off this way."

These same sentiments are expressed in various forms from a wide variety of local residents who are subject to transfer decisions: bank managers, technicians, supervisors and managers of virtually all the provincial and federal government agencies that operate locally and many of the skilled occupations within the major corporations. These individual are aware, as indeed are those who interact with them on an on-going basis, that they never know for sure how long they will be stationed in any one place. They often preface statements about plans in the future with "If I'm still here then...".

These examples and that of the more detailed case documented in the "Keep Jobs" campaign, demonstrates one of the most central aspects of making a living in hinterland localities, transience and economic precariousness. It also illustrates how the destinies and choices of individuals in terms of employment become tied to the economic viability of the locality in general and to the actions and choices of others in the locality. Even when there is an element of choice and reward attached to the prospect of being moved, there is a significant impact on the lives of the individuals in question, other family members and the residents of the community. Chapter Two provided evidence that pointed to the extent of this mobility in hinterland localities through an examination of the number of moves, types of occupations and the companies whose personnel are transferred. This kind of data though, tells us nothing of the individual stories associated with those who are doing the moving. Nor does it tell us much about the consequences of this

to other residents and the locality as a whole. It is to this element we need now pay some attention.

One of the most important reasons people come to, or leave a given place is their ability to make a living, or a better living, there or elsewhere. On the negative side, people leave such places, sometimes unwillingly, as is clearly seen in the case on the proposed B.C. Tel transfers. People also come here willingly, sometimes to pursue a better life both materially and socially. It is to one such ethnographic example that we now turn our attention.

Randy Gruen is married with two children and has worked for the past twenty-four years in various line positions within a department of the provincial government. He started working for the department before he was married and before there was a government employees union. At that time, being at the bottom level of the hierarchy in the department and with no union, he was moved frequently and with no imput from him into the decision as to where he could be transferred. His moves from those first days until 1975, while sometimes offering the reward of increased pay or a promotion in terms of the departmental hierarchy, were simply a part of his job. During that time, he married and relocation meant his wife had to quit her job and look for a new one in the new location.

After the government employees became unionized, a bidding system developed in the service. This meant that there was now an element of choice associated with the transfers and that individuals would bid on openings in other locations because

there was some reward for them to do so, most often it meant a promotion in career terms. In 1975, Randy had his first chance to move as a result of this system. While he "gladly left" one of the previous places he had been transferred to, this was the first time there was an element of personal choice and advantage in the transfer. From then, until the present, he has moved his family twice and each time, it represented an advancement in his career.

While the possibility of advancement in Randy's career was the most important criteria when the family contemplated a bid for a new job, other things entered into the decision as well. For one, they say "cities are out, partly because we're not ocean people, but mostly, we didn't want to raise our children in cities." In addition, Joanne started to pursue her own education again after taking out time to have the children, so new places are considered in terms of the availablity of post-secondary education.

Randy describes himself as "a bit of a nomad", but at the same time he also maintained that if he had been able to get the job he wanted and stay in the same place he would have done so. His wife however, now says: "more than anything, I didn't want to move!"

While partly the difference in the degree of acceptance of the transfers on the part of Randy and his wife can be chalked up to personality, another part of it can be explained in terms of the rewards each of them is experiencing with the transfers. Joanne, while firmly supportive of her husband and his career,

pursued her own interests, jobs and education at various times in their marriage. The transfers meant that these had to be pursued with an eye to the likelihood that they would be moved. The latest transfer was to Cranbrook and shortly after they arrived, Randy set himself a new career goal which meant that he would be bidding on positions that would mean another transfer. He was unsuccessful until finally, the particular position he wanted became available in Cranbrook and he was the succesful candidate. Randy is qualified enough for the jobs that he bids on that he has been able to take positions which have mostly met the couple's criteria and as a result there has been no place that they have been unhappy in, at least since the bidding system was introduced. The element of personal choice and personal rewards that they have been successful in negotiating in their relationship and in Randy's career advancement has meant that the moves have been happy affairs and good for him, while at the same time have allowed her to achieve some of her own goals.

Randy's present position is at the top of the possible line positions available to him and one that he finds challenging, so as he puts it:

> "Although, who knows for sure about next year, and maybe a lateral move to Penticton, Vernon or Kamloops, I don't have a burning desire to move."

Joanne was substantially more emphatic. She has continued with her education and while jobs are scarce in the field she eventually wants to enter full time as a professional, she now has two part-time jobs in related areas. She feels that she can

now pursue some of her own goals and put down some roots. She has always been the one responsible for developing the social contacts the family has; Randy involves himself primarily in his work. Each time the family moved she has, by and large, integrated the family into the new community, developed the social ties, supported her husband's career goals, and within these constraints, continued to pursue her own goals. Randy has the position he aspired to in his career and Joanne has a good chance of achieving her educational and career goals. She has, in addition, become involved in a number of community organizations and is on the whole quite content with what Cranbrook and its residents offer her.

This example, then, presents another side to the particular strategies that people who are affected by the social and/or geographical mobility associated with industrial societies in general, and hinterland localities in particular, employ as they make their way in such places. Even in this most positive case of the effects of transfers, the elements of mapping out individual roles in order to pursue self-interests and the integration of one's family into a new social structure are part of the same fabric. This, too, requires work, and the work in this instance revolves around making contacts with other residents, local organizations and institutions and developing social relationships within these, or as Wadel puts it:

> [m]oreover, it is recognized that social institutions are created, maintained and changed, not by any deus ex machina basis but by social action- by the efforts of persons (1979:372).

Furthermore, the particular role women play with regard to this integration, as this example attests, supports Jacobson's (1978, 1982) contention that this is an important aspect of community ethnography that is often overlooked.

However, in hinterlands, these processes have dimensions which reflect the conditions of population instability and precariousness, for both the individual and the locality. Much of the transience is associated with decisions made by others who do not live in these localities, and even when there is an element of personal choice as in the last case, there are frequently constraints on those choices which have effects on the individual and the family. This is particularly true in the case of the wives of men who are transferred, as it is often their jobs, their education and their opportunities that are sacrificed when the transfer is to a hinterland locality with diminished opportunities available.[2] And it is also they who most often have the work of reintegrating themselves and their families into new communities; the husband, while changing jobs and communities, still has the same employer.

Those who have paid employment also contribute to this "hidden work", particularly through the informal activities that are associated with all work organizations, which Wadel also observed as an important dimension in one of the central aspects of life in modern industrial societies (1979:373). Moreover, in smaller localities, these work related connections extend out into the social organization of the town more generally; co-workers are often neighbours, friends and members of the same

church groups and other voluntary and service organizations.

From the point of view of other residents, the work of establishing ties with new community members affects a significant proportion of the population. These ties are established though with a certain amount of uncertainty. Given the nature of hinterlands, it is difficult to know how long someone will be in community, how much they will be willing to invest in social relationships, and whether in each particular case the transfer was positive or negative in a personal sense. This can differ for each individual member of the family. I've heard the comment that someone has or has not "transplanted well" as a way of referring to the fact that he or she was or was not happy with the move.

If we understand the behavior involved in this integration process as one of both "making" and "taking" particular roles in order to fit into the local social structure, then it is important to recognize that these are a product of negotiation. In taking this view, we are again drawing from some of the insights on role behavior presented by Hannerz (1980). He says, for example:

> [b]ut we must not make the creation of role repertoires
> sound like a solitary activity. It cannot be, for there
> is a further complication that a role, as we usually
> see it, entails a relationship. One cannot have it
> unless one can find an alter, or sometimes many, to
> perform a matching role- an alter whose readiness to
> do so may depend on what personal information he has
> about ego... (ibid.:251).

When this integration process means that the individuals have managed to take on roles and develop relationships that

have been satisfactorily negotiated with others, it is most

often expressed as satisfaction with the "community" as this

ethnographic example serves to illustrate:

> I was involved in a conversation with an individual who
> had moved here a year previously when her husband found
> a job in Cranbrook. When I asked her about her move and
> impressions of Cranbrook she said: "I wasn't anxious to
> move to Cranbrook, but not unhappy with the prospect
> either, but it was a good opportunity for Joe, so we
> moved. I must say, though, now I'm really glad we made
> the move. The kids are happier here, they like the
> school they're in and doing well. I finally found a
> job, thanks to one of Joe's coworkers who told him
> about the fact that Thorn and Riddel needed someone.
> Even before I started working though, I found it really
> easy to get to know people here and everyone was really
> helpful and Joe says the guys he works with are a great
> bunch. It really is a great community".

On the other hand, where this negotiation process fails to

accomplish this, dissatisfaction results, often attributed to

the closed or "cliquey" nature of the people, as this excerpt

from a conversation with one of my students illustrates:

> "My sister and her family moved to Fernie from Vernon.
> She says she really doesn't like it. She was really
> involved in the community in Vernon, but she says you
> can't get involved in Fernie, everybody is so cliquey.
> Unless you were born there, you don't belong."

The "involvement" that is referred to in the conversation

above highlights one of the most important vehicles of

integration in a new locality, the voluntary organization.

It is to this that we now turn our attention. Voluntary

associations in complex societies range from the fraternal

organizations such as Elks, Moose and Mason; service clubs like

the Lions and Kinsmen; support and educational associations

like the Canadian Mental Health Association and Canadian

Diabetes Association and a myriad of other special interest and

hobby clubs, East Kootenay Naturalist Club and the Kimberley
Weavers Guild; business and political organizations, the
Cranbrook Chamber of Commerce and Young New Democrat Club. The
local voluntary associations in hinterland localities could be
examined for any one of the many different characteristics and
functions they exhibit, for they are an extremely important part
of middle class life in these places.[3] In this case, though, the
examination will focus on the particular ways that individuals
in hinterland localities use particularly the social resources
of these associations to pursue certain interests. As such, they
become an important part of the strategies of living in
hinterland localities, and again I would reiterate that there
are both many more strategies in general and more that are
specifically linked to one's involvement in local voluntary
associations. The fact that voluntary organizations exist
because of their ability to draw members together for the
accomplishment of some specifically stated goal or goals does
not rule out that in this pursuit the individuals involved and
the collectivity itself may not also be serving other, sometimes
less obvious ends.

Organizations as a whole, and community voluntary
organizations specifically, are collectivities which possess
resources. These resources may include money and material goods,
social ties, credibility and other non-material resources, all
of which may be useful to individuals in their pursuit of self
interests. Regardless of what end to which actors put them,
their involvement in voluntary associations serves to provide

them with social contacts, social activities, symbolic resources and public reputations, in addition to the material resources that the organization may have to offer individuals. The volunteer nature of these organizations means that individuals are not paid for the work put into the association. But, while this work is without remuneration, it is not without rewards. Most of the benefits, though, are social rather than material.

The advantages that membership in local voluntary organizations offer individuals is again reflective of the transience that is associated with hinterland localites. Given that many people are "newly arrived" in these places, often without friends or family members here, one of the first problems they face is that of some kind of integration into the informal social structure of the locality. This is especially true for married women with children, as our case of Randy and Joanne Gruen discussed above illustrates. Since many of the jobs that come available in these places are primarily male jobs, it is often the husband's job that brings the family to the area. Even if the wife intends to work, this does not generally occur immediately upon arrival. Volunteering her time becomes one way of integrating herself and developing social contacts when she has no job outside the home or until she becomes employed. The following story is quite typical of many middle class women in these localities.

> A family with two young children and a third one on the
> way moved to Cranbrook in 1982. The woman is a
> university graduate and her husband is a professional
> whose job brought them to town. She worked for a number
> of years before the birth of her oldest child, but is

now an "at home" mother. While she has expressed little
interest in returning to the labour force until her
children are in school, she has expressed her feelings
of isolation especially when she first arrived. The
following excerpt demonstrates this and illustrates the
role voluntary associations play in this regard. "I see
you (speaking to me) driving by each day and I really
get envious as I'm stuck here at home. You know I even
joined X organization last year. You know its not the
kind of thing I'd normally do, but I felt I had to do
something to get away from the house and get to know
some people. It was alright for Kevin, he's at work all
day and gets to know people through his work. I
sometimes think the organization is a bit silly but at
least I feel as though I now know some people on my
own. That first year we were here and I was really tied
down with a new baby and knowing no one I felt was a
bit interesting, well it was almost divorce time. I was
angry at Kevin for bringing me here."

This type of story and the number of people who say that one

of the main reasons that they are part of voluntary

organizations because of the opportunity to form friendships and

meet friends indicates the importance of the ability of the

voluntary organization to integrate people and to provide for or

maintain existing social networks. Perhaps more than any other

personal reason, people identify the social contacts provided by

membership in voluntary organizations as the reason they are

involved. When people are questioned about why they are involved
                                    4
they respond typically:

> "Most of my closer friends are involved and there are
> many social functions."
> "To meet other people working for the betterment of our
> community."
> "Social life, meeting new people, involvement in the
> community."
> "For the friendship and the community work."
> "Fellowship, friendship, helping others."
> "The friendship and opportunities of meeting people in
> Cranbrook."

This social function is particularly important in places where

the population turnover is such that feelings of isolation in a new place and the loss of old social contacts is all too frequent. Viewing an individual's involvement in the community voluntary organization in this way also allows us to see the connection between the individual process of integration and Wadel's notions of "hidden work which underlie social institutions", incorporated best in this frequently heard comment: "I've been involved in community work for ten years". The reference the individual is making is to his or her involvement in voluntary organizations and is meant to ensure that the listener is aware of and appreciates the individual's contribution to "the community".

Further, this involvement and the actual roles the individual undertakes within them and the networks which emanate out of them reflects Hannerz's ideas about the connections between the making of roles, networks and urban life in general.

> ...network notions seem particularly useful as we concern ourselves with individuals using roles rather than roles using individuals and with the crossing and manipulation rather than acceptance of institutional boundaries. It is in this light that we see the connection of network analysis both in what may be termed anthropological action theory and to the study of urban and complex societies (1980:175).

It is important that we recognize that this integration process involves negotiation as discussed and illustrated earlier, but further that through the development of networks that are at the heart of this integration is the articulation of self and collective interests once again. While networks are developed from the point of view of the individual, in and

through them, social relationships and the potential for collective action emanate. Each of these, individual action and collective ends are different units of analysis but they must be seen as different parts of essential social processes which ultimately tie them together. In the individual sense, the roles that are created and negotiated, which underlie the relationships are an essential part of strategic action.

The discussion thus far has focused on the integration process, and the work and roles associated with it in hinterland localities. We must also keep in mind though, that these places are also characterized by internal divisions. These, too, figure prominantly in the strategies that individuals employ as they live and make a living in such places. The processes of differentiation and conflict are simply the mirror image of the processes of integration and incorporation and they occur simultaneously in social life.

A particularly useful way for conceptualizing both these processes and their relationship to one another is to approach it through the notion of social boundaries as Wallman (1978), taking the lead of Barth (1969) and others, has utilized it to provide some insight into the processes of race and ethnicity. The theoretical ideas developed in this work and its predecessors is useful in this investigation. When we shift our attention from locality and from the associated geographical, administrative and legal boundaries which, by and large, define these entities and turn to community, where social boundaries denote membership, we need to be much more explicit about what

we mean by social boundaries. Wallman says of a social boundary:

> Because it is social and not simply mechanical, the boundary marking the edge of one social system and the beginning edge of another has significance not only to the observer but also and more importantly for the members of those systems. It marks members off from non-members (or non-members from members: the boundary can be read, as we noted, from either side), it is the point at which, or the means by which, members can be identified (ibid.:206).

Two interrelated aspects of social boundaries become clear. They denote membership in certain kinds of social groupings, and they are relational; that is, they have two sides; each has significance because of the existence of the other. A third element of social boundaries is implied in the above description: social boundaries are marked in some way. The marking of a social boundary, unlike its geographical counterpart, is not quite so concrete although it may be symbolized by concrete things. The markers of social boundaries are created in interaction; they are social and symbolic. Because these markers arise out of interaction, an understanding of social boundaries comes from an analysis of the processes which give rise to them. Finally, these boundaries, like roles, are often created or constructed for particular purposes.

The distinctions that individuals and groups perceive between themselves and others is important and meaningful to them because these differences are tied to the different goals and interests being pursued by the individuals and groups in question. In the process, these differences are attended to, symbolized, and often rationalized on the basis of certain values. That is, they tend to take on moral overtones. Again,

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though, differences or similarities between or within any social grouping do not always "naturally" exist. The differences or similarities have to be perceived as significant in a given context. To ensure this is the case often requires the effort by some to point them out, to negotiate common ground, to demonstrate shared interests and to develop shared interpretations of events and actions and on the other side of coin, in opposition to others and their interests.

While there are numerous ethnographic examples which would serve to illustrate the various kinds of social boundaries that exist in hinterland localities and the processes by which they are created, one in particular will provide the focus for this discussion. The union-management distinction has been noted and discussed earlier in this work, but we can utilize it again to demonstrate an important local social boundary and especially some important aspects of interaction incorporated into it. (See Appendix D for a discussion of one other interesting social boundary, namely; newcomers/oldtimers, and its implications in hinterlands).

As Wallman argues, social boundaries are important because they identify membership in particular groupings, but she goes on to say that these are situational. In other words, a boundary changes as the interests of the groups in question change (1978:209). While this could be demonstrated by re-examining some aspects of the "Keep Jobs" campaign, this happens so frequently that other examples can easily be found. An important part of the campaign revolved around the mobilization of the

concept of community, which in turn was an attempt to create a social boundary around people, who under other circumstances would see as members of groups, distinct, politically and socially, from each other. This is particularly true of the union-managment cleavage, hence, these processes involving social boundaries can seen most clearly in the cases of labour disputes. A lengthy strike or shutdown, does not only affect the workers at the local level, as we have already documented in the "Keep Jobs" campaign: the economic viability of particularly the single industry towns is threatened by strikes. In these instances, the most frequent comment that one hears on the street deals with the strike/shutout and its general economic consequences. From the ethnographic record, these sentiments are perhaps expressed most eloquently through these editorials in the local papers.

COMMUNITY IS BRACED FOR A LENGTHY STRIKE

"Labor disputes have killed towns before and the head of the chamber of commerce here (Sparwood) says there's an underlying fear the same fate could befall Sparwood...."I've noticed a lack of confidence, said Chapman (local real estate agent) before if they had $100, they spent all of it. Now if they've got $100 in their pocket they spend whatever they have to for groceries and hang onto the rest because they don't know what's coming. The hardest hit by a lengthy dispute, she says, would be the small business community of Sparwood. Basically, the reason is that they just haven't got the resources to weather a storm, she explained. The smaller businesses usually go from month to month." (Daily Townsman, June 26, 1986)

"Matters at Westar's Balmer operation came to a head Tuesday, with the company making the decision to close the operation indefinitely.
At first glance, the dispute may seem limited to the company and 950 members of the United Mine Workers of

America. At closer range, however, it becomes obvious
the dispute affects us all in the East Kootenay.
Westar spends, on average, $1.4 million in the region
each week to buy supplies, according to their figures.
That's in addition to the $900,000 the company puts
into the weekly payroll. If one multiplies by three the
amount of money being pumped into the area by Westar
(the accepted spin-off formula) it becomes obvious that
their economic value to the area is approximately $6.9
million dollars.
With the shut down, that money will no longer be
circulating among East Kootenay businesses. Depending
on how long it takes both sides to reach an agreement,
which would put an end to the shutdown, that could
result in the loss of jobs in the area, something the
region is unable to afford....
While there is a lot to be said for the union's
position, one has to wonder at the responsibility of a
union that not only jeopardizes the jobs of its own
membership, but is willing to deprive the whole region
of a major employer because of its apparent
stubbornness...." (June 12, 1986)

"It is imperative that the union and the company
continue negotiating to reach a solution to the current
stalemate between them. The people who have invested

hope and money in Elkford businesses are still working
hard to maintain these services. Fording and the
Steelworkers should continue talking with the aim of
reducing their differences, not increasing them in a
waiting game to see who will call the other side's
bluff. This is a game of high stakes – at risk is the
reputation of a beautiful town, whose opportunities to
the entrepreneur seem endless." (Elk Valley Miner, July
6, 1983)

But, these same sentiments are expresed "on the street",

especially during a work stoppage, but even in general

conversation, as these excerpts from conversations attest:

"Did you hear the result of the strike vote? God, I
hope we don't have a strike this summer. I mean, I know
that it's a hard decision for the workers, but a strike
really hurts the whole community."

"Everytime there's a strike or even a strike vote in
this town, wallets close up and when that happens we're
all under the gun (independent businessman)."

"Its fine for the company when the workers go out,

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they've stockpiled lumber and they don't live here.
They really don't care about what happens to this place
or us."

What these editorials and the comments in the everyday

social life of such a place give testimony to are the common

interests of the unionized worker and those who also depend upon

his paycheck. While the usual union-management politics attends

to one important social boundary, when the economic viability of

the locality is demonstrated, another boundary arises, one in

which local members of both sides are brought together in a

shared goal. The "we" and "us" referred to in such comments are

more than just pronouns, they are the markers of a common

boundary based upon these shared interests. But, in the

creation of this new boundary, the old one is not erased. Again,

Wallman, makes this aspect of boundary process clear:

> [t]he new boundaries do not cancel out the old because
> they define systems of different levels. But they do
> not always apply to neatly separate
> relationships....But the lack of fit between lines of
> difference, real or perceived, gives the boundary
> system resilience of another kind. It gives the
> individual or the group room to manoeuvre its identiy
> and to shift its allegiance as changes of context or
> situation demand (1978:212).

Since such boundaries are not defined administratively or

legally in the way geographical boundaries are, we must search

for them in interaction. However, when their existence is tied

to interaction, it implies that this construction process is

situational; these boundaries are not rigid entities, but emerge

out of particular situations with specific actors, desired ends

and interactional sequences. In the process they are symbolized,

as in this case, by the notion of community, by the pronouns "we

and "us", which in turn define new criteria for membership in the group.

All the boundaries examined here are important in the everyday lives of the residents because the processes by which they are constructed include some commentary on the stakes individuals have in the locality in question. This is meaningful in places where economic precariouness, instability and transience imply a great deal of ambivalence about one's own commitment to a place, as one may leave, either voluntarily or involuntarily, as our example of the Keep Jobs in the Kootenays issue demonstrates. Taking up a public fight to stay and to fight for others to stay, as the campaign did, illustrated simultaneously commitment and the reality of hinterland status, that desire and commitment may not be enough when outside agencies have control over significant aspects of individual's lives.

By the same token, in these processes of boundary creation we can see that clear distinctions between self-interests and collective interests are not meaningful. These become enmeshed as people, both as individuals and groups pursue certain desired ends, and in so doing the relevance of community and locality to one another become apparent. It is at these boundaries, and in the essential political processes, that we see community being created out of and in response to locality, and the wider structural conditions within which the individual actors operate.

These same processes are often political processes in their

own right, or have political implications. Further, the politics involved in these is pervasive, forming a part of much of the interaction of everyday life in these places. Again, these processes figured prominantly in the "Keep Jobs" campaign. The political implications of all the events and actions can be read from a number of levels and ultimate goal, that of mobilizing community as a symbol, was in itself a political act as well as a tool for political ends, namely an attempt to change the company's decision to transfer the operators. Through the campaign, we see again, that hinterland status and the characteristics it engenders cannot be usefully separated from a discussion of local political processes.

Following on this argument, the processes by which the individual and collective goals, embedded in these perceptions of common interests, are pursued, are political. Political processes are part and parcel of the processes of differentiation when social boundaries are created.

To observe these concepts in action further, we can return to our discussion of voluntary organizations. In this instance, though, we shall examine how the resources, social contacts and the networks associated with them are mobilized for political ends. These provide another example of how one's self-interests are pursued through, and in conjuction with, others who share a common interest, for however long they may be there, in the locality. Studies of community power have demonstrated the importance of local organizations for political actors (D'Antonio and Form, 1961; Hayes et al, 1967; Perruci and

Pilisuk, 1970; Long and Slemko, 1974; Gold, 1975; Koch and
Labovitz, 1976; Brodie, 1985).

But the particular approach to politics utilized here, takes
its theoretical leads from the anthropological literature which
has emphasized that the essence of politics is to be found in
the processes of everyday life (Cohen, 1977; Comaroff, 1975;
Cohen and Comaroff, 1976; Paine, 1981). Cohen's (1977) ideas
concerning politics, power and legitimacy are most useful in
this context. Cohen (1977) suggests that politics is more
usefully approached as a phenomenon of everyday life rather than
the exclusive domain of governments, and other institutions and
actors associated with the formal political arena. Rather,
politics comprises "the processes involved in the unequal
distribution of valued social resources" (Wadel, 1977:183). In
this view of politics, considerable attention is paid:

> ... not to the fact of inequality... but to the
> processes involved in creating, maintaining and
> changing it. Among these, particular attention must be
> given to 'management' processes... in short... to
> affect the ways people perceive   and, therefore
> understand and react to situations (ibid.:184).

The management processes, according to Cohen, are made of
the crucial components of power and legitimation. Power is not
just an entity but a "resource of management", and legitimacy is
part of the political process rather than the "taken-for-
granted" dimension of certain roles and institutions as the more
common conceptualizations hold to be so:

> [t]o a great extent, politics is about the struggle for
> legitimacy, and this is manifestly true of the politics
> of everyday life....Legitimation thus lies at the root
> of much of the presentational and 'management' behavior

discussed earlier, for it too consists of the communication of a particular and selective view of the world which is favourable to the member who seeks legitimacy (ibid.:194).

Thus, politics pervades all levels of everyday life as well as what we consider to be the usual focus of politics, elected office.

We can now examine how individuals engage in these processes as part of their involvement in voluntary organizations and how, in turn these are related to the characteristics of hinterland status. This has also been demonstrated in the "Keep Jobs" campaign, the committee that organized and guided the event operated as a voluntary organization, which in turn depended upon both other individuals and voluntary organizations, to mobilize resources, material and non-material, in their attempt to achieve their ends. In non urban centres, it is still particularly important that a potential political candidate be known on a personal level. Since personal networks are still one of the more useful ways of ensuring that an individual is known, and influencing voting behavior, potential candidates often point to their extensive personal networks for this purpose[5] Membership in voluntary organizations provides a convenient vehicle for doing this.

In addition, given the transient nature of hinterland localities, it is difficult for anyone to gauge others' commitment to the place. The ability to demonstrate one's commitment then becomes a significant asset in his or her dealings with other residents. Again, the political payoff is

perhaps the most visible and the voluntary organization a convenient vehicle for just such a demonstration. The public perception of "having put in one's time" in the locality is generally desirable, it is a political resource of some significance. Therefore, on two counts, the voluntary organization is potentially useful for formal political ends. The following story and excerpts from newspaper advertisments for local political actors attest to this.

> This conversation takes place between myself, a friend, Don and a second friend from out of town, Steve. Our conversation revolves around local political issues and we're discussing potential candidates and Steve says "you know who'd be a good person to run, Linda (who is Don's and my friend, but who is not in the personal friendship group of Steve). I've met her on H Board and also on the G Board and I've been quite impressed. She's really well known because of her work on various organizations over the years and people realize how committed she is to this place." Later I approached another person and mentioned the idea that Linda might be a good candidate. He returns to me later with this comment: "You remember mentioning Linda as a candidate to me awhile ago, well at first my reaction was in this town, a woman! Well, I mentioned it to someone I knew I could trust wouldn't spread it around and the reaction was the same but once you get thinking about who it is, even though I can't say I really know her personally, people know her and the work she's done on the various community organizations."

> "I have lived and worked in the Cranbrook Area for the past ten years and during this time, have been actively involved in community affairs particularily through my participation in the Kinsmen Club of Cranbrook and lately, the Rotary Club."(Daily Townsman, November 16, 1982)

> "As a native of Cranbrook, married with two children and manager of Acklands, I have been involved in community work in Cranbrook for over twenty years and have particularly enjoyed the last two and one half years on council" (Daily Townsman, November 16, 1982)

Or conversely:

I had been contacted by a woman who knew that I had been involved in the last provincial election and particularly been involved in the initial stages prior to the candidate's nomination. She contacted me for information as to how to initiate the process of becoming a candidate and started her conversation with me by stating "I'm interested in running for office next time, but I've only lived here for two years and I know I don't have a public profile, do you think that I should get involved with municipal politics and how should I go about it?" As we chatted our conversation centred around volunteering in organization which would be suitable to her interests and knowledge and which would then lead into the political arena.

These comments and advertisements are quite typical and demonstrate very clearly the connection between individual strategies to achieve political ends and participation in local voluntary organizations.

The political processes identified above however, are those to be found in the formal political arena. But, these too, according to Wadel (1977), are social institutions within which very important but generally unrecognized work takes place, or as he has put it:

> ...the unpaid but "open" political work in western democracies is considerable: various estimates (e.g. Martinussen 1973) suggest that ten per cent or more of the adult population is so engaged at any one time (and at various levels of political life)...(1979:376).

Everyday life, though means that most political actions take place outside these formal arenas and involve all the population to some degree or another rather than just the public figures who get involved in formal politics. These "politics of everyday life" are also important and in these voluntary associations still may play a part. The following incident is illustrative and typical of the way this occurs:

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I was involved in a work meeting in which the chairman
of the division was both distributing information to
myself and my colleagues. At the end of the information
session, he requested of us that we let him know of the
things we were involved with outside of work. When
pressed about what kinds of things this would entail
and what would be the purpose of his knowing, he
replied "In our division, we don't blow our own horns
enough. Dave (chairman of another division) is always
telling the board members about all the things that
those people working in that division do for the
community. I know that we do those things too (and he
illustrates with a couple of examples) but I don't
always know about them so that I can mention them to
the board members. When Dave does, the board members
are sure to think that division is contributing more to
our public image than we are."

This account demonstrates how participation in voluntary

organizations becomes a part of the internal politics of this

particular workplace and as such, part of the politics and

strategies of everyday life of its employees.

The evaluation of others and the development and maintenance

of public reputations, while obviously part of the political

strategies referred to above, is another aspect of the link

between individual self-interest and participation in voluntary

organization which can be examined in its own right. This series

of letters to the editor of the local paper can be read for how

these local processes of evaluation and public reputation

operate and particularly the role of participation in voluntary

organizations for these ends.

CANADA'S BIRTHDAY IGNORED

"To the editor:
I've got to tell you that I'm really furious about the
July 1st celebration that we did not have this year.
Where has our patriotism gone? Cranbrook Mayor Jensen
seems to imply that the B.C. Summer Games and his lawns
are more important than a national holiday? Egads!
Where's his patriotism? He is apparently afraid that

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someone will step on the grass... well, even if someone had, how drastic could it have been and ...there would then be a perfect opportunity for the city to hire a couple of students to fix it in the next couple of weeks. And do you actually mean to tell the public Mr. Mayor, that it was impractical and not-worth-the-hassle to march a band down Baker street or shoot off some fireworks in the public works yard? I never even heard a 21-gun salute! And, Sam Steele Sweethearts...were you visiting seniors and hospitals this year passing out flags and good wishes as last year...I have not heard this...or are you all in training for the Summer Games, too? Afterall (sic)...I hear it will be televised.
I really don't have anything against the Summer Games...I have even donated-volunteered some of my time for an event of sorts...but Canada is my country and Canada should at least be saluted or something...."

Yours
Bonnie Kelly
Cranbrook
(Daily Townsman, July 8, 1986)

CELEBRATION COMES NATURAL

"To the editor:
In reference to Canada's Birthday being ignored July 8.
It is unfortunate that some people in Cranbrook have to rely on the same few community minded individuals (now overly busy with the summer games) to organize events in the area.
If they put as much effort into volunteering and initiating events as they do criticizing, maybe we would all have a chance to sit back and enjoy...."
Sincerely
Katherine Stewart
B.C. Canada Day Committee
(Daily Townsman, July 14, 1986)

WRITER INVOLVED IN THE COMMUNITY

"To the editor:
I see that my letter regarding Cranbrook's ignoral (sic) of Canada Day has caused some people to come out of hiding! The Chairman of the B.C. Canada Day Committee has taken offence, I think. Well, my reply to her would be, who is she and, with a title like that, where was she on July 1st? Is she a 'volunteer'

chairman or does she get paid for the job she does not do?

Ms. Stewart's note suggests that a very few people actually get involved in such events. Generally, I would agree, but, of late I could not. How many thousand people volunteered for the B.C. Summer Games, and in how many capacities (organizing included)? I think the people of Cranbrook have absolutely outdone themselves in this regard. Hooray!

Or, perhaps, Ms. Stewart was suggesting to me that I was one of the many who chooses to sit on their laurels and complain about the community rather than get involved in it. I did not think, at the time of writing my first letter, that it was also necessary to also send a resume along with it. However, for this person (and the community members that may agree with her) I should like to point out that I am very, very involved in community charity events.

For two years running, I have produced and directed the Annual Cranbrook and District Hospital Amateur Talent Shows, and the annual Hospital Olympics! This year I produced and directed the Sam Steele Musical Revue for the Cranbrook Community Theatre. I am entertaining with the B.C. Talent Showcase at Expo for the B.C. Rockies Week next week, and have also done so at the B.C. Summer Games, Sunday in the Park. I am a new member of the Board of Directors of the Cranbrook Community Theatre and in 1984-1985 did some volunteer work with young offenders. Please note: these are all non-profit organizations or benefit shows! (Entertainers for the B.C. Showcase are not paid, but do so out of a sense of pride and patriotism for their region, their province and for Canada). If more examples of volunteer involvement would be of interest, same could be provided. And please note: I also have a full time job....

Yours truly
Bonnie Kelly
Cranbrook
(Daily Townsman, July 17, 1986)

In these letters, we see the perceptions about one's involvement in voluntary organization and the particular way involvement is read by others. What starts off simply enough about the lack of celebration of Canada Day, sparks off accusations about the number of people who commit themselves to the community and a spirited defense of her involvement by the

initial writer. Participation in the voluntary organizations and community events mark observable differences in the resident population. It also gives rise to evaluations and reputations on the part of others as they interact with one another, in person or in this case through the paper.

What this incident further illustrates is that the ability to demonstrate "public service" through participation in voluntary organizations is used as a resource by individuals in their day-to-day interactions with others. It then can be mobilized when the particular strategy that the individual utilizes when the appropriate circumstance arises as this newspaper debate illustrates.

The political processes as they have been examined here though, are far more detailed from the perspective of the local arena than any such analysis from the more traditional political economy approaches to the hinterland. In the same vein, the local distinctions made between various groups and individuals locally, including social class, indicate that the different interests which are tied to these distinctions have significance for the residents and shape their impressions of others and their behavior vis-a-vis one another. Common interests and joint action have to be fashioned out of interaction with a clear eye to these differences.

The self-interest that is involved in this should not be taken lightly, for the creation and taking of such roles is important for defining membership into groups. The resources of the group, as well as the rewards of the status, are made

available by group membership. This is obviously best seen in terms of the political advantage that is entailed as many of the examples demonstrated, but it is by no means the only one. Economic advantage, reputations and support networks are others.

The foregoing discussion has also attempted to document some of the major processes which incorporate both individual and collective ends along with official mandates which are a part of all formal organizations. People get involved in organizations to make friends, to meet friends and to integrate themselves and make a place for themselves. Their involvement also allows them to gain public reputations and to mobilize the resources, both material and social for their own political ends. All things occur simultaneously in the interaction between the residents of these localities. Their actions, at one and the same time, address particular individual interests and meet collective goals; they are part of the integration process and entail one's membership in particular groupings, but they are also political in nature as the resources involved are mobilized in the competitive manner which is part and parcel of these same processes. Taken together, the creation of common interests and joint action, or the creation of social boundaries, are also the mechanism for differentiation at the local level. Finally, all these processes must be set in the context of hinterland status, for it is important to emphasize that all these aspects be addressed together, or as Keesing has chosen to put it:

> An analysis of politics must be rooted in historic realities of control over resources and means of

production. Analysis of individual choices and strategies must be set within a framework of class analysis, which tells us why individual actors have different values, different interests, and different capacities. But a doctrinaire Marxist analysis does not deal with individual choices at all, but reifies abstractions such as "the ruling class" into causal agents—as if "it" had motives, made decisions, and invented and used ideologies. We need to stay close to the realities of humans choosing and acting. But at the same time, we need to understand the forces that shape their action (1981:295).

The notions of work and politics as outlined by Wadel (1977, 1979); the concept of role and social boundaries as conceived of by Hannerz (1981) and Wallman (1978) have all provided some important conceptual tools for the purpose of answering (in this chapter) some specific questions about some strategies of living in hinterland localities. In addition, they have been useful in providing some theoretical guidance, as we have attempted to get beyond the structural limitations imposed on understanding a place like Cranbrook and more specifically, the everyday lives of the people who live here, which have come from the more traditional theoretical approaches to hinterland localities. From both a theoretical and methodological point of view, the questions posed by this research and an understanding of such situations as the Keep Jobs in the Kootenay issue, could not be adequately addressed within the framework of political economy. At the same time, if we lose sight of the fact that such places are hinterlands, and as such are part and parcel of all that affects them in such a relationship, as is often the case with the more traditional approaches to community, again, the

questions raised here would present some problems. As this issue demonstrates, the "inside" and the "outside" have to be made relevant to one another. We do have to distinquish between locality and community, but we must also understand their interrelationships in given situations. Again, by approaching the problem through an ethnography of hinterland communities we are able to weave these various elements together.

While the discussion here has centred on the individual strategies associated with living and making a living in both the material and cultural sense there has also been another leitmotiv; that is, the insecurity (in both the individual and collective sense), population transience and political and economic marginality associated with hinterland status. These consequences of living in a hinterland are attended to in the interaction at the local level. This theme will be examined in the next chapter with specific reference to how these condition local perceptions about the nature of such places in general, and about their own in particular. The hinterland status which gives rise to these conditions also leads to perceptions of inferiority, ambivalence and concern about individual commitment to place, which is often identified as fundamental to community. But in examining these issues, we must again pay attention to and be aware of both the outside world that defines to a large extent these conditions, and the inside world of local perceptions, individual action and the meanings which guide that action.

1. The centrality of paid employment not only for economic
    survival, but indeed for the maintenance of one's sense of
    self esteem has been the subject of much research into the
    effects of unemployment. As a result, there has been a
    marked tendency to treat all work as only paid employment.

2. The particular role that women play with regard to
    integration and the specific constraints they operate under
    given that it is most often their opportunities that are
    sacrificed for their husband's careers or job opportunities,
    is an area in which more research attention could be
    directed. For a more extensive discussion of the postion of
    women in resource based localities and in particular the
    East Kootenay region, I direct the reader to Jamieson and
    McLaren (1983) and Langin (1981). As well, for more
    discussion of the treatment of women in community studies
    more generally see Jacobson (1982).

3. There is significant research possibilities indicated in
    exploring the scope, functions and uses of voluntary
    organizations and church organization in complex society,
    following up on other anthropological work. While
    recognizing this and limiting the discussion here to the
    particular aspects of voluntary organizations that reflect
    individual strategies and their connection to hinterland
    status, these other areas of interest are beyond the scope
    of this research.

4. These responses are taken from a questionnaire I distributed
    to the executive members of all the voluntary associations.
    The question that I asked was specifically, "Why are you
    involved with this organization?" There were other responses
    as well but these were the most prevalent and where
    individuals indicated more than one reason, this response or
    one like it were first on their list.

5. This is not to say that one first has to have a political
    motive in extending these networks, but rather, as either a
    conscious tool or an attractive attribute of a potential
    candidate, this is then taken into account in the political
    process by the political actors. One's commitment to the
    locality can lead one both to involvement in voluntary
    organizations and to have political aspirations.

CHAPTER SIX

"If you're so good, why are you here?"

In addition to the changes in work and mode of subsistence that came with industrialism, other aspects of social structure also underwent change. Although cities had existed prior to the industrial revolution, it was the social and material technology of the industrial revolution which allowed a society to become predominantly urban. Cities became bigger, and for the first time more people would have specialized non-food-producing jobs. The combination of industrialism, urbanization and a market economy were dependent upon and affected by each other. These were to have significant effects on the everyday life of people living in such societies. The metropolitan centres continued, as they had in the past, to be the site of political and economic institutions, which conditioned the power relationships between cities and resource hinterlands.

But in addition, in predominently urban societies, the combined effects of greater population and larger more specialized institutions in all sectors of the social structure gave rise to a "world view" which was increasingly that of the urban environment. This "world view" is promulgated throughout the society in such a way that the non- urban lifestyle has increasingly been seen to be second rate. This, in turn, gives rise to a sense of inferiority associated with living outside metropolitan centres.

Despite these perceptions of inferiority, small town life has been depicted in a romantic image as places where friendliness and human values prevail. This has been one of the legacies of classical approaches to community. It was in community, as opposed to society, according to this approach, that human values and kinship and friendship ties were pre-eminent. Society, on the other hand, was characterized as social organization based on secondary relationships, self-interest, and impersonality. Wirth's (1938) now famous, or imfamous, article on urbanism, perhaps represents this particular view best. At the same time, though, it is just as commonly asserted that these same places are characterized by narrow minded and conservative attitudes on the part of the inhabitants, and by the use of gossip and back-biting as a tool of social control.

Paradoxically, these two images of non-urban places are often held simultaneously, and by both urbanites and non-urbanites alike. For example, Vidich and Bensman (1968) found in their study of Springfield that village residents were perceived as hard working honest folk with down to earth common sense and, on the other hand, as being petty and parochial. The ambivalence that is suggested in this popular image of life in small towns and village can also be seen in a number of the academic works which describe life in particular Canadian towns (Bennett, 1969; Gold 1975; Cohen 1975; and Stymeist 1975, among others).

The inherent ambivalence associated with people's perceptions of life in non-urban centres can be accounted for by relationships they have with the wider social system. These

perceptions, however, are not simply descriptions, but reflections of the meanings that individual actors assign to the conditions of their everyday life, and in light of which they interpret the actions of others. It is in this context that we can begin to understand the ambivalence which characterizes these perceptions. First, though, these statements about the nature of the place in question must be seen as part of the process of developing and maintaining a public identity. Just as self-identity is part of a social process involving the actions and perceptions of an individual in interaction with others, so too is public identity.

In the case of public identity in hinterland localities, the structural conditions of economic precariousness, political marginality and population transience figure large in the way this identity is shaped. This marginality is built into the perceptions of localities which have resource based economies. Only the work of Cohen (1974) deals directly with public identity and marginality. However, a significant literature deals with stigma and self-identity, notably the work of Goffman (1959, 1963), and the marginality of certain ethnic or racial groups in towns and cities (Suttles, 1968; Hannerz, 1969; Braroe, 1975; Koster, 1977 and Sansom, 1980;). These too are useful for developing a conceptual framework for examining public identity, which is constructed under conditions of marginality.

Central to the approaches of both private and public identity linked to conditions of stigmatization is the idea that

those experiencing stigmatization do not simply passively accept these evaluations by others. Rather they view the process as being more complex and one in which the stigmatized individuals or groups act upon and respond to these evaluations. Thus in their interaction with others, they reflect this marginality, and employ particular strategies to deal with the situation, to make their own actions meaningful, and to achieve certain interests despite these adverse conditions. There is, then, implied in this, a process of construction, bargaining and negotiating; an element of strategic action, which we have argued accompanies much of the interaction we have been examining, but in these cases the experience of marginality is incorporated into the interaction between individuals. This is as true of the processes in marginal localities as it is true of disadvantaged cultural groups and stigmatized individuals. In this way, these particular strategies not only reflect the negative perceptions of the hinterland lifestyle, but at the same time resolve, at least temporarily, the marginality both in fact, and in social experience.

The actual conditions of this marginality have already been described; however, there are other dimensions which have not been as explictly stated. These perceptions of inferiority associated with the lifestyle of hinterland localities leads to a sense of ambiguity about one's own and others' everyday lives as they live and make a living in these places. This, in turn, underlies some of the evaluations that are made of the lifestyle in general and those who live in these places even by those who

inhabit such places themselves.

Despite the negativity associated with this ambiguity, most people attempt to make their lives meaningful and attribute considerable worth to the place they live, as well as to those with whom they share residence. Thus, along with the ambiguity and marginality, there is, at the same time, commitment and a sense of belonging. Along with this sense of belonging there is a shared local culture and the development of important social relationships among the residents of hinterland localities. To further our understanding of how residents of hinterlands attempt to deal with the insecurity, the precariousness, and the marginality of living on the periphery of urban industrial societies, and at the same time demonstrate this sense of belonging, much can be gleaned from Cohen's (1982) edited work on the rural cultures of Great Britain.

His work presents an anthropological perspective on British hinterlands, offering a great deal of theoretical insight on the way residents of these places reflect their marginality with respect to the wider society, along with a sense of belonging rooted in their traditional culture. The places that Cohen et al. examined had (and still do have to some extent) a firmly entrenched local culture which was based on a relatively self-sufficient and autonomous past prior to their incorporation into British society. This is not the case in B.C. hinterlands; they came into being, as has been noted, under the forces of industrialism. Despite this difference between the hinterland locales discussed here and those studied by Cohen and his

colleagues, the insights are still valuable, for they focus on the way in which outside forces inform action at the local level and the way it is translated and made meaningful in terms of the residents' everyday lives and the strategies they employ to live and make a living there. As he states:

> All the communities reported here see themselves as being under a threat of some kind: from unemployment and expropriation; from out-migration and diminishing resources and an aging population; from religious antagonism; from commuters. They respond by making the elements of their social organization and process ideological statements- condensations- of the whole and, thereby, emphasizing the tightly structured intricacy of local social life (ibid.:7).

As this reference indicates, hinterland status is part of the reality of the everyday lives of these people, just as it is in the ethnography presented here. In focussing on the relationship between identity or belonging and social organization in such places, these works have emphasized that these processes must be viewed from the point of view of the people who reside there. This is done by paying attention to the everyday activities of these people:

> I would suggest that this experience occurs most frequently in the context of rather mundane circumstances: how to evaluate your neighbour's work in making a wheelbarrow; where, and in which tidal conditions, to fish for particular species, when to cut hay; and how to tell a yarn. Mundane they may be, but they provide the dynamics in a community's social process (Ibid.:6).

At the same time, these works do not lose sight of the connections these places have with the urban industrial nation state, Great Britain. Or, in Cohen's words:

> Peripherality does not have to be understood in geographical terms alone, but could include marginality

as well. It is not defined by simple objective
criteria, but can also be a state of mind.
Peripherality, marginality, can be collective self-
images, informing and informed by a community's
perception of its ability to affect the course of
events- even to affect its own destiny. It is often
expressed econmincally in dependence upon very limited
exploitable resources and competitive disadvantage. It
is expressed politically in dependence upon centralised
patronage, and in a consequent resentment which
stresses the locality's view of itself as
misunderstood, powerless, misrepresented, exploited,
ignored or patronised (Ibid.: 6-7).

All of this indicates that identity and belonging and the

perceptions of community character in the hinterlands are all

part of the overall processes of everyday life in these places,

and as such both reflect and mitigate the effects of

precariousness, insecurity and marginality. The local responses

to these concerns are what is of interest here.

In particular, we shall look to the ethnographic material to

demonstrate again those strategies of living in hinterland

localities, which can be linked to the issues raised here. It is

important to keep in mind that these are not all the strategies

used by residents of hinterland localities, but rather those

selected for the way in which they support the analysis

developed here. Perhaps, it is also important to reiterate that

the ethnography as well is selective in terms of the people who

are represented. Not all members of hinterland localities are

equally concerned about these processes of evaluation and not

all have access to the social and symbolic resources identified

in this research which are used to manage such perceptions even

if they desire to do so. In fact, it is here that we note once

again the way in which class differences at the local level are

noticeable. The concerns of public evaluation and identity and the resources necessary to manipulate them are fundamentally part of the middle class in hinterland localities and in particular that of the professional and independent businessman. The ethnography will, along with identifying the processes involved, demonstrate for whom these are important elements of their everyday lives and among whom these particular strategies can be employed. In illustrating these we will look specifically at the expressions of ambivalence about the locality, about the lifestyle and even about each other and local boosterism, as they relate to the conditions of hinterland status, namely precariousness and ambivalence, and the strategies to ensure their own selfinterests in the locality and, more generally, the survival of the locality. Some of these perceptions though are more commonly held by the residents of hinterland localities and their urban counterparts more generally. It is to this we first turn our attention.

Much of the ambivalence about the lifestyle associated with hinterlands can be attributed to the sense of inferiority and marginality discussed earlier. That these perceptions exist can be clearly seen in media reports, literature, popular culture, and the everyday conversations of people both within and outside the city. The following excerpts are representative of the types of comments one frequently hears in reference to the non-urban locality:

> "As one of those who has followed Mr. Bennett from his
> <u>backwater</u> business career to leader of the government

of British Columbia..." (editorial, <u>Vancouver</u> <u>Sun</u>, February 4, 1982)

"In this <u>remote</u> part of British Columbia, residents are concerned about the possible contamination of their watershed in the proposed pesticide spraying program" (CBC radio news report, May 14, 1985)

"The final decision about whether to start the election machine won't be made until Mr. Bennett returns from his mood-testing foray into the outback (yesterday he was in the East Kootenay)." (editorial, <u>Vancouver</u> <u>Sun</u>, February 22, 1983)

"I'm from Vancouver so I used to think this way myself," admits Meredith Woodward, artistic director of Theatre Energy in Nelson. "But people in the Lower Mainland tend to look down their noses at the Kootenays. They say if it's worthwhile, it's happening in Vancouver, and that can mean trouble getting money for what we want to do." (<u>Vancouver</u> <u>Sun</u>, March 29, 1983)

(The first of the following references is a joke told to me by an urban acquaintance and the second is a joke told to me by a resident of Elkford)
"What is the difference between Cranbrook and yogurt? Yogurt has a living culture"
"Life in Vancouver is life in the fast lane, life in Cranbrook is life in the slow lane and life in Elkford is life on the off ramp."

(An acquaintance of mine who has lived in Cranbrook for twenty-six years related the following story to me)
"When I moved from Vancouver to Cranbrook, my aunt Cecily in Vancouver asked me how I liked it here. Twenty six years later, she still says to me on occasion "now dear, do you like living in Cranbrook?"

(Over my years of fieldwork, I've heard the following labels applied to the region in almost every context I've encountered and by both urban and regional contacts)
"the boonies", "in the bush", "in the outback", "the backwash" and "its not the end of the world, but you can see it from here".

The fact that these types of comments are common and can be heard from any member of our society, including those who live in these places, indicates that the sense of inferiority that is

implied is widely shared within the society. That this is the case reflects the dominance in both a structural and cultural sense of cities in industrial societies.

Borrowing from those who have examined the way in which stigmatised individuals and groups within a dominant society develop strategies to cope with stigmatization and manage interaction with others in light of their stigma, Cohen (1974) explicated the way in which the social structure of a Newfoundland community reflected these processes. He suggested that the marginality associated with life in the periphery of industrial urban societies is reflected at the local level and affects much of the local social structure. In his case, he saw that the ambivalence associated with the situation gave rise to two competing groups of local leaders, one of which responded to the perceived inferiority by emphasizing and making virtuous the traditional local culture. The other group proposed ways for the community to become "progressive" or to become more like the more dominant economic and political centres. These ideas are useful in this research as a way of understanding the inherent contradictions which are a part of perceptions residents of hinterland communities have of their locality, themselves, and others who live there.

In order to analyze these perceptions and the ambivalence which characterizes them, we must again look to the ethnographic accounts, for it is here, in conversations with others, in news reports and in the myriad of documents which project community that we find these perceptions. By describing the contexts

within which they occur, we can begin to analyze their nature and role in the strategies of everday life in hinterland communities.

Possibly, the single most common area in which the ambivalent perception of hinterland localities is given expression is in the comparison between the relative material, cultural and social advantages of the city over the non-urban centre. This comparison effects, first and foremost, the perception one has of his ability to raise and provide for his children. The following conversation is representative of the ambivalence felt by residents in this regard.

> The conversation was between myself and an older woman, "Martha" who had children who grew up in Golden but who have since moved away, one daughter "Colleen" has a family of her own and lives in a city, another daughter, "Penny" is single and lives in a city as well. A third woman, "Judy" joins the conversation. She is younger than Martha and has more recently moved to Golden with her husband and a 12 year old son. Previously, they had spent a year in Denver, Colorado. The conversation starts as a I ask Martha what she thinks about living in Golden. Martha begins by describing the lack of specialized services available and by way of illustration says "My daughter Colleen lives in the city and she has the advantage of having gynecologists, and pediatricians and orthodontists for her children. There's a university there and although it may be twenty years before her children will need it, it's there. My daughter Penny just phoned and she and a friend are going to a ballet tonight." Judy has joined us in the meantime and although she doesn't say anything at this point she nods her head in agreement with what Martha is saying. The conversation continues in this same vein, identifying the shortcomings of the lifestyle offered in non-urban settings. I, then ask if there is anything good about living in a small town such as Golden. Martha immediately replies "its a good place to bring up kids. They can go wherever they want and you don't have to drive them. We had to pick up our daughter only once and that was when she was working at a concession past midnight." Judy now contributes to the conversation. Jon (her 12 year old son) was used to

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living in Denver where they have something like the
third highest crime rate and everything had to be taken
in at night or it wouldn't be there in the morning.
"Mind you, he's having some trouble finding things to
do here, there just aren't the things to do that there
are in Denver". Martha says "On the other hand, when my
son was growing up, he was involved in everything, he
was hardly ever at home. Judy responds "I'm sure after
he's been here awhile he'll be just as busy, but with
better things than hanging around the corner playing
pinball."

The ambivalence expressed is quite clear, "its a place that
lacks all kinds of opportunities and advantages for kids" but
"it's a great place to bring up kids."

While on the one hand, Martha and Judy readily acknowledge.
in their conversation the material and cultural disadvantage
which comes from hinterland status, the conversation also
provides a strategy for managing the sense of inferiority which
accompanies it, that is, to reinforce with one another and
myself the other side of the coin. The disadvantage is turned
into an advantage by putting forth the view that "kids are safe
here", safe from the effects of crime in particular.

The comparisons between life in the city and that of the
non-urban centre that emerge in the stereotype of the country
"hick" are also characterized by paradoxical perceptions. It is
with considerable vehemence that the residents of non-urban
centres take exception to the view that because they happen to
live in such places that they are unsophisticated and lack the
urban dweller's knowledge of and appreciation for arts, culture
and cosmopolitan attitudes in general. Many items in everyday
conversations reflect this view and repudiate the "country hick"
stereotype. While these statements seem to hold true for the

other residents, as well as the speaker, it is quite common to

find in specific contexts, like the following, the speaker

distance himself or herself from the stereotype, but willing to

concede that the perception may, in fact, be accurate in the

case of most other people living there.

> This is an excerpt of a conversation between myself a
> woman who moved to town from an urban centre three
> years ago. She has a daughter who is interested in jazz
> and classical dance and considers herself quite
> knowledgeable about this art form. A few days before
> this conversation a dance troupe sponsored by the
> government had come through town. "Susan" describes the
> event this way. "I left halfway through, it was just
> ugly. I don't know why the government is doing this, if
> they want to encourage cultural events outside the
> city, why do they send us this garbage? Maybe a lot of
> people here don't know a lot about dance but some of us
> do and I just won't take that kind of garbage."

Susan is telling us a number of things in this excerpt from

a conversation. She is telling us something about the different

levels of opportunity between the urban and the non-urban

centre, but in addition she is simultaneously making a statement

about the commonly held perception of the non-urbanite as

someone who would not "know" good dance from "garbage". While

she quite vehemently rejects this perception on her own behalf,

she's not at all certain that the stereotype may not be true of

the other members of the locality, "maybe a lot of people here

don't know about dance." A couple of conversations serve to

illustrate this further, in both of these cases the conversation

involves a perception that the city dweller is more likely to

be more critical of information that is given to him, the

implication being that this is not the case with the residents

here.

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This conversation is between two professional people, one an educator and journalist and the other a journalist. The topic was the previous evening's meeting with the members of the Sager Commission on education in B.C. The journalist had given a run down of the meeting and had indicated that many of the community members who had appeared at the commission had been "snowed" by the commission members.1 He ends his evaluation with the statement "He (Sager) never would have gotten away with saying things like that on the coast.... Wait until they move into the city and the vultures are in wait."

An acquaintance is complaining to me about the fact that, on the editorial page of the local newspaper, commentaries by members of the Fraser Institute are often taken for being news reports rather than editorials and she says "I think that they think the readers of these papers are not very sophisticated. They'd never get away with that in Vancouver."

These two conversations, like the previous ones revolve around the perception that non-urban residents lack both the sophistication and superior and critical knowledge base of the urbanite. Each speaker's comments represent a denial of the stereotype in his own case. However, at the same time, they express a recognition that the negative image is true of many, if not most, of the other residents.

Here, again, we find the interaction taking account of two contradictory aspects of living in a hinterland. One, is the widespread and commonly disseminated view that those who live in such places are viewed as lacking in sophistication and the knowledge valued in an urban context. Individuals, on the other hand, do not readily accept such views of themselves. This is particularly true for middle-class residents, for whom the negative connotations concerning their knowledge and sophistication is more fundamentally a part of their self-

identity. The ambivalence that is expressed in these
interchanges then, on one hand, accepts the view of the
hinterland promulgated from the dominant urban perceptions. As
such, these are difficult to discount when perceptions and
attitudes of the dominant society are so powerful. While at the
same time these comments inform the other individuals with whom
one is interacting that he is an exception to this rule, thus
safeguarding his or her self-image.

While the comparison between the relative advantages of the
city and its residents over the non metropolitan centre and its
residents is one of the most common areas, almost as common is a
certain amount of ambivalence over the "friendly" nature of
small localities. The following examples serve to show how this
central virtue of small town living is often negated by
individuals who quite openly accept that the main advantage of
living in a small place is the friendly relationships.

> The first conversation of this type is between myself
> and a middle-aged man who was born and raised in
> Creston and Cranbrook, then moved away for university
> and a career. He had at the time of the conversation
> just moved back to Cranbrook. I asked him why he
> returned. He responded "We wanted to move back to a
> smaller community for a long time. I've always loved
> this area, the physical setting is just beautiful and
> we've come to a time in our lives where we want a
> lifestyle which emphasizes human qualities." Later in
> the same conversation we were discussing the
> differences between Cranbrook and Kimberley and he
> states "Cranbrook is really hard to fit into, we prefer
> to go to Kimberley, the people there readily accept you
> into their activities. In fact, I've found the streets
> of New York friendlier than Cranbrook."

The following conversation between myself and a woman who
has, on a number of occasions, indicated that one of the best

things about living in a small town is the fact that you can get

to know everyone and everyone is so friendly, illustrates this

further.

> "I don't play games, you know the kind that go on in
> a town like this. Like there's this doctor's wife who
> blacklisted people that she didn't think were good
> enough for them."

Similarly, residents often indicate that smaller places have

greater "community spirit" than cities. While this perception of

"community spirit" is exceptionally complex, one of its frequent

characterisitics is the observation that people work together
for the common good.[2] While no one expects that this means every

member of the locality, the implication is that the greater the

number of people the greater the "community spirit". However, as

is evidenced in the following example, ambivalence is often

expressed in this regard.

> I am having a conversation with a woman who was born
> and raised in Golden and who has worked for the
> community in a variety of roles, and in fact her name
> was given to me on numerous occasions in the course of
> my fieldwork there on the basis of her knowledge about
> the community. Early in our discussion she tells me "a
> few people move away and only then appreciate the small
> size and personal atmosphere. We have a lot of
> community spirit, and people recognize that by working
> together we can get the things we need and want." Later
> in the conversation we were discussing the preparations
> for the upcoming "Homecoming" that was being planned
> for Golden and she says "We did have a problem a little
> while ago between ----- and ----- (two well known
> community groups). In a small town a lot of petty
> things arise and it seems that although a lot of people
> enjoy the benefits only a few people are willing to
> work."

As is clear in this conversation, this woman, like many

others who live in hinterland localities, holds simultaneously

the view that the smaller the place the greater the degree of

personal relationships and community spirit and the view that "petty" things arise in small towns and a few people end up doing most of the community work. The perceptions about gossip in the locality illustrate this same ambivalence. Again, one of the most common statements about life in a small town is that it operates on a human scale and that primary relationships dominate. On the other hand, people often complain about the amount of gossip that goes on in these places! So once again we see that the same conditions can be perceived simultaneously as both virtuous and problematic.

Another aspect of life outside urban centres which also tends to draw out these same contradictory perceptions revolves around the idea that professional and career advancement is set in urban centres. And it is here that once again, we notice that the processes themselves and the individuals involved are typically professionals and career oriented individuals for whom these perceptions will have the greatest impact. Hence, they are a part of the interaction that goes on among these groups in hinterland localities. Common knowledge has it that in urban industrial societies, professional and career opportunities are greatest in the cities, and as a result they will draw "the best" by way of personnel. The collorary is also commonly held and that is the perception that any professional and typically career oriented occupation in the hinterland draws "second best" or, as I have coined the phrase for this phenomenon, "if you're so good, why are you here?" This perception is widely shared and perhaps even more so by professional or career people who

themselves have chosen to live here and who don't consider

themselves "second best", but when confronted with someone else

who makes this choice, the automatic question is "what is wrong

with him?" The following conversations are typical of this:

> This conversation is between myself and another
> professional in Cranbrook. This man was born in the
> region and returned after his professional training
> because "I really like this area and felt that I could
> do well here, and in fact I did better than I
> originally anticipated." At the time of this
> conversation, I had just been introduced to this man
> and he had no personal information about my
> aspirations, lifestyle or ambitions. However, on the
> basis of my professional background that I had just
> given him, that is, that I was working on my Ph.D, he
> commented "You're not going to get a Ph.D and stay in
> Cranbrook."
>
> Another time I found myself in conversation with a man
> who had applied for the job of town clerk, which is a
> relatively good job by local standards. I had asked him
> about how he had fared with his application and he
> responded "A guy from Penticton got the job. He's
> moving here from Penticton, that tells you there's
> something the matter with him."
>
> Another conversation took place between myself and
> another college professional and revolved around a new
> faculty member who had been hired the day before and my
> colleague had come to tell me the fellow had accepted
> the job. I asked about his background. "Wayne" answered
> "He was teaching part-time at the University of Alberta
> and had a full time job, but he wanted to get out of
> the city, saw our ad and the rest is history. He's got
> really good credentials. Can you imagine, I don't know
> what the hell is wrong with him!"

As previously demonstrated, these conversations entail the

underlying perceptions of inferiority attached to life, and in

these cases especially professional life, in the hinterlands.

The statements, though, are made by people who for the most part

have chosen for either personal or professional reasons or both

to work and live here. They have, by their own standards and

those of their colleagues, done their jobs well; however, new people making these same choices are viewed most skeptically in terms of their professional standards.

Inherent in these perceptions is the ambivalence which comes as a result of managing two attitudes which have a discrepancy between them, one the prevailing wisdom that all members of a given culture are socialized to and accept, and the other the reluctance to accept a negative evaluation of oneself as a result of one's membership in a given group. The standard by which professional competence is judged in predominantly urban societies is that the opportunities for advancement offered by cities will ensure that the most able practitioners are there. Individuals, on the other hand, tend to evaluate their own behavior as competent. The resulting ambivalence comes through in their evaluation of others' professional standards.

In these conversations, a pattern emerges in which statements concerning life in small towns, whether in the context of its own virtues or in comparison with urban centres, is negated by later statements. The frequency with which this occurs, and the centrality of the perceptions expressed in the statements to the individual community and lifestyle seem to indicate that this is not simply idle chatter, but in fact constitutes some integral interactional strategies for the actor and further serve to define the situation for those involved in the interchange.

Thus the members of the localities of the East Kootenays, like those in Newfoundland in relationship to dominant Canadian

values, like urban ghetto-dwellers to mainstream culture, and those exhibiting "bodily evidence of disgrace" to "normals", develop strategies for managing the marginality and discredited lifestyle which results from their relationship with the wider society. In this instance, however, unlike the Newfoundland case, the two value systems were not just posited by two distinctly different groups competing for legitimacy within the local political sphere (although this occurs as well); rather, the two value systems are often held concurrently by hinterland residents.

Therefore, at one level of analysis, the ambivalence reflects local strategies for the management of public identity in the face of structural inequality within a wider social system. At the same time it reflects certain processes of social interaction in which one negates certain negative implications of his own behavior inherent in the widespread perceptions. Also incorporated into these processes are positive evaluations about the place and people who live there, which are negotiated and communicated in the interaction. In the positive evaluations of their own and collective lifestyle, residents are creating and reinforcing a sense of worthiness and righteousness. "Friendliness", "community spirit", "being a good place to raise kids", and "sophistication and professional standards" are assessed positively and by one's statements to this effect actors include themselves and those he or she refers to in a "moral community" which serves to reinforce the positive perceptions.

The ambivalence embedded in the perceptions ensures that actors engaged in such an exercise have a flexible set of perceptions which would allow for some shared (or agreed upon) definition to emerge. Hence it is readily expandable and capable of incorporating a relatively wide variety of individuals with different degrees of "knowledge" about the locality and different self-interests. And all these aspects, self-interests, strategies for coping with marginality and shared definitions and meanings occur within the normal day-to-day activities of the individuals who reside in these places, characterized as they are by transience and marginality. Through this, they make sense of their circumstances and guide their behavior vis-a-vis others.

If the sense of inferiority associated with living in a non-urban locality conditions perceptions of ambivalence about the opportunities and lifestyles of those who live there, then there is yet one other element of behavior in the hinterlands that comes about as a result of these same circumstances and similarly portrays perceptions of community character.

There are in hinterland localities many examples of boosterism that are expressed in particular agencies, local publications and in political forums and the local newspaper. The purpose of this is, as was true in the past in the townsite boomer, to "sell the locality". The contemporary boosterism is perhaps more sedate than that which was reported earlier in the case of the townsite boomer, but the reasons for engaging in it and the perceived importance of such activities to these

localities are still the same as a hundred years ago. In this activity, the connection to the local independent businessman cannot be missed. First and foremost, much of the boosterism, comes out of committees associated with the Chamber of Commerce and municipal government which, as discussed earlier, typically represent the interests of this class locally. These local institutions not only give these individuals their status and power locally, but through them, they attempt to secure their economic interests. While the economic viability is an issue for all residents, the independent businessman has a more fundamental tie to the locality economically. One of the important functions of the boosterism that emanates out of these agencies then can be viewed as part of the strategies and resources that this particular group employs to safeguard its interests. Now, as in the day of the boomer, the newspaper is an important vehicle for proclaiming the message.

Many times the boosterism in the local newspaper is relatively blatant and is accomplished by the judicious selection of news stories, ads, and editorials. Sometimes it is done more indirectly by presenting information which simply reflects a positive image of the place or its people, as the following examples attest:

(This is an ad that appears frequently and in a variety
of forms in the Cranbrook paper.)

V.I.P.
Visitor information point

A TOURIST IS A
POTENTIAL NEW
RESIDENT IN OUR
COMMUNITY WHO MAY
BECOME A
FUTURE EMPLOYER

CRANBROOK, B.C.
"Home of the B.C. Summer Games"

(This is the last paragraph of an editorial concerning
a local labour dispute that appeared in the Daily
Townsman, June 12, 1986)

"One can only hope that clearer heads will prevail in
the dispute and that current discussions aimed at
getting talks started again will yield results. If not
the East Kootenay could experience the loss of many
jobs it needs to remain an attractive place for other
businesses to invest."

(This is a paragraph in a story in the Elk Valley
Miner, June 29, 1983 concerning a development plan for
the community.

"Being a one-industry town means that encouraging
industrial diversification and promoting the tourist
trade is another important issue in the community
plan."

(This is a campaign ad for a Sparwood mayoralty race,
placed in the Elk Valley Miner, on June 15, 1983.)

SPARWOOD
A HOME WE CAN
BELIEVE IN

"Like an experienced and patient fisherman, Rick
Jensen is aware that tugging too hard on the line can
often result in the prize getting away.
Instead the mayor and other members of council are
pursuing a policy of gentle, but firm encouragement
towards outside business interests that might consider
Cranbrook a viable place in which to operate.
The goal is, of course, to entice a variety of small
manufacturers and light industrial concerns to decide

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the Key City of the Kootenays is the place for them, thus expanding the local tax base and providing a more secure source of employment. That is critically important in these days of high employment uncertainty....

Once again, Jensen points to the utilization of the city's polished and professional business promotion campaign, involving such things as the upbeat Venture Inland audio-visual presentation and the city's own economic development print materials. All combined, Jensen believes Cranbrook has an important edge on many other communities in B.C. vying for the same economic development.

With the fierce competition out there, every little bit helps." (editorial in the Daily Townsman, March 13, 1986)

"Promotion group formed"
Mayor Richard Pinotti, Alderman Rick Grieve and Clerk-Administrator Bob Miles have been appointed by Elkford Council to a town centre promotion committee....We want to tell people that this area is not as down and out as has been portrayed in the Vancouver media" Mr. Miles said. "There's still growth here. Projects are still going on." (The Elk Valley Miner, June 15, 1983)

The logo used along with many editions of Cranbrook's local newspaper title is: Key City of the Kootenays. A key is used as the symbol completing the logo.3

"Cranbrook's Brent Carver draws praise for effort" is the headline from a CP story reviewing a play presented in London, Ontario. Although the story, which is taken from the wire service, does not mention the home of this actor, the story is picked up by the local paper because of his local connections.(The Daily Townsman, September 22, 1983)

"OVERWAITEA STORE CALLED GAMBLE ON THE FUTURE GROWTH OF SPARWOOD.
    The construction of a 30,000 square foot Overwaitea grocery store in the expanded Greenwood Shopping Centre represents the B.C. company's commitment to the future of Sparwood, the president of the chain said last week when the mall addition was announced." (Elk Valley Miner, June 8, 1983)

"DO YOU KNOW...

The Cranbrook School District is proud of its schools and the programs provided for the children of our district and will continue to strive for their improvement.

Cranbrook School District graduates won 15 provincial
scholarships this year, far more than is expected of a
district of our size. (The ad went on to list eleven
more points of distinction for the School District and
appeared in the <u>Daily Townsman</u>, September 9, 1983)

"Miss Canada, Rene Newhouse did this city, province and
country proud last night in the Miss Universe pageant
in Panama City...
While almost all the other Miss Universe hopefuls
stated their nationality and left it at that, Rene
proudly proclaimed she was from 'Cranbrook, B.C.,
Canada.' It's that kind of boosterism that has made her
time as Miss Canada a unique bonus for Cranbrook and
region. If even one in a million viewers caught the
plug by Rene, it might pay off in increased tourist
trade for the region.
Of couse, the real value of Rene's Miss Canada reign
has been the noticeable increase in civic pride she
generated. When a listing of Cranbrook's assets-either
natural or human- is compiled, Miss Canada stands near
the top. While her effect on Cranbrook is hard to pin
down, it's certain that it is has been a hugely
positive one." (<u>Daily Townsman</u>, July 22, 1986)

These types of news stories, ads, and editorials appear

frequently in the papers of the East Kootenays. In locations

where the continued viability of the area is frequently under

speculation because of forces outside the control of its

residents, the local newspaper plays a role, along with many

other local institutions, in promoting the town. This boosterism

is a reflection of its hinterland staus, but it is also a

response from the local level, particularly from the independent

businessman, as the ethnographic examples illustrate.

In addition to the newspaper, other local groups and

institutions act as boosters. For example, a number of

advertising materials produced by many local agencies are aimed

at different groups, potential investors, visitors, or

prospective residents. While the glossiness and format reflect

the audience for which they are intended, the message is basically the same; that is, "these places are scenic, they are economically stable, and the "community" is friendly, enthusiastic and vibrant." This excerpt from one such publication is a specific example of this.

> "To business and industry, it will be readily apparent that the Golden area of B.C. not only offers a strategic business location and entrepreneurial opportunity, but also a profitable alternative to the high cost and instability present in many of the industrially developed communities of our country. We are a progressive, young, prosperous, stable, multi-industry community positively seeking business development consistent with our resources, lifestyle and environment."(published by the Economic Development Commission of the Regional District of Columbia-Shuswap) In a similar vein, this is an example from a publication aimed at the tourist to the area.

> "We are proud of our City, and we feel our location between the Rocky Mountains and the Purcell Range is unsurpassed for its scenic beauty.
> There are many recreational opportunities in the area, including golfing, hiking, swimming, boating, camping, big-game hunting, skiing and skating.
> ...Cranbrook, home of Miss Canada, 1986, Rene Newhouse, will host the B.C. Summer Games in July. Our annual Sam Steele festivities take place in June.
> ...I know you will enjoy our City, and the warmth and hospitality of our citizens. Have a safe and enjoyable vacation, and please visit us again in 1987."
> (Cranbrook Chamber of Commerce publication)

The content of these and other such promotional material make it fairly evident that these places and the individuals who undertake as either part of their specific job, elected position or mandate of their organization, to promote these places, do so with the direct objective of attracting new temporary or permanent people and businesses to the town in question. They do so because such action is said to possess the potential to ensure the economic viability of the place, which in turn

assures individuals of their own employment or the economic viability of their private businesses.

In addition to the promotional literature, there are other ways some semblence of local control over this precariousness is exerted. Within the city halls, the chamber offices, and the population at large at any given time, groups exist or are being formed in order to suggest, initiate or carry out activities associated with promoting the economic potential of the locality. The Economic Development Commissions and all the activities that they undertake are representative. In order to provide more context to such organizations and their goals, we can examine one interesting case of such an organization in action.

In the early 1970's, the mining community of Kimberley began to face the inevitable prospect that the ore being mined in the Sullivan mine would not last forever. At the same time, Kimberley had already experienced a number of the associated economic busts and booms which come from reliance on essentially a single resource and a single industry. A group of town business people initiated a plan to capitalize on the altitude and scenery of the town and "twin" it with a Bavarian city. They then applied for government grants available to municipal governments and groups to renovate towns. With this money, they began the process of "Bavarianization" which sought to tranform the town into a facsimile of an Alpen village. The main street was closed to vehicles and turned into a pedestrian "platzl"; store fronts took on a Bavarian motif; a large clock, billed as

the largest cuckoo clock in the world, was set up at one end of the platzl complete with a figure clad in lederhosen who emerges in cuckoo clock fashion and yodels on the hour. The town has a significant German population, and has some German owned and operated gift shops on the platzl. In addition, two festivals were established, one held in July, not surprisingly called Julyfest, and Winterfest in February. The events incorporated into these festivals, of course, pick up on the Bavarian theme. Kimberley now bills itself as "the Bavarian City of the Rockies". The group which initiated these changes and worked with city council to bring about compliance with the idea was equivalent to a chamber of commerce, but in Kimberley it is called the Bavarian Society.

The Bavarianization scheme was notable in a number of respects. First, as can easily be demonstrated from the group's primary objective all along, it was an attempt to do something locally to respond to the inevitable knowledge that Cominco could not be relied on forever to provide employment and an economic base for the town. Secondly, the organization and success of the Bavarianization of Kimberley has been interesting for the kind of response it has engendered from the other towns in the region. Many observers in nearby towns see the whole thing, like the Bavarian fronts on the usual North American type business establishments, as being phony; but their negative remarks are often coupled with sentiments like, "but they pulled it off, you got to admire them for the fact that they were able to pull together and do something." The ambivalence that is

being expressed in such comments is in itself a reflection of the recognition of hinterland status.

Individuals in their public statements are similarly involved in "selling" the community. Witness these examples from a municipal election forum, a newspaper editorial, and the mayor's statement at the town hall meeting of the Keep Jobs in the Kootenay committee:

> "Although we've just gone through some difficult times, I'm running for alderman because I remain optimistic about our city. We need to promote Cranbrook as a service centre and we need to attract secondary industry in order to increase our tax base and help us through the tough times in the resource industries."

> "We're working on our industrial park, in order to attract more business and industry to Cranbrook. We all know what the reliance on the resource industries has meant. Things are great when the markets are good, but when there is a downturn, people are laid off and that affects us all."

> "At least that is, until Golden develops a sound diversified economic base in other sectors. Obviously, a ski hill/golf course development comes to mind. But for now, we're in bed with Evans (Lumber Company, dominant employer in Golden). Let's hope the company doesn't become an errant lover." (The Golden Star; September 30, 1981.)

> "We have an economic development committee and a marketing strategy to do what we can to help ourselves. We are working with Kimberley to see how we can work together. We are asking the unions and the business community to work with us to tell our story. We've got to make an awareness of our city."

A few important and interdependent themes run through these newspaper stories and ads, the promotional brochures, and the statements of elected representatives and other groups and individuals. The first of these is the keenly felt sense of economic instability. Everyone is acutely aware of the

importance of attracting and keeping economic ventures in the region. The whole Keep Jobs in the Kootenay story is representative of these perceptions and local, organized and individual, responses to the immediate importance of this fact of hinterland status. Secondly, while the "boosters" almost invariably point to the attractiveness of the locality and region for potential business interests, the underlying reason for their activities, individually and collectively, is as much oriented to self-interests. In ensuring the economic viability of Cranbrook and other places in the region, people are assured of the jobs that will provide for their own material well-being, and often ensure that they need not move unless they choose to do so, and even more fundamentally ensure the viability of the local independent businessman who depends upon the paycheck of others. Finally, all these accounts focus on certain common and positive perceptions of the community. It is portrayed as a "good" place in as many ways as the promoter can identify. This is obviously related to its booster function, but less obviously it is related to the ways in which residents attempt, socially and symbolically, to deal with the sense of inferiority and insecurity associated with their lifestyle and place of residence. These promotional brochures, speeches and editorials are also heard and consumed by the locals. These messages, read internally, like "its a good place to raise kids" and "friendliness" reinforce the positive images of these places, marginal though they may be in a predominantly urban industrial society. Thus, boosterism is as important, if not

more so, for the message that is read and consumed locally as it is for those outside the locality for whom it is ostensibly designed. Cohen once again makes this point:

> That is why awareness or experience of culture is a matter of empirical importance to us. Locality is anathema to the logic of the modern political economy, and, perhaps for precisely that reason is increasingly vocal in almost all spheres of contemporary life (1982:7).

Of all the local institutions which combine these elements of local culture, boosterism and attempts to point with pride to a collective past and a progressive future, none quite match the local festival. As a result, I have devoted the next chapter in order that sufficient attention be paid to it. It is in the festival that the embodiment of community spirit that we noted earlier is seen most clearly. It is also in the local festival that we see considerable energy put to the business of creating and mobilizing community through the social and symbolic resources available to those who participate in the event.

While the local festival is perhaps the clearest embodiment of what locals mean when they refer to community spirit, it is not the only such institution which can be viewed in terms of this phenomena. The local newspaper has, as well as other functions, a role to play in this regard. It is to this theme that we now turn our attention.

NOTES

1. In 1982, the B.C. Government, set up a Commission to examine the problems in the education system, it was headed by Sager and hence referred to as the Sager Commission.

2. This notion of community spirit, in fact, is central to the anaysis of the local festival, the topic of the next chapter.

3. This example also points to the underlying business orientation connected to boosterism. The logo came about as a result of a contest sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and publicized through the paper. Individuals were invited to submit ideas for a logo and this particular logo won the contest.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"Good Ol' Community Spirit Will Be That Much Higher"

Perhaps one of the more ambiguous expressions to be found in the brochures, newspaper editorials and other documents and conversations of hinterland localities is the reference to "commmunity spirit". While its precise meaning is difficult to determine (and probably deliberately so), what is not ambiguous is its value connotation. Commmunity spirit is good and the higher the community spirit, the better.

Even though no one defines it, by reading the context where the expression is used, many of its characteristics can be identified. They include: the willingness of people to work together to achieve common goals, a sense of pride in the locality and willingness to promote it to others, a sense of belonging and identity associated with the locality and shared by the residents and a sense of close knit relationships among the residents of the locality. As such, it draws together a number of themes already discussed in this ethnography.

First, the most visible demonstration of "community spirit" takes place in the volunteer efforts of residents in both the voluntary associations and day-to-day activities of the locality as a whole. As such, it reflects, as part of what is meant by community spirit, the "hidden work" referred to in Chapter Five. Second, the work and the activities themselves which are seen to demonstrate community spirit are meant to imply, and

therefore are valued for, their statement as a commitment to the
locality, another important part of the processes discussed in
Chapter Five. Hinterland residents' expressions of community
spirit also point to the interent ambivalence which comes from
the perceptions of inferiority and marginality associated with
them as was noted in the last chapter. And finally, it also
implies the merging of self-interests with collective interests.
It is through this process that community is created and
mobilized for the purposes of achieving those goals, which
figured significantly in the "Keep Jobs" campaign.
Demonstrations of community spirit in conversations, documents,
local newspapers and events can be interpreted as the
presentation of community to ourselves, or community on parade,
so to speak. Although this occurs in a variety of forms and in
many different contexts, only some of which will be discussed
here, one in particular stands out. The community festival, and
in this particular case, Sam Steele Days, provides the major
ethnographic evidence for the points to be raised here.

   Our best theoretical leads for examining what people mean,
and what they are attempting to give expression to, and do, with
reference to community spirit can be found in the literature on
belonging and identity (Cohen, 1982, 1986); symbols in ritual
and celebration (Turner, 1967. 1969, 1982(a), and 1982(b);
Darnton, 1984; Babcock, 1978 ;Geertz, 1973 and MacAloon, 1984)
and festivals, especially the festivals of complex societies
(Dyck, 1979; Farber, 1983; Konrad, 1983; Lavenda, 1983 and
Manning, 1983). When reference is made to community spirit in

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conversations and documents, and especially when it is "staged" in a community event such as Sam Steele Days, an image is being presented. In this image, locality and community are deliberately merged. It may appear that this aspect of hinterland localities fits the theoretical leads presented in the functionalist literature on community. However, the emphasis here is on the processes which are occurring and, in particular, the argument is that this community is being constructed, not that it automatically exists. This image or official public myth, as it may be labelled, is one which emphasizes value consensus and an harmonious whole. But the reality of hinterland status, of internal cleavages and conflicts and of different interests, still exists as these statements and events take place.

Therefore, these processes once again give us a place to examine, in yet another context, the way residents of hinterland localities respond to the instability, precariousness and marginality that affects their daily lives. The reference to, and the value implied by, community spirit, speaks to the individual's membership in, and attachment to, the locality as a whole. In hinterland localities, this occurs with a consciousness of the impact that outside forces have on them. Correspondingly, this sense of commitment to place and the identity linked with it can be viewed as part of the local response to this state of affairs, or as Cohen has put it:

> As members of large-scale societies, the people we have
> written about here have had imposed upon them common
> linguistic forms and categories, limited economic and

> political choices; grossly over-simplified sectional
> identities; all underwritten by the threat of legal and
> material sanctions.... For whilst these forms,
> categories and constraints may be shared, the meanings
> that people find in them- their contents- are not.
> Moreover, they are not variable merely as between
> groups and communities, but also within them. The forms
> may 'signify', but much of what they signify is a
> matter of the individual's construction. It may be that
> it is through such creativity that individuals preserve
> a sense of self .... Certainly, I have argued in
> respect of Whalesay, ... and all the contributors to
> this book suggest that it is the means whereby
> communities contrive a sense of self as a response or
> counterpunch to the subversion or penetration of their
> structural boundaries which had previously held at bay
> external cultural influences (1986:8-9).

Thus we must look to the meanings people attach to the notion of

"community spirit", the situations, circumstances and others

with whom they are interacting, and the strategies they are

employing when they refer to community spirit, rather than to

its actual existence. These circumstances and situations and all

that they entail are symbolic of this identity and sense of

belonging as well as the consciousness of instability,

precariousness and marginality associated with hinterland

status. In this sense "community spirit" is a public myth or

town ideology, and like all ideologies is created, disseminated,

and supported in local social situations. Again, while its most

visible form in the community festival has been relatively

extensively studied, other varieties and forums for its

dissemination have not been. It is to one of these that we now

turn our attention.

The daily and weekly newspapers of hinterland localities,

like their urban counterparts, disseminate news, international,

federal, provincial and local. However, the local population, by

virtue of the incorporation into the larger society, has access to all of the major newspapers which, along with television and radio coverage, informs them about the significant events of the day.[1] On the level of comprehensive news coverage, the local press cannot, and does not, compete with the other sources of information. One might well then ask, what is the role of the local press? Local newspapers make themselves relevant to their audience by presenting decidedly local news, and hence are referred to in the trade as community papers. But in this regard, they, like their urban counterparts, are involved in a process of selecting, reporting and intrepreting events which create, support and maintain ideologies. This 'gatekeeping' role of the major Canadian newspapers has been studied extensively (Porter, 1965; Clement, 1975; Beattie, 1976; and Seigel, 1983 for example). The local press of hinterland localities has not been examined in the same way and this research has not done so either. The intent here is to examine the local press for its part in supporting the official public myth of "community spirit".

The role of the local press in general has not generated a great deal of attention by researchers and its role in public myth making even less so. The closest is that of Janowitz (1957). In his view, the community newspaper is perceived as politically non-partisan, and in general reflective of commonality and harmony. Its content:

> ...is designed to emphasize values and interests on which there is a high level of consensus in the community (Ibid.:61).

The difficulty with this work, for my purposes, is that Janowitz

fails to distinguish between the perception and the reality of this state of affairs, and secondly, and more importantly, he leaves as unproblematic the questions of how and why such perceptions are created. While it is relatively easy to discern examples of internal divisions, ideologies and conflicts, it is true that on the whole, great portions of the local newspaper are non-contentious.

Much of a typical local paper is made up of stories about the good works of the various voluntary organizations, the score sheets of the local teams, graduation lists, honor rolls, the "carrier of the week" (newspaper boy or girl chosen each week on the basis of his or her activities), birth announcements, weddings, obituaries, awards made to citizens, cheques and grants presented to local organizations, local improvement projects, and many pictures of local children participating in sports teams and just playing on the streets. How can we interpret these news stories? One way is to see them, and the role of the press in reporting them, as part of the official public myths, which Farber describes as:

> ...those generated, espoused and supported by the
> people who control public images and public activity
> ... a specific variety of myth that sustains a sense of
> identity and continuity for a large segment of the
> population who come into contact with them (1983:34).

While, on the one hand, these types of articles and pictures serve to create the image of community, they do so by putting local names in the local paper, which reinforces local knowledge concerning the kith and kin of one's friends, neighbours and acquaintances. The importance of this should not be

underestimated as it is sometimes the major way the cost of the

newspaper subscription is justified. A couple of typical

comments in this regard serve to illustrate this point:

> "I've cancelled the paper a couple of times when I've
> gotten furious at their reporting, but I just missed
> too much of what was happening in town, so that I ended
> up taking a subscription out again."

> " I guess I felt like I belonged in Cranbrook, when I
> found myself reading the obituary columns."

In large scale societies, except for the very smallest of

unincorporated places, it is impossible to keep in touch with

all members of the locality on a face-to-face, ongoing basis.

The local newspaper helps to fill this gap. At the same time, it

provides a repository of local events, so that when face-to-face

interaction takes place, residents have shared local knowledge,

without which they feel "out of it", as the first speaker

indicated.

In addition to the knowledge base the local paper provides,

the very nature of such news stories, which emphasize the

cooperation among groups and individuals in the locality, and

celebratory focus they often take, presents the image of

community harmony and consensus. As such, the local press

becomes an instrument involved in the process of creating,

supporting and maintaining the positive, non-contentious,

harmonious image or official public myth of residents working

with and for one another for the good of all, and where the

good luck, talent, and the happiness of one of "us" is shared
2
with, and enjoyed, by all.

The notion of "community spirit" can be read into these news

stories and into this aspect of local news reporting. However, it becomes even more specific than this. The local press often takes it upon itself to lecture specifically on community spirit, to praise us when we have demonstrated "good community spirit", to chide us when we have failed, and to reinforce its importance to us. Again, these ethnographic examples provide evidence:

Editorial in the Golden Star "It (the annual Terry Fox Run) is only one more example of what I think is the unusual example of community spirit exhibited in Golden." (September 21, 1983)

Editorial in the Daily Townsman "For the host city, the games are certainly a challenge, but one that has coalesced community spirit. Cranbrook has gained far more than a physical legacy from the Summer Games; the more enduring reward is that residents of our area know they have accomplished a difficult assignment with flare and polish. It augers well for future community projects." (July 11, 1986)

Editorial in the Fernie Free Press "Suffice it to say that there are lots of them [community events] they take a lot of work to organize and that we have only a small pool of volunteers to draw from. Sometimes it takes a little cajoling to get those helpers' out but nevertheless it happens and the quality of every citizen's life is enriched accordingly. (September 15, 1982)

In these instances, there is no doubt of the connection between the local press and community spirit, and particularly its positive evaluation. However, the newspaper and the other everyday activities which have not been examined here are not the most outstanding displays of community spirit. The community festival and, in this particular case, Sam Steele Days, held annually in June in Cranbrook is the best example of the phenomenon.

Analyses of celebrations of any sort almost invariably resort to discussions on symbolism in general and pick up on a long tradition in anthropology of studying ritual behavior. Many of these turn to the seminal works of Victor Turner for theoretical guidance. The insights gleaned from the study of rites in small scale non-industrial societies have provided us a way of examining the phenomenon of the community festival in contemporary industrial society. While the large urban festivals like the Calgary Stampede, the Pacific National Exibition, or St. Jean Baptiste Day get far more publicity, one would be hard pressed to find a community without a annual festival. That community festivals create times of celebration is widely recognized; but the celebration of what and for what purpose remain important questions about this interesting form of public performance. One needs only to acknowledge the widespread nature of these festivals to recognize that they play an important role in our society.

In the research literature on cultural performances and festivals in modern societies, it has been demonstrated that the roles played by, and the processes involved in, festivals are complex and have many different levels of meaning for organizers, for participants, for insiders and for outsiders. Because they purport to present the community as characterized by consensus in spite of some obvious internal conflicts, festivals are an even more complex phenomena. Turner also points to this characteristic of celebrations:

Any major celebration, since it brings many members of

a society into a single sociocultural space for a
limited period of time, brings into proximity persons
and groups with either endemic or transitory
antagonisms. Celebrations may be said partly to bring
about a temporary reconciliation among conflicting
members of a single community (1984:21).

He labels the particular emotional response of such situations,

where these distinctions are submerged, where the activities

stand in opposition to everyday social structure, and where

individual identities are merged into a "we" state referred to

as "communitas". It is in these situations that norm governed,

role, status, class and gender segmented social structure gives

way to a spontaneous and egalitarian sense of merging into a

"we" within a state of what he calls liminality. These processes

occur in industrial societies in leisure (Turner, 1982:46).

Other authors have examined festivals in modern industrial

societies with both an eye to this idea of identity at the local

level and connection between the locality and the wider society

of which it is part. As Farber has put it:

In all cases, however, it is apparent that festivals
are about identity, whether personal or social, and
they are the context and the process of creating links
between people in the community as well as between the
community and the wider national and cultural
environment (1983:34).

Thus, we find ourselves again where individual action is

bound together with the creation of links among other

individuals. This action at the same time both responds to and

reflects the position of the locality in question in relation to

the wider society of which it is part. Local festivals, like

newspapers are part of these processes, and at the same time

project, as an end result, the image of community. This image is

presented both to other members of the locality and outsiders. In fact, in the case of the town festival, there is a special part to be played by outsiders, as we will see in the field data.

Another important part of local cultural performances is the re-creation of the past and/or the glorification of the economic base and stability of the locality which are most often embedded in the performances in a variety of ways.

> The importance of history and its enactment and re-enactment in the present seems to be an especially important element....it (the festival) can be read as a text, either as a narrative or documentary (Ricoeur 1971; Geertz 1972) that articulates and celebrates the town's political economy and underlying mythology (Farber, 1983:36).

As such, the material and political realities of everyday life, especially in the hinterland locality, come to bear even in the residents' official "fun", demonstrating once again what Turner (1982) refers to as "the human seriousness of play".

The festival, like other local events and institutions, is a complex phenomenon which is composed of individual actors pursuing self-interests, many of which are politically and economically oriented, embedded in relationships of local social ties and utilizing many resources partiuclarly symbolic resources to achieve their ends. In addition, though, these actions incorporate and reflect the structural realities of hinterland status in urban industrial societies.

All the localities included in the present research have a local festival.[3] The names of many of these festivals already demonstrate the direct tie between the festival and the history

or economic base of the locality. This in itself illustrates the irony that Manning (1983), for example, says is often characteristic of festivals and celebrations. Superintendent Sam Steele was, as was pointed out in Chapter Two, an official of the Northwest Mounted Police who was sent to what was known then as Galbraith's Ferry to quell an Indian uprising. One of his legacies to the area was the change of name from Galbraith's Ferry to Fort Steele. Fort Steele, in time and through the politics of courting the CPR, lost its economic viability to Cranbrook. Now, paradoxically, Cranbrook's festival embodies the namesake of Fort Steele. The theme, therefore, is an historic one. Sparwood's Coalminer Days leaves nothing to the imagination as to the major occupation of the town's residents and Creston, the region's fruit growing locality, has Blossom Days. The other festivals in the region do not show as blatant a connection to origins or economics; but these connections can be easily discerned in the floats in the parades or in many of the events which go on during the festival. In all cases, ostensible civic pride in this past or in the stability of the economic base of the locality is the dominant value which accompanies these. Kimberley forged a new look, hoped for some prosperity by way of promoting tourism, and demonstrated its "community spirit" with a Bavarianization project. Two festivals are featured, Julyfest and Winterfest.

Parades are an integral element of the local festivals that makes them similar to one another and most other town festivals in Canada. These parades have similar forms, and much of the

content of the parade is again a part of each of the festivals.
In addition, each festival includes a competition associated
with the parade, organizations, businesses and individuals
compete with one another for the best float entry in a variety
of categories. In fact, the notion of competition pervades the
festival beyond the parade awards. Many of the activities
organized over the four days are regular sporting competitions
such as soccer, softball and fastball; specialty competitions,
often based on the historic theme such as a shoot out and barrel
fill competition and others such as hang gliding competition,
bed races and hotel olympics.[4] Manning points out this emphasis
on competition:

> While the logic of celebrations is ideological and
> structural, the process of celebrations is competitive
> and dialectical (1983:28).

More overtly political elements of these festivals are shown
by local politicians playing prominent roles; they are an
important part of the parade and they often act as masters of
ceremonies at events throughout the festival. Thus, the festival
is a political event at the same time. These and other political
aspects of celebrations have been noted by such researchers as
Cohen (1974); Rosaldo (1978); Dyck (1979); Manning (1983) and
MacAloon (1984).

To get a sense of Cranbrook's festival, it has to be
examined in terms of how it changes everyday life for those four
days.[5] While preparations for the event start long before June
(usually right after the previous festival has finished), the
visible manifestations of the festival starts the day it is

designated to begin. While everyday activities, banking, shopping, working and schooling carry on much the same as they would any other time of the year, the fact that it is Sam Steele Days does not go unnoticed. Many of the businesses are decorated in frontier style and staff appear in period costumes. Banners are erected across the main street, Baker Street, and a pancake breakfast is served outside one or more of the businesses. A carnival midway is set up on a vacant city yard, and music, laughter and general merriment set the mood. Games and special events are organized and announced, food concessions are set up, and, for part of the time Baker Street is converted to a pedestrian mall. So while day-to-day activities continue, both the atmosphere in which they are normally conducted changes and many of the social norms are modified or suspended. All in all, the motif, the organization and the established mood reflect characteristics of other community festivals in North America. (Farber, 1983; Lavenda; 1983 and Konrad, 1983)

To demonstrate further the particular character of Cranbrook's festival, we will examine, in some detail, one edition of Sam Steele Days. By following newspaper reports of the festival, by describing its planning and execution, by observing the activities, and by reporting the comments and conversations of the residents concerning the festival, we can begin to analyze this important "community" event and institution. In 1986, after an experimental ten day format the previous year, the festival returned to its original four day format, because, the committee members said, people preferred

the shorter version. While this may be one reason that the experiment was not repeated, there are others. In 1985 the running of community bingos was commercialized and a local bingo company was formed. This competed with one of the most important sources of fund raising for the festival, and as a result the committee had to plan the 1986 festival on a $10,000 budget as opposed to the $40,000 budget of 1985. The financial loss put the festival itself into serious jeopardy. As if financial difficulties were not enough of an obstacle, the festival depends upon the volunteer labour of residents, who were, in 1986, already being called upon to volunteer for the B.C. Summer Games. These two events occurred within a month of one another. Given that the games was a "once in a long time affair" as opposed to an annual event, this placed severe competition on the manpower needs of the festival committee.

The organization which oversees the festival, the Sam Steele Committee consists of two groups, one in charge of the festival itself, the other the Sam Steele Sweetheart Pageant, which takes place during the festival. While much of the planning for the festival itself is not in evidence until the festival, the Pageant kicks off in advance with the nomination of the girls who are in competition for the Sam Steele Sweetheart title.[6] After the nominations, the candidates are kept busy with activities which culminate in the naming of the Sweetheart and her two Princesses during Sam Steele Days. While the festival marks the most exciting part of the process of becoming Sam Steele Sweetheart, her "work" begins after winning the title and

continues for a year. She is expected to represent Cranbrook at other festivals and travels extensively to other localities as an "official" representative of Cranbrook. She also often competes in similar contests on a regional (Miss Interior B.C.), provincial (Miss P.N.E.) or national basis (Miss Canada). In fact, one of the town's claims to fame at the present is that it was the home of the 1985 Miss Canada, Rene Newhouse, who was previously a Sam Steele Sweetheart. A banner flying above Baker Street, proclaimed this to all residents and visitors. The Sam Steele Sweetheart Pageant is considered the highlight of the festival. The following newspaper account and conversation with the organizer of the pageant serve to illustrate its symbolic importance:

PAGEANT TICKETS ARE A HOT ITEM

If you were planning to attend the Sam Steele Sweetheart Pageant this Friday but didn't get around to buying a ticket yesterday yet, you're out of luck.
Tickets went on sale yesterday morning and all 499 seats in the Armond Theatre where the Pageant will be held were filled by noon yesterday.
But, according to Cranbrook Chamber of Commerce manager Karin Penner, that's not unusual.(Daily Townsman, June 18, 1985)

She might not have been proclaimed Miss PNE, but Carri Janes is still the Sweetheart of Sam Steele. Janes, in Vancouver representing Cranbrook at the annual PNE pageant, failed to achieve the prestigious title....(Daily Townsman, August 21, 1985)

"The role of the Sweetheart is as an ambassador of the community and she is responsible for representing this community. Therefore, one of her most important qualities is that she has to know the community." (excerpt from a conversation with the Pageant organizer)

While the Sweetheart Pageant is the highlight, and the

candidates for the title the most visible part of the pre-
festival period, the parade ranks second in terms of importance.
The parade is made up of several components. One of these is the
competitive aspect, those creating and entering floats in the
parade compete with one another for several awards such as best
commercial entry, best out-of-town entry, and best
organizational float.

Another very important component of the festival parade
is the appearance of visiting dignitaries, who play an important
part in conferring prestige upon the festival and its
organizers. These "outsiders" play a highly visible and
important role in communicating the respect those outside the
locality have for it by agreeing to participate in the festival
itself. It is also an obligation that goes with the winning of
the pageant in each locality. Just as our Sweetheart travels and
takes part in the parade and activities in other localities,
other "Queens, Princesses and Sweethearts" take part in ours.
Mayors of other localities, marching, bugle and pipe bands from
all over, and delegations with floats representing the visiting
localities also pay their respects to the host festival and
locality by participating in the parade. These "outsiders" help
build and maintain public reputations for the festival
organizers and the locality in general; thus the greater the
number of such dignitaries, the farther away they come from to
participate, and the larger the locality they originate from are
all important criteria in measuring the "respect" accorded the
festival. This description from the local newspaper demonstrates

the role of the "outsider":

> There is also an unusually high number of out-of-
> town dignitaries attending the ceremonies this year,
> according to Penner. The visitors are given a package
> deal of events and generally come to Cranbrook with
> their floats to participate in the Grand Parade, which
> will take place next Saturday.
> Among those expected to attend are the mayor and a
> number of other representatives of this year's honor
> city Lethbridge, a group from Whitefish Montana, Miss
> PNE Laura Leard and president of the PNE Erwin
> Swanguard. Penner also expects delegations from Canal
> Flats, Golden, Castlegar, Penticton, Enderby, Trail,
> Salmon Arm, Vernon, Creston, Rossland and Coeur
> d'Alene, Idaho.
> "This is what travelling with your local royals and
> floats does," said Penner. "It brings them (people from
> the cities that were visited) back to your
> festival."(Daily Townsman, June 18. 1985)

In these characteristics, respect and reputation based on

the participation by others outside the locality, Sam Steele

Days is strikingly similar to other North American festivals

reported in the literature, but it is also strikingly similar to

the North American Native powwow reported by Dyck as this

attests:

> Moreover, the committee must devote a good deal of
> effort to ensure that its celebration will be attended
> by an adequate number of visitors and performers... But
> to host a powwow which is blessed with top performers,
> suitable weather and a "good feeling" is to become a
> leading member of the circuit (1979:86-87).

Local voluntary organization and local businesses not only

compete for the entry awards, but also use the parade as an

opportunity to promote their products, their goals and their

"community" support. In fact, participation in the parade and

festival activities gives these business and voluntary

organizations considerable credibity in terms of their

"community leadership", "community spirit" and/ or "community

service". Banners such as the following are common on these
floats:

> "5Ø years of serving the community"
> "Meeting the insurance needs of Cranbook for 25 years"
> "Your community furniture store for 4Ø years"
> "The Royal Purple, helping people since 1925"
> "A decade of service to Cranbrook, meeting all your
> real estate needs"

Many of the floats also take up the historical theme of the
festival itself in their decorations This historical theme
permeates the festival on such levels as its name, and many of
the float decorations; and historic awards are given to the
owners or organizations which have restored historic residential
and commercial properties.

The parade also consists of many local and out-of-town bands
which, as much as anything, contribute to the festive atmosphere
which again defines the time as special, even while the more
mundane activities of everyday life go on. While many of the
downtown businesses close during the parade, for a good part of
the four days life goes on much the same as any other time of
the year, but the bands, the midway and the general increase in
the number of people around the locality serve to distinguish
the time as separate, regardless of the more routine activities
which continue.

Children are also an important part of the parade in a
number of ways. First, they often participate by riding the
floats, this is particularly true where an organization
or business has children as its clientele, such as the Boy's and
Girl's Club of Cranbrook or Stephanie's Children's Wear. Many of

the community clubs are child oriented, and the activities that
they are involved in are often an integral part of the parade.
Good examples of this are the 4H club entries, the Gymnastic
Club and the Maverick Club (a riding club). Individual children
also participate by dressing up on their own and riding their
bikes or horses or marching with adults as part of the
relatively large contingent of parade participants who are not
part of organizations, bands, businesses, or on floats. The
festival is invariably promoted as a family affair.

The local natives from the nearby reserve become involved
in the celebrations by dressing up in their traditional costumes
and riding horses in the parade. This inclusion of the Native
population in the festival is interesting in light of the fact
that in Cranbrook, like many other predominantly White
localities which have nearby reservation communities, the Native
population is not integrated into the local social system the
way members of other ethnic groups are.[7]   Since the theme is an
historical one, though, the natives play their part in re-
enacting our past by taking part in the parade and setting up
activities during the festival. These include: concessions which
make and sell bannock, beef jerky , and Indian crafts. The
Kootenay people also stage some events themselves, such as
traditional Indian dancing and music.

Thus the parade is composed of many different types of
groups and special interests, both inside the locality and
outside, all of which are intended to demonstrate the way in
which all segments of the community are participating in the

community festival. As a symbolic representation of all that goes on in the locality, a good parade contains as many of the segments of its population as it can. And again, willingness to participate is taken as a sign of being a part of the community and a willingness to contribute to it.

In addition to the parade, other events that take place during the festival are, of course, designed to ensure participation. One of the most important criteria of success for festival organizers is the degree of response to the organized events both by spectators and participants. The festival events are participation oriented, as the following list of weekend activities planned for the 1985 event and published in the local paper indicates.

<div align="center">SATURDAY</div>

Ladies soccer tournament
Girl's softball and boys baseball championship day
Food concession
Indian Village
Cranbrook historical exhibition
Tour of restored cars (Cranbrook railway museum)
Gold panning
Grand Parade
Barrel fill competition
Airport Day
Hang gliding competition
Logger Sports
25 cent swim day
Oldtimers beer garden
Bed races
Shoot out
Barbeque
Super Sam Bingo
Sweetheart banquet and ball
Gaming tables
Dance extravaganza
Sam Steele music revue
Square Dance

SUNDAY

Giant fishing derby
Pancake breakfast and concession
Ladies soccer tournament
Food concession
Cranbrook historical exhibition
Tour of restored cars
Fastball tournament
Gold panning
Midway and games of chance
Car display
Chili cookoff
Golf classic
Hang gliding competition
Hotel Olympics
Shoot out
Musical revue
Oldtimers beer garden
Dance extravaganza
Closing fireworks

Thus we see in the events themselves the way the organizers have tried to pull together many of the special interests of the people so as to draw people together in the festival, both as participants and as spectators, "fun for everyone" as the newspaper put it. This element of participation orientation is an important facet of festivals, as Manning points out:

> ...celebration is participatory. Increasing profession-
> alism notwithstanding, celebration actively involves
> its constituency; it is not simply a show put on for
> disengaged spectators (1983:4).

Much of what has been described here as characteristic of Sam Steele Days, in general terms, could be said of any of the festivals in the other localities in the region. They do, however, differ from one another in some important and interesting ways. Since many of the "outsiders" involved in any one of the locality's festivals are people from the "town next door", the festival is also a place where there is public

demonstration of the underlying rivalry and competition which

also characterize relationships among localities within a

region. They compete for bigger and grander parades, more

dignitaries, more bands from out of town, more people in

attendance, and just "better times" (not unlike the powwow's

reputation for "good feeling", Dyck, 1979) at the events. The

parades and events attempt to symbolize those things which the

locality prides itself in representing in some fashion, and

these tend to make for distinctions between different festivals

in different localities. For example, Kimberley has yodelling

and accordion competitions as events, Sparwood has mine rescue

competitions, and many organizations and businesses in Cranbrook

use the key logo to symbolize the city's position as the

regional centre.

Whether we look at the elements they have in common or those

which serve to distinguish them from one another, the important

component is the way the festival as an event, as an

institution, and as a set of interacting people becomes part of

the local strategies for living in hinterland localities, not

the least of which is among the small independent business

sector, making a living.

All local festivals have a "business" side to them. This

element of festival cannot be overlooked. The local festival is

essentially a vehicle for mobilizing resources and people

within the locality which serves the end of the small

independent businessman. The self-interests, particularily the

economic ones, that are served in this exercise of mobilizing

"community" in the local festival constitutes an important component in understanding the phenonmena and this can be demonstrated in a number of ways. For example, local festivals often have direct links to the local chambers of commerce, either through sponsorship by the chambers of commerce, or the voluntary organization which oversees the festival overlaps in membership with the chamber of commerce. Secondly, one of the stated objectives of most festivals is the promotion of tourism into the region, which in turn has important economic consequences for the localities. Finally, many events planned for the festival are designed to raise money. This fund raising activity is aimed at ensuring that the festival pays for itself, and in so doing continues to operate. Local businesses often use the festival days for extensive promotion, and sale times are sometimes geared to the festival period.

It is, however, business as usual, or, if they're lucky, better than usual in the commercial establishments around town during Sam Steele days. While the festival is a time of town celebration, many hope that it will also mean more people buying both special products associated with the festival, crafts and promotional materials, as well as their everyday purchases. Sales and flea markets are often incorporated into the events, as the following ads attest:

SAM STEELE SPECIALS
Baker Furniture

SAM STEELE SPECIALS
The Diet Centre

Further evidence as to the commercial side of the festival can

be found in the festival logo, which has a picture of a NWMP

officer in the centre, with "SAM STEELE DAYS salutes" over the

figure's head, the year in the middle, and "75 YEARS OF

COMMERCE" under the figure. The connection with the Chamber of

Commerce, beyond the overlap in personnel between this

organization and Sam Steele committee, can be seen in this

newspaper column written by the Cranbrook Chamber of Commerce:

> Tourism benefits Cranbrook in many ways. Besides
> making us appreciate our own backyard, tourism can
> stimulate us. It can make us see things in a new way
> and expose us to new ideas,people, language and
> culture.
> There is also the obvious dollar and cents value of -
> the tourism industry....
> Expanding Sam Steele days to 10 days will attract
> more visitors to Cranbrook.... (Daily Townsman, June
> 24, 1985)

Yet another example of the "business of the festival" comes in

this editorial:

> The strongest argument in support of a longer Sam
> Steele Days will probably come from the tourism-retail
> business sector of the community. With the introduction
> this year of a mixed slo-pitch tournament (softball)
> and several other opening weekend activities, the
> amount of visitor traffic in town was definitely up.
> (Daily Townsman, June 25, 1985)

This concern with the business potential of the festival

demonstrates once again the important link between the

locality's economic precariousness and local institutions and

local class distinctions. While even large urban festivals are

conducted with an eye to the tourist dollar, their more

diversified economy makes them less crucial than in the

hinterland, especially during the "bust" economic times. When

the local resource industries are in decline, the local

population, and especially the independent business sector who have a fundamental economic link with the locality's economic viability, attempts to hold the line by encouraging tourism. This conscious effort goes as far as newspaper editorials which admonish local service industry employees who do not smile when they are dealing with the public! This is, at least, within the control of the local population, and as trivial as it might seem in the face of rather enormous problems of economic stability, one of the strategies of coping in hinterland localities. Such actions both reflect the reality of the position the locality holds in industrial society, while at the same time attempting to address it through such direct local responses.

While the commercialism inherent in such festivals is quite direct and plays a central role in the festival, even those primarily interested in it for those reasons still point to the "community element" crucial to understanding the event, as the following comments illustrate:

> Expanding Sam Steele days to 10 days will attract more
> visitors to Cranbrook, and will allow community people
> to participate in a greater number of activities. Good
> 'ole community spirit will be high that much longer.
> (Daily Townsman, June 24, 1985)

> "The function of Sam Steele Days is to reflect on our
> past and see where we've come from and how we've
> changed. It is to reach out and touch each other in a
> fun way, to realize that we're more than what we're
> involved in every day. We've developed more of a
> community spirit in the last few years than we had
> before."(excerpt from a conversation with a Sam Steele
> committee organizer)

While those involved with the festival, and especially the organizers make a concerted, to "pull off" the affair as a

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symbol of the community spirit that exists and to present the
event (usually with some help by the local paper) as one in
which there is widespread participation and involvement by
residents, those individuals who are not committed and do not
participate are observed and noted by those involved, as this
piece from the paper demonstrates:

SOCIETY NEEDS COMMUNITY SUPPORT
"... the society has yet to be paid by almost all of
the community groups who staged events during Sam
Steele Days this past summer. Any groups holding events
in conjunction with Sam Steele Days must pay the
society $100 up front as well as 10 percent of their
gross intake during the Sam Steele celebration. So far,
only the Cranbrook Royals and the Cranbrook Touch
Football Association have paid the society its
percentage and Hagel (Sam Steele Society Chairman) said
the fact upsets him.
"These types of people, I call them parasites, wouldn't
be allowed to operate during Sam Steele Days next year,
said Hagel. Yes it shocks me that the clubs feel they
don't have to fulfill their obligations to the
community. Hagel refused to name the approximately 20
clubs that haven't yet paid their bills, but did say
any who hadn't settled with the society by its annual
general meeting on November 6 would have their names
made public.
The ones that don't pay can just kiss it (Sam Steele
Days) goodbye, said Hagel. But Hagel added there needs
to be more interest in the society as a whole from the
community...." (Daily Townsman, October 17, 1985)

The festival in this respect is an example of how the symbol
of community is mobilized to achieve certain ends by presenting
an image of unity. However, it is never totally successful. The
internal divisions and opposing interests of the various
individuals and groups within the locality continue to emerge.
The close connection that the festival has with the business
community along with the hyperbole that much of the activities
exhibit means that there is a segment of the population who sees

the festival as sheer boosterism. Many who find "Queen" pageants

intrinsically offensive as such, tend not to get involved in Sam

Steele Days. At the same time, these people do not actively

oppose the activities that are going on. Indeed, these negative

impressions are usually shared only with those who share these

feelings. There are no critical letters to the editor

complaining or any other public display of disapproval. In this,

they are much like those reported by Rogers (1981) who leave town

during the Durham Miners Gala, except not everyone goes as far

as leaving town!

What then are we to make of festivals such as these? Their

main function, if we are to believe residents and the

promotional literature, is to have "fun", but, like Lavenda, I

believe we must dig a little deeper to delve into the meaning of

this "fun":

> One is struck, as well by the lengths to which people
> will go to deny these festivals any significance other
> than "they're just for fun." This conjunction of near
> universality and the denial of importance should serve
> as a warning that there is, perhaps, more here than
> meets the eye (1983:51).

When we dig a little deeper, we see that a number of different

levels of analysis are necessary for understanding the festival.

One of these is the broader context of locality and society and

the relationship between the two. The political economy of

hinterland localities ensures that one of the major concerns for

the residents of such places is the economic instability, and

the need to create stability to ensure its viability. A second

concern is the population transience which accompanies the boom

and bust economic cycles of resource dependent economies. This transience is also a factor of the kinds of jobs which characterize these places, even when the economic climate itself is in a relatively stable phase of the business cycle.

That festivals are partly a response to this political economy is demonstrated by the involvement of the local Chamber personnel in the organizational committee, and by the direct link between the festival and the drawing of tourists as a potential way to diversify the locality's economic base while at the same time restoring some local control over the local economy. The emphasis on history and historic symbols also speaks to this issue. The sense of viability and stability that comes with a history is magnified in importance in places where the frequent passing of towns is a constant reminder of the fate of the settlements which lost out as a result of decisions made by others outside the locality. Thus the local festival is both an active attempt on the part of the locality to affect this relationship between itself and the wider society in its own interests, and symbolic of the relationship as it makes the purporting of viability and stability even that much more valuable. It must constantly be reaffirmed in the social and symbolic lives of hinterland localities, as it cannot be taken for granted. As Manning (1983) says in his summary of Konrad's analysis of the Calgary Stampede and the Copal Bullfight:

> The social processes which pit region against nation are embued with cultural significance and influenced in political direction by what happens in celebrations. (p.19)

If festivals are about political economy, they are also about "community". In a myriad of ways, the festival is used to construct community, first, by creating links between individuals. It does so by drawing people together and giving them shared experiences. In a "good" parade, all segments of the locality and all interest groups participate in a public demonstration of "togetherness". In the willingness to participate and in the performance themselves, these individuals and groups are simultaneously creating community and then, publicly demonstrating it, literally putting it on parade! Even if this consensus is fabricated just temporarily, it is still important for the symbolic representations that are being made and the meanings these representations have for the participants. For, like Darnton's analysis of Contat's story of the cat massacre in eighteenth century France:

> ... since we are attempting to get at its meaning in the first place, we should not be put off by its fabricated nature....by treating (it) as meaningful fabrication, we can use it to develop an ethnological explication de texte (1984:78).

While at other times vested interests, competition and demonstrations of power characterize the locality, festival is a time to demonstrate the other face, cooperation and joint interests, often expressed as "community spirit". This is the face of the locality that is shown through the festival, and it is directed at both outsiders and insiders alike.

This construction of community which goes on in the local festival is strategic action. Given its links with the small independent business sector of the locality, the festival can be

viewed as a way the local independent businessmen and their organizations utilize the symbolic resources inherent in the "idea of everyone pulling together" for their own ends, namely ensuring economic returns. These interests, while most clearly linked to this class, are often also in the interests of other residents more broadly, even when the particular tool that is being used to bring about these ends, the festival and particularly the "Sweetheart Pageant", are not held in high regard by all segments of the population. A case again, like that of the "Keep Jobs" campaign (albeit at the initiative of a different interest group) of where self-interests and collective interests are brought together through the mobilization of community.

Directed at insiders, the message of the festival is a story we tell ourselves, or as Lavenda puts it:

> ... providing different stories for different communities to tell themselves about themselves (1983:52).

It is important that we demonstrate an image of ourselves through these public forums, as it acts as a cohesive force in social and cultural life; but its significance goes further in the hinterland locality. The ubiquitous presence of the "newcomer" is a part of these places, as at any given time many people do not "know" about the place. The lesson is served up to newcomers through many of the local institutions, not the least of which is the festival. To fit in, to belong, to participate and to develop social networks, one must become knowledgeable in a vast array of cultural details, some of which serve to unite the

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particular locality with others in the region, some to distinguish them. Thus festivals tell "different stories" as well as the "same story". As individuals participate in these public productions and share common experiences, they are simultaneously involved in actions which contribute to personal and social identity both for their own benefit and for that of their "community".

Thus festivals are also about individual behavior and action; either as spectator, participant or organizer. In all cases, though, the action is at one and the same time personal and social. While all members of the locality are involved to some degree (if only by abstaining from opposition), some are much more so, particularly the organizers and politicians. While their actions also become implicated in social ends, their motives go beyond those of the other participants. Festivals are political, as well as economic and social events. The coinage of public reputation is of vital concern in both the formal politics of the locality and the "politics of everyday life". While the festival is the project of one particular voluntary organization, it depends heavily on a number of other organizations and individuals. The way in which the festival can be used to demonstrate an individual's or group's contribution to "community spirit" is a political asset. Not surprisingly, then festivals are political in nature.

> Celebration is both culture and politics, or better perhaps, cultural politics. The first is the politicization of culture, the translation of cultural symbols, beliefs and values into political discourse and stategy (Manning, 1983: 16).

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The "text" of the local festival can be read as culture, as economics, or as politics. It can also be read as individuals in interaction with others for their vested interests, or as the linking of disparate groups into a single whole, or as a statement about the relationship between the hinterland and urban industrial society. It can be read as a story for outsiders, as a story for insiders, as a story for oldtimers, or as a story for newcomers. But best of all, the local festival is a statement of all of these things: its meaning, like a piece of woven fabric incorporates all of these elements and strategies of living in hinterland localities.

1. This does not mean that newspaper access is as timely in hinterland localities. For example,The Vancouver Sun arrives here a day after publication, and although many international papers are not routinely available they can be obtained by mail. The major dailies of B.C. and Alberta and the Toronto Globe and Mail are generally available.

2. This extends to the boosterism reported on earlier in this research.

3. Even the smallest incorporated locality and some of the unincorporated ones boast of at least one annual festival and some have two.

4. The barrel fill is a sporting event where two teams compete against one another by filling a bucket of water from a barrel on the ground and passing it along a line of team members up to the top of the Fire Hall where it is emptied into a another barrel. The competition is complete when one teams empties the barrel on the ground. It attempts to relpicate the "bucket brigade" approach to fire fighting in the past. The hotel olympics is another cometitive team event, based on a relay. The team members move a designated number of glasses of water on a tray by passing the tray from member to member from the start line to the finsih line. The cometition is ended when one team has successfully moved all the glasses to the finsih line. The event is based on the serving of food and beverages in the hotel industry.

5. It was held over ten days in 1985, but reverted back to its original four day format in 1986.

6. The candidates for the Sam Steele Stweetheart are most often sponsored by local voluntary organizations, which again creates a strong link between the local organizations and the festival.

7. I have not done specific research on the Native-White interaction patterns in this investigation. I would direct the reader who is interested in this aspect of hinterland localities to such works as Braroe, 1975; Dosman, 1972; Dyck, 1979; Kennedy, 1982; McFee, 1972 or Stymeist, 1975.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions: Strategies For Living In
Resource Based Hinterland Communities

Hinterland localities in modern political economies are precarious entities; in Canada, in B.C. and in the East Kootenays, they always have been thus. They continue to exist, prosper or languish first and foremost because of their resource base and the decisions concerning its exploitation which are made in the political and economic centres of industrial societies. This has been the case in the East Kootenays since the settlement of the Euro-Canadian population in the region in the 1860's. The research literature which describes the political economy of Canada and its regions, single industry localities, and non-urban centres provides ample evidence of this fact of life. Further, the nature of the labour force which is defined by the economic activities that take place in the hinterland, the boom and bust cycles associated with primary industries, and the population transience that both of these factors condition, are also facts of life and act as powerful constraints on the actions of individuals in these places.

The reality of this immensely important relationship that exists between the localities in question and the broader societal forces within which they, of necessity, must operate, cannot be ignored. To assume, however, that this perspective is analytically sufficient is to ignore the reality of human action placed within a framework of meanings and motivated by certain interests. To understand this reality we must reorient our

analysis. While these broader forces act as constraints and form an important part of the context within which cultural meanings, social relationships and interaction at the local level take place, they are not the total context. The other reality and another part of the context must be examined from "below". That is, the examination must take place in these localities and extrapolated from the individual and the strategies that these individuals employ to achieve certain ends, but it must be taken with the clear recognition of the wider society and its local consequences.

Thus, while there is a great deal to be gleaned from the nature of the relationship between hinterland localities and the political economy of industrial society, research using ethnographic methods in hinterland communities can draw out other dimensions of human behavior at the local level. This is important because it is in everyday behavior that the meanings that humans attach to their actions is exhibited. As much as we can understand of the power relationships which emanate from the metropolis, and of social class based on a structural analysis of hinterland localities, such approaches cannot address in a meaningful way how individuals, by themselves and with other people, understand, incorporate and respond to such situations. To do so requires a perspective which does not de facto dismiss the behavior of people in the hinterlands as irrelevant. Understanding comes from analysis, which in a real way attempts to grasp the world from the perspective of those whose lives we are examining. This is why, as I have argued, that ethnography,

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characterized as it is by a sensitivity to the everyday activities and the meanings which guide the actions of real people, is important to achieve the ends set out here. That is, an understanding of the strategies of living in hinterland communities, can be made to address individual behavior, social organization and interaction and incorporation into modern political economies at the same time.

In hinterland localities, much of the stuff about which social action is oriented is intimately tied to their structural relationship with the rest of the society and the everyday consequences of this relationship. In an investigation of such places, an examination of people's behavior must pay particular attention to the strategic element incorporated into this behavior. For it is in the performance of everyday activities that individuals attempt to achieve ends they have set for themselves; at the same time, these activities call for cooperation with others and/or opposition to still others.

One particularly useful way to understand the connections that individuals make with one another in social settings, especially in large scale societies where the traditional anthropological focus on kinship and stable residency patterns are not as applicable, is to understand them as ego-centred networks. In so doing, we establish the connections themselves but more to the point, we can examine the reasons why individuals enter into these relationships, the strategies that are employed to do so and for what ends. These processes then mesh individual biographies and ends with others who share, in a

given instance and for particular purposes, the same goals. The channels through which much of this social action flows are roles.

The importance of roles in social action can be seen in a number of ways. First, interaction among people flows through roles in such a way as to produce social relationships and networks which give coherence to social structure. Even though roles have this important structural component, they are also useful to individuals and groups because they can be "made" as well as "taken". In the making of roles, people again attribute meaning and self-interest to their action which, in turn is linked to other people and their behavior. But, this can only take place when those who are interacting with one another share the meanings about their own and others behavior. To bring about these shared meanings when roles are "made" rather than taken, a negotiation process is required. The social action referred to here then entails some important elements; the meanings that are negotiated and shared both create the meaning within which all action takes place and at the same time acts as a guide for behavior which in turn give rise to social relationships. These processes, while obviously social are most often motivated by interests which are self-serving; they also serve to bring together self and collective interests. So, in the end, by focusing on social action in this way, we have also given recognition to culture, social structure and individual behavior and made these concepts relevant to one another.

This argument follows the lead of Geertz (1973), who

maintains that culture takes its form from behavior and more specifically from social action, or behavior which takes others into account, and that culture is intimately connected to social structure. Social action occurs because individuals share meanings which are imputed from the behavior of others and which guide one's own behavior. These shared meanings and the culture that gives rise to them allow for the predictability necessary for joint action. The regularity that these processes give rise to, in turn, builds up social relationships and social structure. Carrying these ideas a step further and borrowing from Keesing (1981), individuals are involved in and become part of these social processes because they have to in order to achieve their personal goals. Self-interests and collective interests are not independent nor in opposition, even though, particular self-interests may be. The rewards of working with others to bring about desired ends are sometimes immediate and sometimes long range, but cooperation is fundamental to the way individuals pursue their goals.

The interaction that goes on within localities, and the roles that individuals both "take" and "make" has, as we've been pointing out, many different facets, both overt and unconscious. They are also strategic in that in both the individual and collective sense they are oriented towards achieving certain ends. At the same time, these strategies incorporate, both individually and collectively, ways of reflecting and responding to the conditions that are imposed on such places as a result of being hinterlands.

If we now draw these processes together and examine them in light of Wadel's (1979) contention that these comprise the "hidden", but necessary, "work" which goes towards the maintenance (and I would add, the creation) of the social institution of community, then we have identified some of the major ways and end product of this work in the specific context of hinterland localities. In carrying out this "work", the relationship with the wider society again has relevance. While the nature of subsistence activities has changed in some respects quite dramatically with industrialism, namely, highly specialized work activities for which one is paid, reliance on a market economy and the development of formal organizations where much of this work takes place, other aspects have not. In particular, these activities still require the cooperation of others to bring about the desired ends. This means that industrial society, too, relies on the development and maintenance of social relationships among people as the foundation for these organizations. Thus, in addition, to the paid work that is easily recognized in the modern industrial economy, there is a significant amount of unpaid work associated with the creation and maintenance of the social releationships which ensure that people work together to achieve collective goals. This is not only true of work organizations but of all institutions including neighbourhoods and communities. But, as a result of our preoccupation with the labour force and the jobs, or paid work associated with it, we have lost sight of this other type of work and hence it is termed by Wadel (1979),

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"hidden work".

When we extend the notion of "hidden work" as it applies to hinterland localities, we do so with the recognition that industrialism has added another dimension to these processes of developing and maintaining social relationships. Hinterlands epitomize the mobility that is associated with industrialism. People move in and out of such places for two main reasons, both of which lie at the heart of what is meant by geographical and social mobility. Since hinterlands within the industrial mode exist because they are the sites of primary resource extraction and these in turn are affected by the market conditions of the specific resource being extracted, local populations fluctuate according to the demand for the resource they possess. This is one important reason for geographical mobility.

Social mobility, though, often accompanies geographical mobility. People move to take advantage of career advancement and in so doing move upward within status hierarchies, an important element of the social organization of urban industrial societies. Social mobility, like geographical mobility, has a specific link to hinterland localities. Career advancement often means that the initial steps, lowest rungs of the career ladder, in question are carried out in the smaller non-urban centres and as one is promoted, one often moves to larger centres, and eventually the major metropolitan centres. This pattern of social mobility means that the hinterland is often a place that individuals strive to leave, if they are in a career which has advancement possibilities and they are upwardly

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mobile.

Both geographical and social mobility have implications for the important hidden work of developing and sustaining social relationships in hinterland localities. It means that this work has to be done with considerable uncertainty as to who will be there at any given time. In this way, when, in fact, these relationships at the local level are created and become meaningful to the individuals there, these forces of localism begin to run counter to the ultimate logic of industrialism and especially the mobility that it requires (Cohen, 1982).

Thus, much of the work necessary to develop and maintain the social relationships which give all social institutions their coherence is done in the hinterlands, with these constraints which reflect their relationship to the wider society as part and parcel of the overall processes. When a resident of such places makes a statement about "being involved in community work", he is referring on one level to his participation in voluntary organizations of various kinds. On another level, he is indicating his commitment to the place, as the work he is referring to on this level is the work which creates and maintains community. On yet another level, this demonstration of commitment, in light of the mobility and its various interpretations in hinterlands, is an important personal resource, of use to an individual as he strives to achieve certain personal goals. As such then, this construction of community can be viewed as part of the overall resources which are then mobilized to achieve these goals.

In this view, though, despite the fact that community is perceived as an entity, it can only be examined as a process. This is so because its essential characteristic and the boundaries which serve to define its membership are created by people as they enter into interaction with one another. The interaction, which underlies this creation process, at the same time, can and should be examined for what they tell us about the individual self-interest which motivates it and how, in and through, the interaction common meanings are negotiated and shared to ensure joint action and collective interests are brought about. These processes of negotiation and development of collective interests are symbolic and, by definition, social undertakings and, as such, they guide human behavior into predictable paths from which social structure receives its coherence (Cohen, 1974). These day-to-day activities of individuals interacting at the local level though, must also be viewed with a clear eye to the wider forces of political economy which fundamentally affects what goes on locally.

At the same time, it is easy to confuse locality and community; while these concepts are interdependent, they are not interchangeable. One important way to differentiate between them is to conceptualize their boundaries. Towns or localities are defined by legal, administrative and/or geographic boundaries; communities are defined by social boundaries. While the legal and/or geographic boundaries are important to, and have effects upon, the creation of social boundaries, they need not coincide. The assumption of the necessary coincidence between these two

types of boundaries is, in fact, one of the major shortcomings of the classical approaches to community.

It is sometimes part of the construction process that an image of coincidence between the two types of boundaries is projected, as we saw, for example, most clearly in some of the roles played by the newspaper and the festival. Some individuals attempt, usually for certain political ends, to speak for the "community", meaning all members of the locality. But care must be taken to differentiate here between the process of creating an image and attempting to mobilize it as a resource for certain ends, and successfully bringing about such an end. Since social boundaries are created in interaction, they are fluid and flexible. Because they are fluid and flexible, under some situations and for particular individual and group purposes and during certain time frames, the social boundary of community can be equated legitimately with the legal boundary of locality. Other situations, other purposes and other types of interaction ensure that the social boundaries incorporate more or less than the membership of the locality. The situations and purposes for which the coincidence of these two boundaries occur are those which attempt to emphasize the cooperative element necessary for and exemplified by some of the interaction which goes on. However, individuals and groups also compete with one another for both the material and non-material resources available. This process breaks the locality down into different communities, each of which is pursuing its own ends. The competition serves to re-define the social boundaries; new groupings occur, and new

markers signal the boundary. The process in both the cooperative and competitive instance, is the same and the latter is no less community than the former however much favoured the first is in terms of ideological stances.

In these notions of social boundaries and the identification processes that they entail, I have been borrowing extensively from Wallman (1978, 1984) and Cohen (1982, 1986). Specifically, these works have shown how central symbols are to these processes of identification and differentiation. In addition, they have also pointed to the self-identity and self-interests which too become incorporated in these processes, all of which are important to understanding local cultures and social organization.

People distinguish between themselves and others on the basis of, if not opposite interests, at least interests that are not shared. As such, these are inherently political, both in the sense of the formal political arena, where the interests of the locality clash with outside political and economic institutions and the politics of everyday life where individuals and groups within the locality vie with one another over reputations, over the legitmacy of certain perceptions, over all manner of material and non-material resources. What alliances are created, what resources are accessed and what ends are pursued must be seen in the context of the hinterland status that these places occupy, and the way this is incorporated in and forms a response to precisely this state of affairs. This is important in meeting the challenge of making culture and political economy relevant

to one another (Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Interest and place are both part of community. But this only comes about in interaction.

By conceptualizing community in this manner it means that if in the course of interaction, someone should say "...the community of Cranbrook...", two things should be clear. The first is not that there _is_ a community of Cranbrook, but rather an attempt is being made to create one. Secondly, the interesting element of the statement is not whether the reference is accurate, but rather to what ends the speaker wishes to create community in this instance, with whom is he doing so, and with what resources? This again points to the argument presented earlier that although community is best conceived of as the end-product of certain kinds of interaction, it must be understood in terms of this interaction. But to understand this process, and in particular to understand how it is incorporated into, and useful for, the consequences of hinterland status in such places, our examination must be ethnographic and it must focus on the strategies of everyday life in these places.

While the locus of this research has been the non-urban localities within an urban industrial society and the strategies of everyday life observed in these localities, I have presented an argument which maintains that through an understanding of this process, we can further our understanding of not just these places but the nature of social life in large scale industrial societies. Anthropology, as a discipline, has provided us with

important insights into ourselves and our own behavior, but it has for the most part done this through a comparison to other peoples and other cultures. We are now beginning to increase this self-knowledge through anthropological research more directly, by applying the anthropological perspective to industrial societies. Many argue that by virtue of being members of our own society and having been imbued with our own cultural meanings, we as anthropologists cannot truly "see" our own society as if from the outside as we traditionally do by doing our fieldwork in other cultures. As this research attests, I think that it is not only possible, but that one of the real values of the anthropological perspective is that it can aid us greatly in our quest to understand human behavior, not the least of which is our own.

I am, however, cognizant of the special problems raised by doing research in "my home" (Cohen, 1974(b); Wallman, 1978, 1984; Messerschmidt, 1981; Cohen, 1982, 1986; and Helms,1986). I, like other researchers, am convinced that there is great value in doing so despite these problems. By doing so, anthropologists working "at home" are adding to our understanding of ourselves and of industrial society as a whole. While much has been done, much remains to be done. Given the population size, the social and cultural complexity, and the rapid social and technological change associated with industrialism, there are many places and topics where there is ample opportunity for further fieldwork.

MAP OF THE EAST KOOTENAY REGION
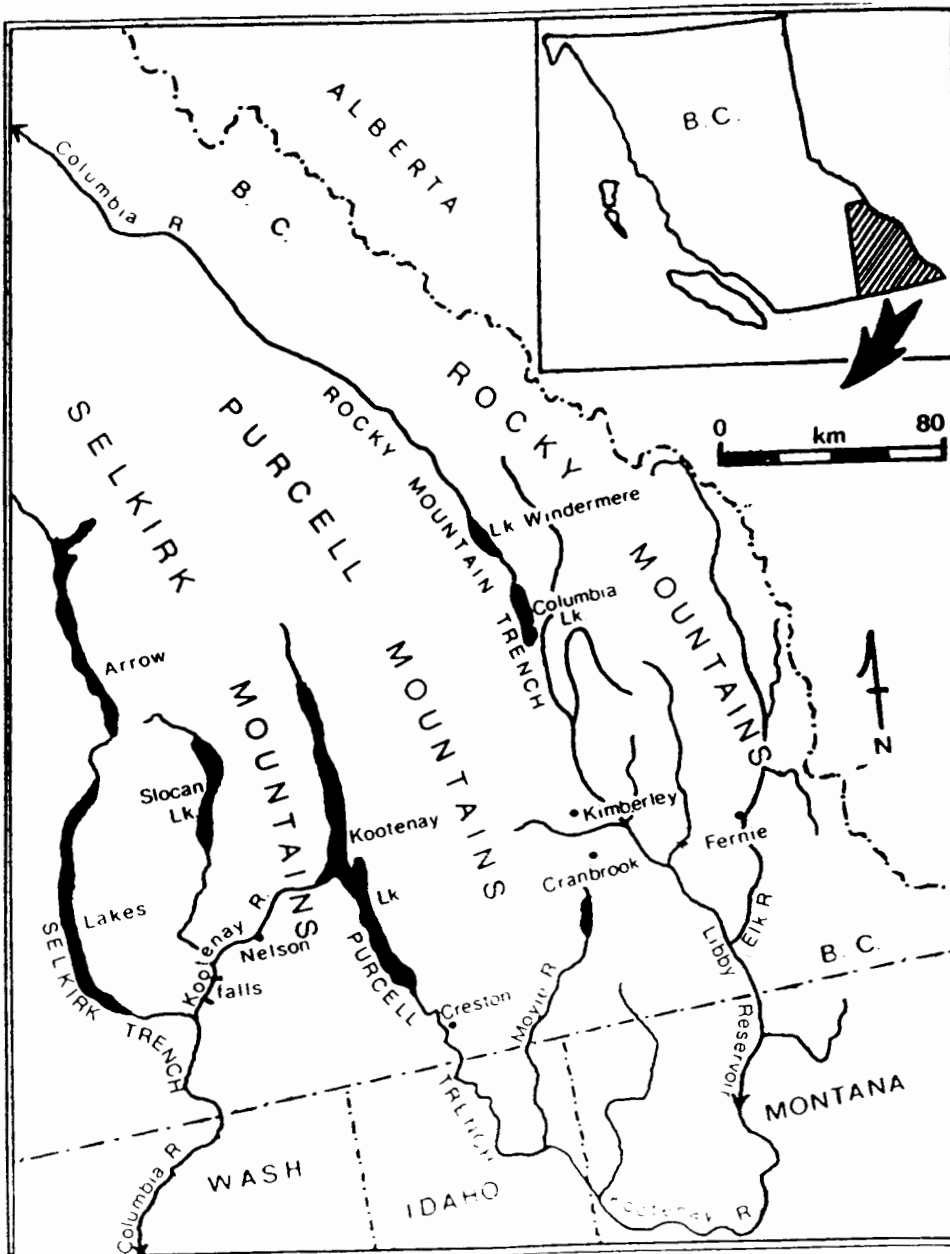
source: Choquette, 1980-81:22

APPENDIX B
1898 MAP OF THE FORT STEELE MINING DISTRICT
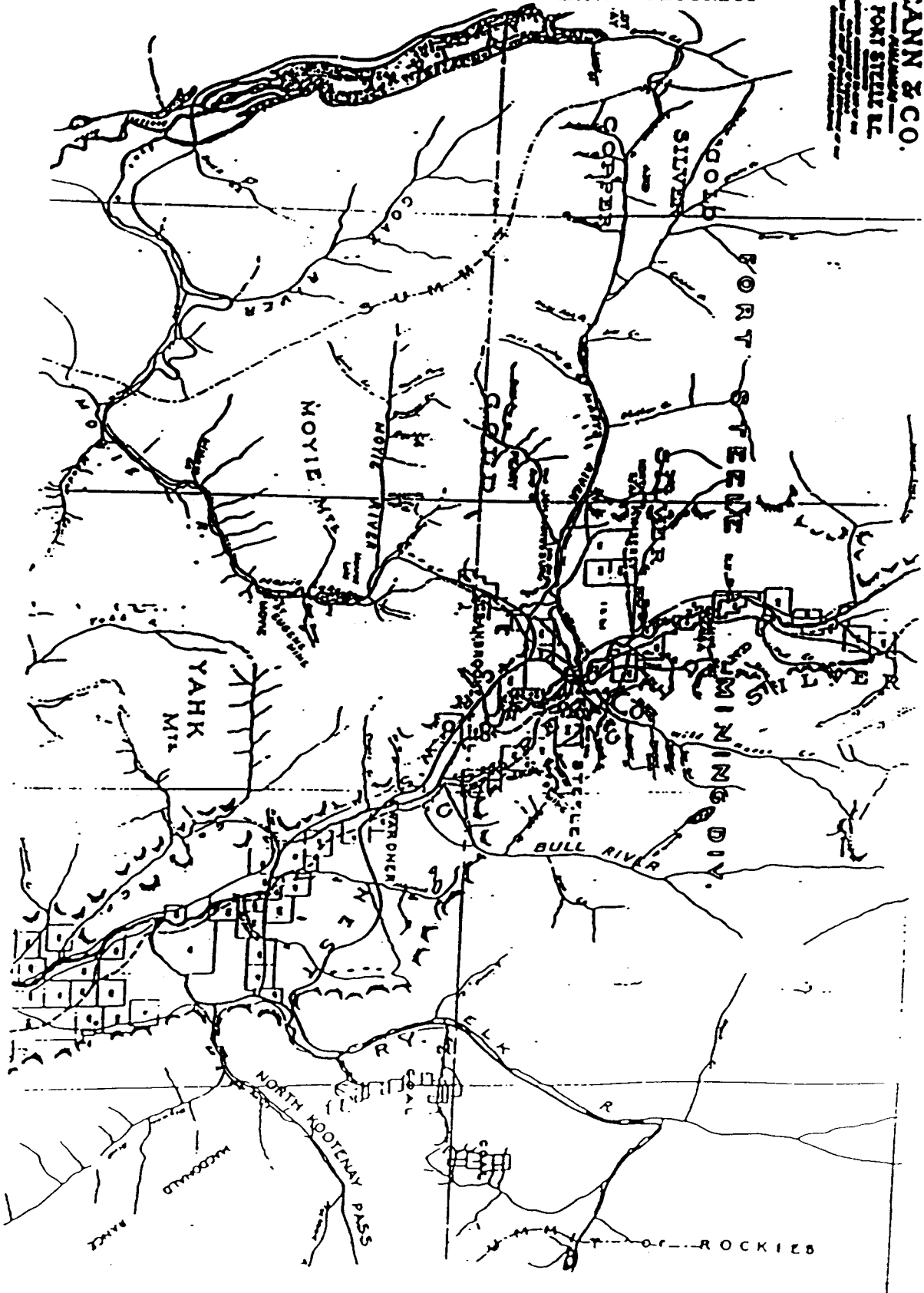
"THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF TOWNS"

One of the many themes that can be gleaned by this story of
the proposed transfer of B.C. staff from Cranbrook is the
vulnerability of such localities to the actions of outside
corporate and political decision makers. What is equally clear
when one knows the history of such places, is that it is not
new. The story, and particularly, its underlying dynamics are
all too familar in a region where even a glance at a map will
tell you that ghost towns are prevalent. To illustrate the
historical dimension to the processes, preceptions and actions
identified here, I have chosen to relate another case, this
time, set in the past, which will illustrate the parallels
between the region in the 1980's and the 1890's, when Euro-
Canadian population in the area became significant.[1]

In the 1890's, the regional centre was Fort Steele. It
enjoyed this position as a result of the transportation routes
available at that time. Primarily, these consisted of the
Kootenay River, the pack Trail from Walla Walla, Washington and
later the Dewdney Trail from Hope. Other localities consisted
primarily of mining and logging camps and "paper townsites". By
the later part of the decade, the lobbying efforts for rail
connection to the region had finally paid off and railway
construction into the areas began. After achieving this
important transportation link, the region's resources were more

attractive to outside corporate interests. Inside the region, the locality which would be designated as the railway divisional point would enhance the economic base of the chosen locality. Cranbrook was so designated. At the time, Cranbrook was a "paper" townsite, owned by Colonel James Baker and member of the Legislative Assembly for Southeast Kootenay. Hyde Baker, his son, was townsite agent and therefore its most ambitious "boomer".

The designation of Cranbrook as the divisional point struck a hard blow to the prospective fortunes of Fort Steele, but from the Fort Steele accounts available, it was not being publicly acknowledged as a fatal blow. There were a number of individual strategies evident in the way this event was being dealt with locally. First, some individuals and their business interests moved to Cranbrook or planned on an eventual move there. As can be seen in this excerpt of a letter that Norbury sent to relatives in England dated July 17, 1897.[2]

> The Crow's Nest Pass Ry will be here by Jan. 1 and Cranbrook is to be its divisional station which means the main town of the country and as soon as the railway gets there I should probably move my business office there. I have made a couple of good clients lately and things will go nicely as soon as the 'railway' gets here and real development work will be possible...The hospital part of the scheme most unfortunately won't go, as everyone forsees that Cranbrook is to be the town of the country and would sooner takes chances and wait to put up a good buiding there. My strong suit is Cranbrook townsite. Hyde Baker will be townsite agent and will put me on any 'snaps' that may be going....

Those that had the means to do so put their eggs in both baskets and opened new branches in Cranbrook and at the same time, retained their Fort Steele offices.

Others, though, did neither of these and anticipated or hoped that Fort Steele would be able to survive and prosper even without being the divisional point. The propriator of the Fort Steele newspaper, The Prospector was included in this latter category, or at least, publically presented itself as the champion of Fort Steele and those whose interests lay in the prosperity of that locality. Soon, though, after all in Fort Steele were resigned to the fact that they were not to be the divisional point, The Prospector caught wind of a rumor that Baker was attempting to move the government offices from Fort Steele to Cranbrook. This rather lengthy quote from the July 17, 1897 edition of the paper, illustrates both the paper's (and probably more to the point, owner A.B. Grace's) position on this possiblity. In addition, it illustrates how the paper takes the position of the legitimate mouthpiece for Fort Steele and its collective interests.

GOVERNMENT BOOMING OF TOWNSITES IN

THE EAST KOOTENAY

We learn today from a source which we deem perfectly reliable that certain government officials who offices have heretofore and are now in Fort Steele are about to receive orders to move to Cranbook. Now The Prospector has not any quarrel with Cranbrook or any other of the multitude of towns existent or on paper, but when a government or a member of a government assumes the prerogative of making and unmaking towns and offices, wholly regardless of the vested rights or the interests of the people then as ever The Prospector is to be found on the side of the people and against such high handed proceedings.

These are the facts. The member for East Kootenay is the fortunate owner of several thousands of farming land known as Cranbrook, situated some 14 miles west of Fort Steele. The member for East Kootenay is also a

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member of the Government when one B.C. Southern Charter was granted by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia a condition was made that the place known as Cranbrook was to be a divisional point on the said railway. It is no secret that when the BCS Charter passes into the hands of Messr's Cox and Jaffray the conditions passed with it: else they would not have acquired the charter. We in Steele we mean the people who elected Colonel Baker did not demur when he -in what he says was a business investment- Corralled for himself and his friends the choicest coal lands in the province and let it be known, comprising an area of nearly one million acres of land with every right pertaining thereunto. The people who elected Colonel Baker did not voice the question of the legality of the acquition of this immense area nor did we complain because he was owner of Cranbrook and might because he was who he was: be in a position to make a good bargain for the elected representative of East Kootenay.

Cranbrook at this moment has no existence in fact. It is true the present holders of the BCS Charter, ie The Canadian Pacific Railway have agreed to make it a divisional point, that is all. Yet the announcement is made that the Gold Commission recently appointed for Southern East Kootenay is to be located a Cranbrook and further on the authority of the member it is given out that Cranbrook is to be made the Governmental Headquarters for East Kootenay. Fort Steele as the central point and as the only town in Southern East Kootenay has been for thirty years the residence of whatever Government Officials there were in the country. But it seems that it is not consistent with the policy of your Honorable James Baker, that such a state of affairs should continue when there is a possibility of corn coming to the mill by this petty booming of the town in which he is interested. If such a change were in anyway in the interests of the country then we would be the last to complain or if we felt there was the remotest chance that an injustice were being done Colonel Baker in thus charging him with prostituting his position as our representative for selfish purposes and personal gain. Then The Prospector would be silent. But we know to the contrary. We know that this is another of the many crimes to be charged to himself and the government of which he is a member. It may not be inopportune in conclusion to give the Colonel a word of advise. Go to it while you have the chance, your time is short neither you nor any other man who has the termity to condone your sins will ever warm you seat again as member for East Kootenay.

> Had you delayed your scheme until Cranbrook had an
> existence as a town or until the public interests seem
> to demand it then your unblushing infidelity would not
> have been so evident. But your work is too coarse, too
> coarse Colonel. We can't stand your work.

With this broadside, the paper became the standardbearer for

those whose interests were aligned with the prosperity of Fort

Steele rather than Cranbrook. Others joined Grace and became

publically involved in the issue. While it became apparent the

rumors, at least for the time being, were unsubstantiated, it

had been sufficient to bring to the surface Fort Steele's

concern about Baker's motives and his ability to affect the

fortunes of Fort Steele from his government position. They

chose, as can be seen above, to connect Baker's interests in

having Cranbrook designated as the divisional station, and his

political power over yet another indicator of a Fort Steele's

economic and symbolic stablity, the government offices.

Thus, while the issue in question was political in nature,

the underlying economic repercussions, both for certain

individuals and Fort Steele, is quite evident. This quote from a

later edition of the paper serves to point this out quite

clearly:

> ... he knows as well as anybody that the provincial
> offices can not be removed but he knows also that if he
> can put a doubt into the minds of people it will affect
> his purpose almost as well In all events it will make
> people hesitant about buying land at Fort Steele."

However, given that the issue was framed in political terms,

the response was likewise political. Throughout the remainder of

1897, various issues of the paper continued to print criticisms

of Baker and it is quite clear that a number of the citizenry

has met to decide what to do. By April, 1898, the outcome of

these deliberations is made clear. They decide to work towards

defeating Baker and although the government, of which Baker is

part, was opposed in the same action, it is quite clear that the

issue was being perceived locally as an attack against Baker.[3]

At the time, there were no clear political parties in the sense

that there were federally, so those concerned about Baker

advanced their case on the basis of an opposition vote. This

brought together, those individuals like Norbury who considered

themselves Liberal with those who considered themselves

Conservative. This tactic turned out to be possible because of

the lack of clear political parties in B.C. It allowed the

broader ideological differences to be subverted to the more

specific common interest, defeating Baker. The following

excerpts from the paper leading up to the election, point out

the processes and outcomes which ensued.

> April 9, 1898
> notice on front page
>
> A mass meeting of the electors of the South East
> Kootenay will be held at the Opera House in Fort Steele
> on Tuesday the 19th day of April for the purpose of
> placing in nomination a suitable person to represent
> this constitutuency in the legislature...This meeting
> is called not in the interests of any political party
> but as a representative meeting of the district at
> large.
>
> editorial:
> "The present local government has made a record of
> indiscriminate pandering to the interests of grasping
> corporations. Col. Baker as the member representing
> this constituency has assisted in dispoiling the
> district of large tracts of land granted to the B.C.
> Southern Railway....based on the grounds that he has

listened to the requirements of the district that he is now and always solicitous of the welfare of the people...The people of this district will nominate a candidate that will represent the people, one who will know exactly what the requirements are. He will devote all his talents to the interests of the district, he will be a man for and of the people selected and elected by the people.

May 28, 1898
front page
THE OPPOSITION PLEDGE

Every elector voting at the opposition convention next Tuesday will, prior to casting his vote be required to sign the following declaration:
We, the undersigned duly registered electors of the Electoral District of East Kootenay, Southern Division, hereby pledge ourselves to use our votes and influence in favour of the candidate chosen by this convention to oppose Hon Col. Baker or any other candidate nominated in the interests of the present Provincial government and to faithfully and loyally exert ourselves to do all that may be possible to secure the defeat of the government candidate....

June 4, 1898
front page
OPPOSITION CONVENTION
WILLIAM BAILLIE IS CHOSEN AS THE STANDARD BEARER

Baillie nominated by Malcolm McInnis spoke of "his long acquaintance with nominee" seconded by Vanorsdalen.

editorial

"Col. Baker stands for Cranbrook and his record bears out this satement."

June 25, 1898

COLONEL BAKER AT FORT STEELE

...Is it any wonder that Fort Steele should give a block vote against a man, who while the representative of the District, has endeavored to damage the townsite of Fort Steele and who if returned would be in a position to reward his faithful followers at Fort Steele by using his position and influence to build up Cranbrook at the expense of the original townsite."

HON COL. BAKER'S ADMISSIONS

He admitted that he had done nothing to secure the building of the Crow's nest Railway into Fort Steele...

July 9, 1898

BAKER MUST GO

Vote for Wm Baillie the opposition candidate
a vote for him is a vote for fair play
to Fort Steele and honest government

Meanwhile, of course, this criticism of Baker did not go unchallenged and like Grace and Baillie, Baker used sympathetic newspapers to support his cause. The <u>Cranbrook Herald</u> upheld Baker and his government's decisions and in like manner attacked the opposition. Since this account like the B.C. Tel transfer was aimed at examining the processes within the locality which has been subjected to outside decisions which it feels are deterimental to its welfare, I will not give a full account of the Cranbrook response. Following, though, is a news story in the Herald on May 3, 1898 that will serve to illustrate how the issue and the response was being perceived by, and acted upon, by the "outside" interest involved. It also demonstrates the grounds upon which its decisions were based.

"THE CIRCUS AT FORT STEELE

The opposition held its much talked of convention in Fort Steele last Thursday. It was a remarkable affair and was attended by many of Southeast Kootenay's best citizens. While being considered a remarable affair at the time, it now appears more in the light of a farce, the better element of its compostion having largely withdrawn from the convention and entirely washed its hands of the affair and that part of it remaining occupying a passive attitude toward Mr. Baillie, the successful candidate.

A BRILLIANT SCHEMER

Mr. Baillie is nothing if he is not a brilliant schemer, but laying schemes and making them stick was even beyond the power of Machivelli. Mr. Baillie is a recent acquistion to East Kootenay, and he must be given credit for possessing high and commendable aspirations, upheld by an unlimited amount of amourplated gall. To be able to defeat the Hon. Col. Baker in a fair, square fight is an ambition worthy of being fostered by any man. But Mr. Baillie's methods prove that his motto is 'all is fair in love, war, or politics.'

His first brilliant scheme connected with his political ambition was laid and consummated to the sorrow of Mr. Grace, the pioneer newspaper man of Southeast Kootenay. Mr. Baillie succeeded in getting a 3Ø day option on The Prospector for himself and the Bostock faction, and control of the paper meantime. Of course, it was never intended to take up the option, but it would and did give the gentleman from Kamloops a chance to commit the paper to his interests and throw down those of his opponents who have substantial interest in the country instead of simply a carpet bag with rooms to rent.

NO STRINGS ON 'EM

That much accomplished, the next move was to get a scheme through to commit or bind all attendants to the oppostion convention to the nominee irrespective of their choice. When the convention assembled there was trouble in the air and when the proposition was sprung, there was blood on the moon, in consequence of which about 6Ø men from the Moyie country shook the dust of the convention hall from their shoes rather than be branded , although trapped in the corral. Others who remained say if their names are published as Baillie's supporters, they will sue him and the paper for libel.

THE VOTE

When the vote was counted it was found that Mr. Baillie had 66 to 51 for Mr. Ross. Baillie's heelers were very noisy and riotous and when such respected citizens as Attorney Ross and Dr. Watt sought to express themselves they were not allowed the rights of free speech. When Dr. Watt attempted to address the convention he was greeted with cat call, cries of "rats" and other affectionate greetings. Rats or no rats however, the Baillie terrier is at the end of its rope.

The July 9th election day saw Baker's return to the

legislature but by a significantly reduced majority. The Turner

government itself was defeated by a slim margin, but in fact,

the die was cast locally. The government offices were finally

moved to Cranbrook, but not until 1904. Whether this would have

been the outcome in any event is not relevant, what is relevant

for the question at hand is the way this event and the processes

it entailed speak to the issues that confront such places in the

present. While the historical data is obviously more limited

than that of the present day case, there is sufficient material

for the purposes of illustrating certain themes that are present

in both the historical example and the issue of the B.C. Tel

transfers.

1. The data presented here comes from the archival sources at
    Fort Steele, and essentially from the newspaper accounts.
    While primarily archival data is limited in terms of what is
    recorded and saved from the past, the material does give
    sufficient detail for the analysis required here.

2. Norbury was a young Englishman, whose family had sent him to
    Canada and continued to support him, as he attempted to set
    up an independent life here. HHe eventually returned to
    England when his various financial ventures did not prosper.
    He left behind though, two legacies, one a collection of his
    letters which are now in Fort Steele and a local lake in the
    vicinity of his farm was named after him. The letter from
    which this excerpt was taken are in manuscript available in
    the archives at Fort Steele.

3. This becomes evident by reading The Golden Era, the Golden
    newspaper at that time. Golden was in a different provincial
    riding and the newspaper accounts focus on provincial issues
    rather than Baker's activities.

Insiders, Outsiders, Newcomers and Oldtimers
in Hinterland Communities

In addition to the socioeconomic and political differences found in the resident population of hinterland localities, many other kinds exist. These, like those discussed in the text of this work, give rise to social boundaries and local interaction patterns can be examined for how these boundaries are created, maintained and/or changed. Two further types, with historical parallels will be examined here.

The "Keep Jobs" campaign has already demonstrated how the major corporations and the provincial and federal governments are often perceived of as outsiders when they make decisions which are not in the interests of the locality in question. Because, as it has been argued, this arises from the metropolis hinterland relationship and that this has been the case from virtually the first Euro-Canadian settlers in the region, we can document these same boundaries and boundaries processes from the historical record as these as these ethnographic examples, taken from a collection of letters written by an engineer by name of Nation who was living in the region in the early 1900's, [1]
attest:

> "There is a rumour that a bonus of $2,000,000 for railways in B.C. has been dedicated in Ottawa, of which it is to be hoped that KC (Kootenay Central Railway) will get a good show. This may be only a liberal election dodge." (October 3, 1903)

> "The same location was worked some years ago but as the outfit was an English Co. having a proportion of 6

salaried officials to 1 practical man and 2 labourers,
the diggings were shut down as unprofitable. There's
food for some cynical gentlemen to ruminate over. Its
the way that all those "managers" from London ye know
are running the mining industries of this country."
(Nation Letters; June 26, 1903)

These demonstrate clear indication that residents felt and

understood the significant impact governments and syndicates,

while outsiders, had on their lives.

Once individuals have perceived themselves as part of a

group which is formed on the basis of some collective interests,

the expression of these interests and collective ways of doing

things often take on moral overtones. They are justified and

rationalized on the basis of the "rightness" of their action and

the values which underlie it. It is the insider that is on the

side of the righteous, as is to be expected. Again, a couple of

excerpts from The Prospector , complete with the usual

exuberance, demonstrate this:

"The town's growth has been a substantial one free from
the evils attendant upon real estate booms. It will be
seen that Fort Steele is one of the few towns where
hard times have not been felt. The people are a
prosperous and industrious class in the fullest sense
of the terms and the continuance for years of these
flourishing conditions are certain." (May 22, 1897)

"There is another important function conferred on a
community through incorporation and one of particular
advantage to merchants and tradespeople generally. That
is, the power of taxing itinerate vendors of goods and
wares of all kinds, dealers who come into the city
today, run off on the community a lot of trashy or even
spurious goods and are away again in a week greatly to
the detriment of established businesses and unfair in
every way to local dealers. As an instance a
peripatetic tailor from some city in the 'effete east'
reaches town and offers to make suits of clothes at
prices for which they cannot be made here. In the
eastern city the clothes are made by 'sweated' labour
under conditions of misery that do not exist here and

which it is in our interest to prevent as long as it
can possibly be done. Everybody feels better when men
are paid men's wages. Well, a community when
incorporated can to a large extent protect itself
against the class of 'cattle' we are referring to, by
taxing them up to the hilt everytime they appear in
town." (October 2, 1897)

Insider and outsider are relative categories. Shifts in

one's position with respect to the designation most often occurs

as a consequence of the alignment of interests which often lie

at the base of the attachment to the locality. These are

situational designations which are subject to change when the

actors and the situation in question change. Some examples will

serve to illustrate the first of these kinds of shifts in

status. The first case in point is taken from the June 6, 1897

edition of The Prospector. Governments are often designated as

outsiders, as earlier examples have shown, but in this

particular case the editor of the newspaper, presented a view of

the way in which government interests could be realigned with

the interests of the residents of Fort Steele and against the

railway companies.

"Petition to Railway Minister from the
Fort Steele Mining Association"

We have read with pleasure your disapproval of the mean
and selfish policy of certain railway companies in the
past to locating stations and depots at points
inconvenient to cities and towns which they pretend to
reach.... We desire to call to your attention the
central position which our town occupies and to the
importance of the district lying all around us and we
would respectfully ask you to safeguard our interests
so far as lies in your power."

A second historical example of just such a shift in

interests came about when Colonel James Baker, owner of the land

which is now Cranbrook, and in 1898 the member of the legislative assembly for the region, was rumoured to have been in favour of moving the government offices from Fort Steele to Cranbrook (The details of this situation has been reported in Appendix C). The rumour was sufficient for those involved with the paper to use it and their social network in Fort Steele to launch a concerted political effort against Baker. Prior to the rumour being picked up and even after the designation of Cranbrook as the CPR divisional point, those involved with the paper were inclined to see the local MPP as an insider, but the plan of a possible move of the government offices was perceived and presented to the public as an indication of the member's own interests coming into conflict with those of Fort Steele and its residents. This particular historical incident is a fine example of how actions must be seen within a context, remembering that the charges against Baker are coming from the powerful Fort Steele Mining Association, of which The Prospector is the official organ. Baker's status as an insider before the incident came from the perception that he held common interests with those in Fort Steele. The incident resulted in those in Fort Steele perceiving that that was no longer the case; hence he became an outsider.

Thus, by using the primary archival material as field data, we can demonstrate other acts of boundary creation and can identify the processes involved in their creation and maintenance. However, we need to put this information together with the contemporary field data to illustrate one of the major

ideas being developed here, which is that many of these boundaries and the processes associated with them persist as a result of the continuing relationship that exists between the localities in question and the wider industrial society within which they and their residents operate. Therefore, we need to now examine a cross-section of contemporary field data in order to provide the necessary comparisons for this purpose.

In the historical data, it was noted that the corporations that operate in the region and the governments of the province and country are often cited as the major "outsiders". Contemporary field data, such as that provided by the Keep Jobs in Kootenays issue, does this as well.In addition, though, another contemporary outsider in the East Kootenay region is the Albertan. Situated as it is next to Alberta, the region experiences a significant number of Albertans as tourists and as owners of summer homes in one part of the region. The proximity and frequent presence of Alberta and Albertans , is just one way that local perceptions of them as outsiders is created. Perhaps more importantly, until recently, Alberta was experiencing a boom associated with the high world prices of crude oil. This and the fact that there is no sales tax in Alberta served to make them "rich uncles" in the local residents' perceptions. While they obviously bring in tourist dollars, they are not accorded very high estimation by the locals. A few of these attitudes about Albertans, governments and the corporations follow in these excerpts from the fieldwork:

Graffitti on toilet wall at reststop enroute to Fernie:
"Albertans Go Home!
Sure and our money goes too!"

The following is a story told to me by lady from Golden
after camping for the first time at a popular local
campground. "We drove down on the Friday night and
couldn't find the turnoff so we finally went into a
nearby gas station and asked the attendent. First he
asks us, Where are you from? Golden, we answer and then
he says it's just up the road and the first turnoff to
your right at the gravel road intersection. We went by
there but there were no signs. Well, he says, the
locals keep taking them down because the Albertans keep
coming in and tying up the camping spaces."

"we got so fed up with the province not paying any
attention to the Elk Valley. We even had a hard time
getting the government to put us on the map properly.
Our industries here provide alot of government revenue,
but we sure don't get the level of services they do in
the Lower Mainland.

(The Daily Townsman; Feb. 10, 1984)
"A ministry of forests mechanic said he is bitter
towards the government which eliminated his job of 17
years... He doesn't want to move from Cranbrook and he
said the other staff members feel the same way. We
don't want to move but we will, reluctantly we will."

(question to national politician from local mayor)"The
worry of the people in South East B.C. is coal. It is
our livelihood. Can pressure be put on the CPR for
double tracking. That would allow us to sell more of
our coal.

(A submission at Sager Commission on Schools)
"Our biggest problem is the Mecca on the lower
Mainland, they don't know that we even exist here much
less some of the problems we face with great distances
between school districts, the difficulty travelling in
winter conditions. They don't even know we're in a
different time zone here."

(conversation with a local Chamber of Commerce
representative) "We're a laboratory for a lot of
companies who send us their young managers to gain
experience before they move to bigger operations."

Examples like those above are commonplace in the

conversations of the residents of the region. Albertans, and the

various descriptions locals pick up about them, their driving, their use of the recreational facilities but not buying locally, the colour of their license plates and "cowboy" image are the butt of many local jokes which serve to maintain their status as outsiders, even while admitting to a certain amount of reliance on the money that they bring into the area.[2] On the other hand, governments and companies are still perceived to control a significant part of living in the hinterlands, as the latter examples testify.

As these examples indicate both in the past and in the present, those people who have the ability to affect individual's lives and the quality of life in these places are often found outside the region. Because the interests of these outsiders often do not coincide with the interests of the residents, a boundary is created as a result of them.

In addition to the insider, outsider distinction, the transience associated with life in the hinterland also gives rise to the local distinctions of newcomer and oldtimer, and to the strategies and resources that these designations imply in the local social system. Again, since this characteristic was equally, if not more true of the past, we can demonstrate its significance historically. Then, as now, the length of time one has put into the community is important for two interdependent messages it purports to have or to signify, demonstration of some commitment to place and demonstration of local knowledge. These are strikingly similar to what Cohen (1982) refers to as the mundane circumstances within which rural culture is

experienced, and Strathern refers to as "distinctiveness that comes from considerable stress on a sense of belonging" (1982:6,249).

The following excerpts serve to illustrate the many ways in which this local knowledge was demonstrated in the historical documents:

> "Dave is the oldest timer here having been in the great excitement on the Wild Horse in the '60's and lived here ever since." (Nation Letters; October 15, 1903)

> "Whoever is a candidate for this district must be a man known to the electors, a thorough mining man, familar with our needs and requirements and residing among the people." (The Prospector; June 6, 1897)

> A headline in the 1955 Golden Jubilee edition of the Cranbrook Courier and the subsequent story identified a number of the most common bases upon which the category of oldtimer is founded. The headline read "You're an oldtimer if you can remember when:" and subsequently pointed to knowledge of past events and people, i.e. "when 'Dutchy' Clapp wore short pants and followed the town sprinkler wagon around town on his bare feet"; locations of buildings in the past, i.e. "when the first government office was located on Cranbrook Street on the block now occupied by Central School" and knowledge about the former lack of amenities; i.e. "when the Cranbrook Telephone company ceased operating at 10 p.m. at night".

While the knowledge of local events and places is an important base on which to identify one as an oldtimer, it is equally important to be able to identify yourself as a member of a group of other oldtimers, and especially to be able to tell stories about them, as illustrated by this excerpt:

> "Of the original locators, I personally knew Roger Moore, Pat Quirk, Dave Griffith, Bob Dore, Pete Boyle, Bill Goodrich and Cal Dougherty. Roger Moore considered anyone who came here after 1900 a "che-cha-ko" and too green to take notice of."(Richardson Papers; p.1)

The second piece of information to which oldtimers can

successfully lay claim, and one which is used quite commonly in conversations both with and about oldtimers, is the weather or climate conditions. Two further excerpts bear testament to this basis for the title of oldtimer:

"None of the old inhabitants ever saw such a dry season before" (House Collection; September 17, 1904)

"Oldtimers used to mountain storms say it was the worst they ever saw" (Cranbrook Courier; June 22, 1916)

In part, it was due to the importance of these climatic conditions in the past in the day-to-day lives of people that this knowledge of weather in the past is accorded prestige. But, it is also indicative of the admiration that came from the success they have had in surviving trying times. This exuberant admiration of the pioneer is aptly illustrated in the following excerpt from the Cranbrook Herald of January 6, 1916:

"Mr. Dore passed to his reward on August 31, 1907, he having returned to Wild Horse.... He afterwards went to Montana where he held a position in the Butte Smelter from there going to San Francisco again. But his love and faith in the Kootenays lured him once more to the Wild Horse where he lived for the last 15 years of his life... of the old pioneers of 1864 only a few remain. They were a noble brand of fearless and energetic men who did a great deal and good work in bringing to the notice of the outside world the vast resources of our wonderful Kootenay District. The hardships which these men endured very few present residents can realize."

These references point out the different bases upon which the category of oldtimer is constructed. While it is difficult to piece together from excerpts the interaction taking place, it is possible to glean from the references the way that status is accorded and its used as a resource in interaction. Nowhere is this more visible than in the political arena, such as is

illustrated in this quotation concerning a political candidate of the time:

> "Bostock had tremendous odds against him as the Dominion Voter's List had not been revised for years and the 'oldtimers were all for Mara who is one himself; whereas Bostock is rather a newcomer." (Norbury Letters; November 11, 1897)

These designations are again relative. Although, as stated earlier, the absolute time spent in the locality increases the opportunity one has to acquire local knowledge and to demonstrate that one's own interests lie with others who reside in the locality, given the relatively recent Euro-Canadian settlement in the area, this absolute time could not amount to more than a couple of decades. As time went on, the length of time required to successfully lay claim to the honor increased, but given the transient nature of the population, and relatively short history, this by most standards is still a very short period of time. A news story in the December 2, 1899 edition of The Prospector on the Oldtimers' Reunion illustrates this. The story listed the names of these oldtimers; the "oldest" of them arrived in the area in 1854; but the "newest" one was listed as arriving in 1887, a scant 12 years earlier! This was reinforced a week later in the paper again, when it apologized for its neglect of some of the oldtimers and asked:

> "... The Prospector wishes a list of all those who came into the country prior to 1890 and would be glad if their names were sent in. A pioneer society is much needed not only for the purpose of meeting and having a good time, but for the securing of information which will be invaluable when a history of the East Kootenay will be written." (The Prospector; December 7, 1899)

Finally, the designation is also relative to those one is interacting with, so that one can be an "oldtimer" in one context and not in another. In other words, the status of newcomer or oldtimer is not a permanent designation, but rather a situational one. The actors involved, the interaction, itself and the context in which it takes place are the important factors in determining upon whom and when such statuses are conferred. This is somewhat more difficult to illustrate using the archival material, but contemporary examples abound. However, one excerpt from the letters of a man by the name of Nation do point out this aspect of the process in question. He states in a letter dated December 8, 1901:

> "First evidence of xmas was an invitation from Mr. McVittie to spend xmas with them. It is curious that I have not met them before as I have met most of the Fort Steele people years ago. He is an oldtimer and knows the country thoroughly, magistrate, lay reader, etc."

By referring to the fact that he "met most the people years ago" Nation was claiming his own status as an oldtimer, but he was obviously aware of McVittie's own claim to that, which sounds by his integration into the institutions of the area to be superior to his own claim. Hence, the ability to claim oldtimer status is subject to the other actors and their resources.

Oldtimers and newcomers are still very much relevant distinctions made between individuals and groups within the East Kootenay localities. Again, the absolute length of time is an important, but not the only, criterion for membership in one or the other category. Local knowledge still operates as a

criterion as well as a marker in the boundaries. Witness these

points in the following conversation between myself and a local

minister who had been a resident for ten years:

> "Well, there are two definite groups in town, one
> is the old guard and the other is the newcomers and it
> is very difficult to mix these two groups. You can live
> here 20 years and still be a newcomer. Well, the old
> guard has been born and raised here and generally they
> have a language that they use among themselves. They
> make reference to previous owners of property and you
> show you're not one when you don't have this
> information.

The reference indicates that the people who are "born and raised

in a given locality, have in absolute time, the most successful

claim to the "old guard" or oldtimer status.[3] It also indicates

that amongst this group, the shared knowledge that they have

about present and former people who have ties to the localities

serve as markers for distinguishing between this group and the

newcomers, however long they may have been in the locality. This

knowledge about other residents and their relationships to

others in the locality is central to sorting people within the

local social structure. This can be demonstrated further by the

following event and a resulting conversation:

> A young girl had been murdered in Cranbrook and myself
> and five acquaintances were discussing the event. Of
> the six people, two had lived here longer and three
> were more recent arrivals than myself. After the
> initial general comments, one of the two "oldtimers"
> said, "One story I heard was that it was Dan Osbourne's
> son. He's been in trouble before. (they continue to
> discuss the family of the murdered girl, all the rest
> of us silent) The second "oldtimer" continues with
> "Don't you just love living in a small town, we don't
> just discuss a murder but all the relatives as well!"

Knowledge of past climate conditions also still serves as a

criterion for designation into the oldtimer category, and there is still a tendency when discussing a particularly hot, dry summer or long cold winter to consult with the "oldest" member of the group in question for verification of statements about whether the state of affairs is usual or not, as the following demonstrates:

> A few friends and I are discussing an unusually early snow fall one year, and in the course of the conversation one of my friends says to another who had just arrived in Cranbrook that summer, "Don't worry, this snow won't stay. We don't get to start winter yet. Isn't that right, he says to me. I realize as the question is posed to me because in the group, I've been there the longest and as a result it is my role to verify the usual weather patterns.

As we saw in the historical example, the length of time that one has been a resident establishes a base of knowledge which one can use, or as the example illustrates, is expected of one. As was true in the historical examples, the status of "oldtimer" is often a resource used by the individual or group who can lay claim to it, and again the political arena is one of the most visible. Two excerpts from conversations follow which illustrate how it can be a resource; in the first example it is used as a resource in a political context, the second, a business:

> The setting is a public forum for the 1984 municipal elections and a campaign worker is introducing one of the aldermanic candidates, a man who was born in Fernie and after receiving his university education at UBC, returned as a professional to Cranbrook, where he married, and is presently raising his own family. The introducer says "When one grows up in the East Kootenays, one has an understanding of the municipalities. In understanding the municipalities one is in a better position to make decisions which affect the residents. Mr.----- has this perspective."

> A local woman is discussing with me a newspaper article
> that she had written for one of the local papers about
> her husband's family history. The story is attached to
> a press release about a new store which is opening in
> the locality, and is owned and operated by a relative
> of this woman. In conversation with me she says,"In a
> town like Sparwood, you need to prove you're one of
> them and so the fact that Al grew up there will be
> good for Larry."

Oldtimers and newcomers in the contemporary scene, like the

historical one, are categories which are relative. A previous

example has already illustrated this point. The case where I

found myself to be the "oldtimer" was clearly related to the

group in question; in many, in fact in most other cases, I

cannot successfully claim this status. However, the incidents

where I have been accorded or claimed title have increased as

the length of time and more importantly my base of knowledge has

increased. Another personal example further illustrates this

relativity:

> I am discussing the recent civic elections with a
> friend who has lived in Cranbrook substantially longer
> than I and I say to her, "things are pretty predictable
> in Cranbrook, the mayor will usually be a realtor or
> developer and he and the aldermen will run on platforms
> of road repair and the population will still drive on
> potholes! She laughs and says:"You're getting to be an
> oldtimer when you talk like that!"

Finally, we also have a contemporary example of how little

time it takes in these kinds of localities to successfully lay

claim to the status of an oldtimer. Cranbrook, like many

localities, has a Newcomers Club. I interviewed one of the

executives of the club and I asked if one could join the club if

one was not a "newcomer". She responded:

"Oh, yes, we have honorary members. There are people who have lived here 5 or 6 years and these oldtimers are useful to our members because they have a lot of information. For example, if one of our members says I'd like to hike up that mountain, one of our honourary members will say, I've been up two or three times. Here's the way up or here's how you get to it."

1. Nation was a young engineer who resided in the region,
    working at a variety of jobs, but most notably as a member
    of the survey crew that worked on the surveying for the B.C.
    Southern. A collection of his letters are available in the
    Fort Steele archives, and it is from this manuscript that
    this excerpt originates.

2. The Alberta license plates were yellow during the initial
    years of my fieldwork. As a result this distinctiveness was
    picked up as a focus of some of the attitudes towards
    Albertan drivers in particular and Albertans more generally.

3. Even though the "old guard" are often derided in
    conversations as parochial and self serving, these
    statements often emanate from the newest of the newcomers.
    That this is so points even more to the fact that it is a
    valued status within the locality, as it suggests conflict
    between the two groups over sources of status. Further, the
    denigration of the "parochial" can also be attributed to the
    effect that urban definitions of value have on the
    perceptions held by the residents of non-urban localities
    and cities alike, as was seen in the Chapter 6. Finally, the
    value attributed to "oldtimer" is apparent in a host of
    local institutions, local history clubs and books, museums,
    and the honoring of pioneers; even the vast majority of
    community festivals revolve around local history and local
    pioneering heroes, as we will see in the next chapter.

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